BOOKS Printed for Tho Parkhurſt, *at the* Bible *and* Three Crowns *in* Cheapſide.

Richard Baxter's Catholick Theology, Plain, Pure, Peaceable, for Pacification of the Dogmatical Word Warriours. In Folio.

A Treatiſe of the Soul of Man; wherein the Divine Original, Excellent and Immortal Nature of the Soul are opened; its Love and Inclination to the Body, with the Neceſſity of its Separation from it, conſidered and improved. The Exiſtence, Operations and States of ſeparated Souls both in Heaven and Hell immediately after Death, aſſerted, diſcuſſed, and variouſly applied. Divers knotty and difficult Queſtions about departed Souls, both Philoſophical and Theological, ſtated and determin'd. 8*vo.*

The Method of Grace in bringing home the Eternal Redemption, contrived by the Father, and accompliſhed by the Son, thro' the Effectual Application of the Spirit unto God's Elect, being the Second Part of Goſpel Redemption.

The Divine Conduct: Or, Myſtery of Divine Providence, its Being and Efficacy aſſerted and vindicated: All the Methods and Providence in our Courſe of Life open'd, with Directions how to apply and improve them.

Navigation Spiritualiz'd: Or, A New Compaſs for Seamen, conſiſting of Thirty-two Points of pleaſant Obſervations, profitable Applications, ſerious Reflections, all concluded with ſo many Spiritual Poems, &c.

A Touchſtone of Sincerity: Or, Signs of Grace, and Symptoms of Hypocriſie, being the Second Part of the Saint indeed.

A Token for Mourners: Or, Boundaries for Sorrow for the Death of Friends.

Husbandry Spiritualiz'd: Or, The Heavenly Uſe of Earthly Things. Theſe Seven by Mr. *John Flavel.*

A Plain Method of Catechiſing, with a Preparatory Catechiſm, ſhewing that Miniſters, Parents and Maſters, ought to be faithful Teachers of the Firſt Principles of the Chriſtian Doctrine; and the Ignorant, Young and Old, ought to be Diligent Learners of the Principles of the Chriſtian Doctrine. By *Thomas Doolittle*, M. A. in Compaſſion to the Ignorant, both Young and Old. The Fourth Edition, compared by the Author with his Manuſcript.

The Believer's Duty towards the Spirit, and the Spirit's Office towards Believers: Or, A Diſcourſe concerning Believers not grieving the Spirit, and the Spirit's ſealing up Believers to the Day of Redemption: Grounded on *Epheſ.* 4. 30. By *Henry Hickman*, B. D.

Annotations on the Holy Bible; wherein the Sacred Texts are Inſerted, and Various Readings Annex'd. Together with Parallel Scriptures, the more difficult Terms in each Verſe Explained, ſeeming Contradictions Reconciled. Queſtions and Doubts Reſolved, and the whole Text opened. In Two Volumes in Folio. By the late Reverend and Learned Divine, Mr. *Matthew Poole.*

Sixty-one Sermons, Preached moſtly upon Publick Occaſions. By *Adam Littleton*, D. D. late Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majeſty.

The Chriſtian in Compleat Armour: Or, A Treatiſe of Saints War againſt the Devil; wherein a Diſcovery is made of that Grand Enemy of God and his People, in his Policies, Power, Seat of his Empire, Wickedneſs, and chief Deſign he hath againſt the Saint.

A Magazin open'd, from whence the Chriſtian is furniſh'd *with Spiritual Arms* for the Battel, help'd on with his Armour, and taught the Uſe of his Weapon. Together with the happy Iſſue of the whole War. By *William Gurnall*, M. A. of *Emanuel*-Colledge.

A Compleat Hiſtory and Myſtery of the Old and New Teſtament, Logically Diſcuſt, and Theologically Improved; in Four Diſtinct Volumes. The Firſt, beginning at the Creation of the World, and ending at *Moſes*. The Second, beginning at the Particular Remarks of *Iſrael*'s Motions and Manſions in the Wilderneſs, until the Death of *Moſes*, and the Succeſſion of *Joſhua*, and ſo forward unto the Birth of *Solomon*. The Third, beginning at *David*'s Repentance before the Birth of *Solomon*, and ending at the Birth of Chriſt. Wherein an Ample Account is given of all the Apocryphal Times, (betwixt *Malachy* and the *Meſſiah*) alſo as well as of all the Canonical Books until that time. The Fourth, beginning at the firſt of *Matthew*, and ending at the laſt of the *Revelations*. Wherein is held forth the moſt Illuſtrious Life of Chriſt, and the Lives of the Apoſtles, to the Death of the laſt and longeſt Living Apoſtle, *John* the Divine. The like undertaking, (in ſuch a Manner and Method) being never by any Author attempted before; yet this is now approved and commended by Grave Divines, &c. By *Chriſtopher Neſs*, M. A. Miniſter of the Goſpel in *London*. Folio.

Meditations on the Life, Sufferings, and Death of the Son God. By a Gentleman.

Directions and Perſwaſions to a Sound Converſion, for Prevention of that Deceipt and Damnation, and of thoſe Scandals, Hereſies, and Deſperate Apoſtacies, and that are the Conſequents of a Counterfeit or Superficial Change. By *Richard Baxter*. The Third Edition.

Grace and Duty of Heavenly-mindedneſs.

A Declaration of the Myſtery of the Perſon of Chriſt, God and Man.

A Diſcourſe of the Work of the Spirit in Prayer.

The Cauſes, Ways and Means of underſtanding the Mind of God revealed in his Word.

A Treatiſe of Apoſtacy.

An Anſwer to Dr. *Parker*.

Humble Teſtimony.

———of Temptation.

———of the Trinity.

Defence of Communion, &c. againſt *Sherlock*.

———of Mortification. Theſe Eleven by Dr. *Owen*.

Diſcourſes concerning the actual Providence of God. In Three Parts. The Firſt, Treating concerning the Notion of it, &c. The Second, concerning the Specialties of it. The Third, concerning the hard Chapters of it. In Fifty-Three Sermons.

¶ A 6 Inter-

Intercourſes of Divine Love betwixt Chriſt and the Church; in Two Vol. The Firſt, containing Sixty-one Sermons on the Firſt Chapter of the *Canticles*. The Second, containing about Forty-ſeven Sermons on the 2d chap. of *Canticles*.

A Reaſonable Account, why ſome Pious Nonconforming Miniſters in *England* judge it ſinful for them to perform their Miniſterial Acts in Publick Solemn Prayer, by the preſcribed Forms of others.

—His Supplement to his reaſonable Account.

A Diſcourſe againſt Tranſubſtantiation.

The Vindication of Liturgies, lately publiſhed by Dr *Faulkner*, proved no Vindication.

Defenſative Armour againſt four of *Satan*'s moſt Fiery Darts, *viz.* Temptations to Atheiſtical and Blaſphemous Thoughts, Self-Murther, Deſpair and Preſumption. The above Eight by Dr. *John Collings*.

Jones's Farewel Sermon.

——— Sermon of Family Duties.

A brief Tract on the Fourth Commandment; in which is diſcovered the cauſe of all our Controverſies about the Sabbath Day, and the means of reconciling them; recommended by the Reverend Dr. *Bates* and Mr. *John How*.

God and Religion. By *J. W.*

Communicants Inſtructor: Or, A Sacramental Catechiſm.

Shaw's *Adam Abel*, Vain Man.

—— different Humours of Men.

Wade's Redemption of Time.

Corbet's Self-Imployment in ſecret.

A Sermon preached at the Aſſizes held at St. *Edmonds-Bury*, March 18. 169⅔. By *Sam. Peck*, Lecturer of *Ipſwich*.

The Cauſe and Cure of Diviſions; in Two Sermons. By *Richard Mayo*, late Miniſter of the Goſpel.

Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* Sermon before the King and Queen, *Nov.* 5. 1692.

David Jones's Farewel Sermon to the united Pariſhes in *Lombard-Street*.

—— His Sermon of Family-Duties.

The Midnight Cry: A Sermon by Mr. *John Maſon*.

The Nature of Juſtification open'd. By Mr. *Gibbons*, ſometimes Preacher in *Black-friars*, *London*.

A Sermon preached at St. *Mildred*'s *Poultry*, *London*, *Jan.* 3. 169⅘. By *John* Lord Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and late Rector of the ſaid Church, upon his leaving that Pariſh.

Peace in War by Chriſt the Prince of Peace; a Sermon preached upon the Faſt-day, *June* 26, —96. By *Francis Fuller*, M. A.

England's Alarm; being an Account of God's moſt conſiderable Diſpenſations of Judgment and Mercy for Fourteen Years laſt paſt. Dedicated o the King and Queen.

An Eſſay to revive the ancient Education of young Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues; with an Anſwer to Objections to the contrary.

A Sermon Preached upon the Reſtoring of the late Coin.

Dr. *Collings*'s Sermon upon the Happineſs of Brethren dwelling together in Unity.

—— His Improveableneſs of Water-Baptiſm.

The Church of *Rome* no ſafe Guide. By Dr. *John Owen*.

—— His Faith and Order of Congregational Churches.

The Church's Security in the midſt of all Dangers. By *Robert White*, B. D. and Miniſter of *Kidderminſter*, *Worceſter-ſhire*.

—— His Sermon at the Funeral of Mr. *Baldwin*, a Nonconformiſt Miniſter.

Principles of Proteſtant Truth and Peace; in Four Parts. By *Tho. Beverly*.

An Antidote againſt Quakeriſm. By *Steph. Scanderett*.

An Account of the Bleſſed Trinity, argued from the Nature of the Supreme Spirit, concident with the Scripture-Doctrine in all the Articles of the Catholick Creed. By *William Burrough*, Rector of *Chenis* in *Bucks*.

A ſhort Story of the Riſe, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familiſts and Libertines that infected the Churches of *New-England*.

One Diſſertation concerning the Antiquity of Temples; wherein is ſhewn, that there were none before the Tabernacle erected by *Moſes* in the Wilderneſs, from Hiſtory Sacred and Prophane. By *Joſeph Hill*, Editor of *Schrevelius*'s Lexicon.

An Exercitation upon that Caſe of Conſcience, *viz.* Whether it be lawful for a Perſon to act contrary to the Opinion of his own Conſcience, formed from Arguments that appear to him probable, tho' not neceſſary or demonſtrative. By *John Collings*, D. D.

Dr. *Robert Wild*'s Letter of Thanks on King *Charles* the Second granting Liberty of Conſcience.

An Account of the Earthquake in *Jamaica*, 1692.

A Diſcourſe of the Love of Chriſt. By *William Sheppard*, Miniſter at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*.

Sheba's Conſpiracy and *Amaſa*'s Confederacy: Or, A Modeſt Vindication of the National Aſſociation entred into by the Houſe of Commons, *Feb.* 25. 1695.

The Proteſtant King protected, and the Popiſh Kings detected and defeated; in a Sermon preached at *Clerkenwell* on the Thankſgiving-day, *April* 16. 1696. Both by Dr. *Pead*, Chaplain to his Grace *John* Duke of *Newcaſtle*.

Stockton's Life.

—— Beſt Intereſt.

Mather of Witches.

——of Remarkable Providence.

——of Drunkenneſs.

Scholar's daily Task.

Vincent's Spirit of Prayer.

——Little Child's Catechiſm.

——of Love.

——Worthy Walking.

——Love to unſeen Chriſt.

Sheffield's Diſcourſe of Excuſes.

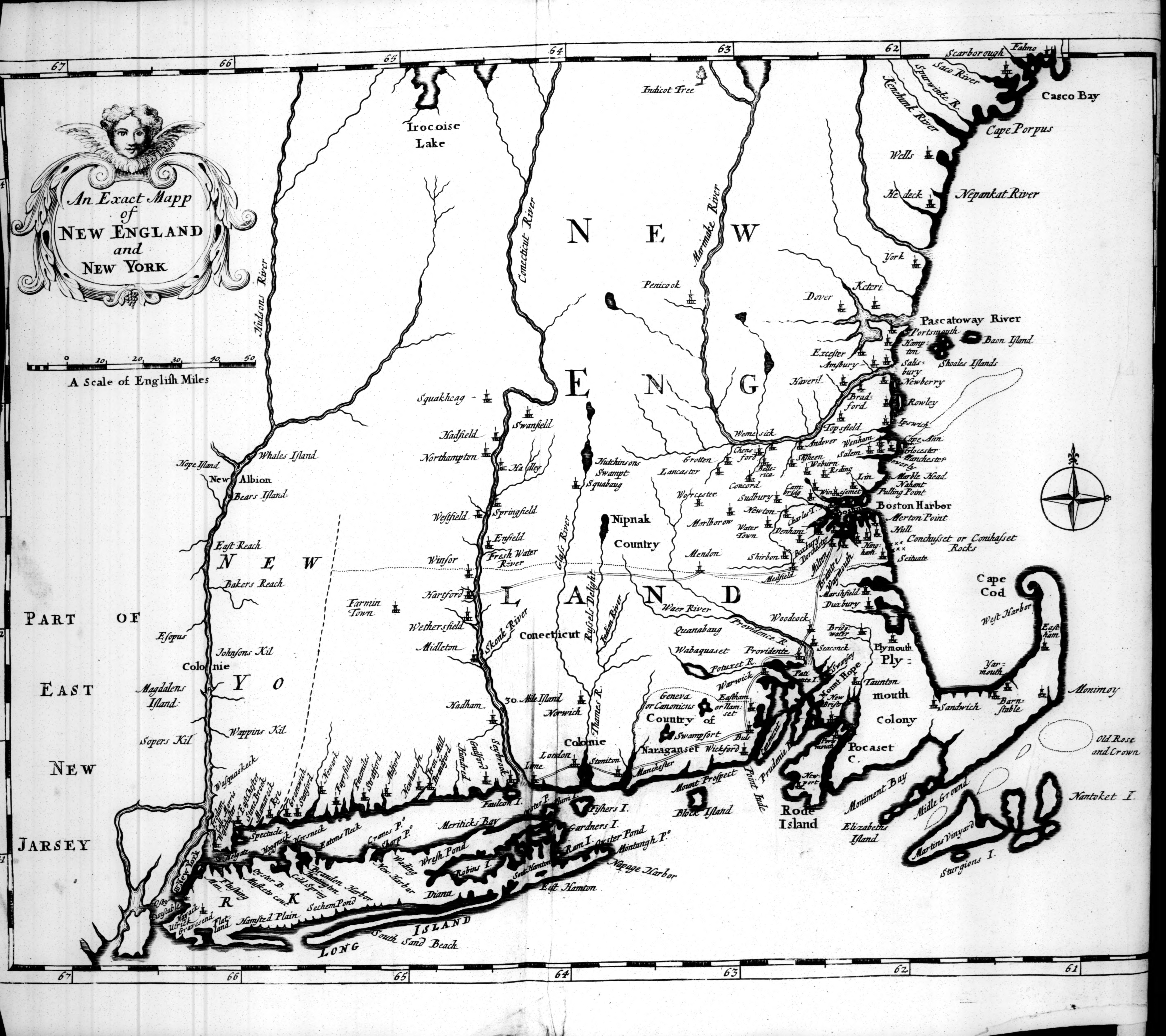
Tomlin's Supplication to the Sovereign Judge.

——Great Duty of Chriſtians.

Watſon's Plea for the Godly.

——Divine Cordial.

¶


An Exact Mapp of NEW ENGLAND and NEW YORK
A Scale of English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
67
66
65
64
63
62
61
42
41
NEW ENGLAND
NEW LAND
NEW YORK
PART OF EAST NEW JARSEY
Irocoise Lake
Indicot Tree
Hudsons River
Conecticut River
Marimake River
Casco Bay
Scarborough
Falmo
Saco River
Spurwinke R.
Kenebunk River
Cape Porpus
Wells
Nepankat River
Hedeck
York
Keteri
Dover
Penicook
Pascatoway River
Portsmouth
Baon Island
Hampton
Shoales Islands
Salisbury
Excester
Amsbury
Haveril
Newberry
Bradford
Rowley
Ipswich
Topsfield
Wemesick
Andover
Wenham
Cape Ann
Glocester
Salem
Manchester
Beverly
Marble Head
Nahant
Pulling Point
Lin
Reding
Woburn
Chensford
Billerica
Grotten
Lancaster
Concord
Cambridg
Winesemet
Sudbury
Worcester
Newton
Boston Harbor
Merton Point
Hill
Morlborow
Water Town
Charles T.
Denham
Roxbury
Dorchester
Hingham
Conchusset or Conihasset Rocks
Scituate
Mendon
Shirbon
Medfield
Milton
Braintre
Weymouth
Marshfield
Duxbury
Cape Cod
West Harbor
Eastham
Yarmouth
Barnstable
Sandwich
Monimoy
Plymouth
Ply:mouth Colony
Taunton
Bridgwater
Seaconck
Swansey
Mount Hope
New Bristol
Providence
Providence R.
Pautuxet R.
Woodcock
Quanabaug
Wabaquaset
Waer River
Warwick
Eastham or Namset
Geneva or Canonicus
Country of Naraganset
Swampfort
Wickford
Bull
Pocaset C.
Rode Island
Newport
Prudence I.
Point Jude
Manchester
Mount Prospect
Block Island
Monument Bay
Elizabeths Island
Midle Ground
Martins Vinyard
Sturgions I.
Nantoket I.
Old Rose and Crown
Nipnak Country
Hutchinsons Swampt
Squabaug
Glass River
Russels Delight
Indian River
Thames R.
Norwich
Colonie
London
Stoniton
Fishers I.
Gardners I.
Ram I.
Oyster Pond
Mintangh P.
Napage Harbor
East Hamton
South Hamton
Robins I.
Diana
Wresh Pond
Meriticks Bay
Faulcon I.
Lime
Seybrook
Guilford
Hadham
30 Mile Island
Conecticut
Skonk River
Midleton
Wethersfield
Hartford
Farmin Town
Winsor
Fresh Water River
Enfield
Springfield
Westfield
Northampton
Hadley
Hadfield
Swanfield
Squakheag
Newhaven
Milford
Stratford
Fairfield
Norwalk
Stamford
Greenwich
Rye
Eatons Neck
Cranes P.
Sharp P.
Spectacle
Norsneck
Oyster B.
Huntington
Cold Spring
Brandon Harbor
New Harbor
Sechen Pond
Hamsted Plain
LONG ISLAND
South Sand Beach
Flatland
Gravesend
Utrick
Flushing
Hellgate
New York
Whales Island
Hope Island
New Albion
Bears Island
East Reach
Bakers Reach
Esopus
Johnsons Kil
Colonie
Magdalens Island
Wappins Kil
Sopers Kil
Wasquaskeek

11

Magnalia Chriſti Americana:

OR, THE

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory

OF

NEVV-ENGLAND,

FROM

Its Firſt Planting in the Year 1620. unto the Year of our LORD, 1698.

In Seven BOOKS.

I. Antiquities: In Seven Chapters. With an Appendix.
II. Containing the Lives of the Governours, and Names of the Magiſtrates of *New-England:* In Thirteen Chapters. With an Appendix.
III. The Lives of Sixty Famous Divines, by whoſe Miniſtry the Churches of *New-England* have been Planted and Continued.
IV. An Account of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* in *New-England*; in Two Parts. The Firſt contains the Laws, the Benefactors, and Viciſſitudes of *Harvard College*; with Remarks upon it. The Second Part contains the Lives of ſome Eminent Perſons Educated in it.
V. Acts and Monuments of the Faith and Order in the Churches of *New-England*, paſſed in their Synods; with Hiſtorical Remarks upon thoſe Venerable Aſſemblies; and a great Variety of Church-Caſes occurring, and reſolved by the Synods of thoſe Churches: In Four Parts.
VI. A Faithful Record of many Illuſtrious, Wonderful Providences, both of Mercies and Judgments, on divers Perſons in *New-England:* In Eight Chapters.
VII. *The Wars of the Lord.* Being an Hiſtory of the Manifold Afflictions and Diſturbances of the Churches in *New-England*, from their Various Adverſaries, and the Wonderful Methods and Mercies of God in their Deliverance: In Six Chapters: To which is ſubjoined, An Appendix of Remarkable Occurrences which *New-England* had in the Wars with the *Indian* Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.

By the Reverend and Learned *COTTON MATHER*, M. A.
And Paſtor of the North Church in *Boſton, New-England.*

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide*. MDCCII.

ANTIQUITIES.

The First Book

OF THE

New-Engliſh Hiſtory.

REPORTING,

The DESIGN where-*on*,
The MANNER where-*in*,
And the PEOPLE where-*by*,

The ſeveral [illegible]s
of NEW-ENGLAND
were Planted.

WITH

A NARRATIVE of many Memorable Paſſages,

Relating to the

Settlement of theſe Plantations;

AND

An Eccleſiaſtical MAP of the Country.

By the Endeavour of

COTTON MATHER.

Tantæ Molis erat, pro CHRISTO *condere Gentem.*

LONDON,
Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide* near *Mercers Chappel*, 1702.

AN ATTESTATION TO THIS Church-Hiſtory OF NEW-ENGLAND.

IT hath been deſervedly eſteemed, one of the great and wonderful Works of God in this *Laſt Age*, that the Lord ſtirred up the Spirits of ſo many Thouſands of his Servants, to leave the *Pleaſant Land* of *England*, the Land of their *Nativity*, and to tranſport themſelves, and Families, over the *Ocean Sea*, into a *Deſert Land*, in *America*, at the Diſtance of a *Thouſand Leagues* from their own Country; and this, meerly on the Account of *Pure and Undefiled Religion*, not knowing how they ſhould have their *Daily Bread*, but truſting in God for *That*, in the way of *ſeeking firſt the Kingdom of God, and the Righteouſneſs thereof*: And that the Lord was pleaſed to grant ſuch a gracious *Preſence* of his with them, and ſuch a *Bleſſing* upon their Undertakings, that within a few Years a *Wilderneſs* was ſubdued before them, and ſo many *Colonies* Planted, *Towns* Erected, and *Churches* Settled, wherein the true and living God in Chriſt Jeſus, is worſhipped, and ſerved, in a place where time out of mind, had been nothing before, but *Heatheniſm*, *Idolatry*, and *Devil-worſhip*; and that the Lord has added ſo many of the Bleſſings of *Heaven* and *Earth* for the Comfortable Subſiſtence of his People in theſe *Ends of the Earth*. Surely of this *Work*, and of this *Time*, it ſhall be ſaid, *What hath God wrought?* And, *This is the Lord's doings, it is marvellous in our Eyes!* Even ſo (*O Lord*) *didſt thou lead thy People, to make thy ſelf a glorious Name!* Now, *One Generation paſſeth away, and another cometh*. The *Firſt Generation* of our Fathers, that began this Plantation of *New-England*, moſt of them in their *middle Age*, and many of them in their *declining Years*, who, *after they had ſerved the Will of God*, in laying the *Foundation* (as we hope) of *many Generations*, and given an *Example* of true *Reformed Religion* in the *Faith* and *Order* of the Goſpel, according to their beſt Light from the *Words* of God, they are now *gathered unto their Fathers*. There hath been *another Generation* ſucceeding the *Firſt*, either of ſuch as come over with their Parents very Young, or were born in the Country, and theſe have had the managing of the Publick Affairs for many Years, but are apparently *paſſing away*, as their *Fathers* before them. There is alſo a *Third Generation*, who are grown up, and begin to ſtand thick upon the Stage of *Action*, at this Day, and theſe were all born in the Country, and may call *New-England* their *Native Land*. Now, in reſpect of what the Lord hath done for theſe Generations, ſucceeding one another, we have aboundant cauſe of Thankſgiving to the Lord our God, who hath ſo Increaſed and Bleſſed this People, that from a *Day of ſmall things*, he has brought us to be, what we now are. We may ſet up an *EBENEZER*, and ſay, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us*. Yet in reſpect of our *Preſent State*, we have need earneſtly to *Pray*, as we are directed, *Let thy Work farther appear unto thy Servants, and let thy Beauty be*

upon us, and thy Glory upon our Children; *Eſtabliſh thou the Works of theſe our hands*; *yea, the Works of our hands, Eſtabliſh thou them.*

For, if we look on the *Dark ſide*, the *Humane ſide* of this Work, there is much of *Humane Weakneſs* and *Imperfection*, hath appeared in all that hath been done by *Man*, as was acknowledged by our *Fathers* before us. Neither was *New-England* ever without ſome *Fatherly Chaſtiſements* from God; ſhewing that He is not Fond of the *Formalities* of any People upon Earth, but expects the *Realities* of *Practical Godlineſs*, according to our Profeſſion and Engagement unto him. Much more may we, the *Children* of ſuch *Fathers*, lament our *Gradual Degeneracy* from that *Life* and *Power of Godlineſs* that was in them, and the many *Provoking Evils* that are amongſt us; which have moved our God ſeverely to witneſs againſt us, more than in our *firſt Times*, by his *leſſer Judgments* going before, and his *Greater Judgments* following after; He ſhot off his *Warning-pieces firſt*, but his *Murthering-pieces* have come after them, in ſo much as in theſe Calamitous Times, the Changes of Wars of *Europe* have had ſuch a malignant Influence upon US in *America*, that we are at this Day *Greatly diminiſhed and brought low, through Oppreſſion, Affliction, and Sorrow.*

And yet if we look on the *Light ſide*, the *Divine ſide* of this Work, we may yet ſee, that the *Glory of God* which was with our *Fathers*, is not wholly departed from us their *Children*; there are as yet many *Signs* of his *Gracious Preſence* with us, both in the way of his *Providences*, and in the uſe of his *Ordinances*, as alſo in and with the *Hearts* and *Souls* of a conſiderable number of his People in *New-England*, that we may yet ſay as they did, *Thy Name is Upon us, and thou art in the midſt of us, therefore, Lord, Leave us not!* As *Solomon* prayed, ſo may we, *The Lord our God be with us, as he was with our Fathers*; *Let him not leave nor forſake us*; *but incline our Hearts to keep his Commandments.* And then, *That he would maintain his own, and his Peoples Cauſe, at all times, as the matter may require.*

For the Lord our God hath in his infinite Wiſdom, Grace and Holineſs, contrived and eſtabliſhed His *Covenant*, ſo as he will be the God of his *People*, and of their *Seed* with them, and after them, *in their Generations*; and in the Miniſterial Diſpenſation of the *Covenant of Grace*, in, with, and to his *viſible Church*, He hath promiſed *Covenant-Mercies* on the Condition of *Covenant-Duties*. *If my People, who are called by my Name, ſhall humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeek my Face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear their Prayers, forgive their Sins, and heal their Land*; *and mine Eyes, and mine Heart, ſhall be upon them perpetually for Good!* That ſo the *Faithfulneſs* of God may appear in all Generations for ever, that if there be any *Breach* between the *Lord* and his *People*, it ſhall appear plainly to lye on his *Peoples* part. And therefore he has taken care, that his own *Dealings* with his People in the Courſe of his *Providence*, and their *Dealings* with him in the Ways of *Obedience* or *Diſobedience*, ſhould be *Recorded*, and ſo tranſmitted for the Uſe and Benefit of After-times, from Generation to Generation; as, (*Exodus* 17. 14.) *The Lord ſaid unto* Moſes, *write this for a Memorial in a Book*; and, (*Deut.* 31. 19.) *Write ye this Song for you, that it may be a Witneſs for me againſt the Children of* Iſrael; and (*Pſal.* 102. 18.) *This and that ſhall be written for the Generation to come, and the People that ſhall be created ſhall praiſe the Lord.* Upon this Ground it was ſaid (in *Pſal.* 44. 1.) *We have heard with our Ears, O God, and our Fathers have told Us, what Work thou didſt in their Days in times of Old, how thou caſteſt out the Heathen, and plantedſt them*; (ſo likewiſe in *Pſal.* 78. v. 3 to the 8th.) Upon the ſame account it may be ſaid, (*Pſal.* 45. laſt.) *I will make thy Name to be remembred to all Generations*: And this is one Reaſon why the *Lord* commanded ſo great a part of the *Holy Scriptures* to be written in an *Hiſtorical way*, that the wonderful Works of God towards his Church and People, and their Actings towards him again, might be *known unto all Generations*: And after the *Scripture-time*, ſo far as the *Lord* in his *Holy Wiſdom* hath ſeen meet, He hath ſtirred up ſome or other to write the *Acts and Monuments* of the Church of God in all Ages; eſpecially ſince the *Reformation of Religion* from Antichriſtian Darkneſs, was *vigorouſly* and in a great meaſure *ſucceſsfully* endeavoured in the foregoing Century, by ſuch Learned and Pious Perſons, as the Lord inclined and inabled thereunto.

And therefore ſurely, it hath been a Duty incumbent upon the People of God, in this our *New-England*, that there ſhould be extant, a true *Hiſtory* of the Wonderful Works of

of God in the late Plantation of this part of *America*; which was indeed planted, not on the account of any *Worldly Intereſt*, but on a Deſign of Enjoying and Advancing the true *Reformed Religion*, in a *Practical way*: And alſo of the *Good Hand of God* upon it from the beginning unto this Day, in granting ſuch a meaſure of *Good Succeſs*, ſo far as we have attained: Such a Work as this hath been much *Deſired*, and long *Expected*, both at home and abroad, and too long Delayed by *Us*, and ſometimes it hath ſeemed a hopeleſs thing ever to be attained, till God raiſed up the Spirit of this Learned and Pious Perſon, one of the Sons of the *Colledge*, and one of the Miniſters of the *Third Generation*, to undertake this Work. His Learning and Godlineſs, and *Miniſterial Abilities*, were ſo Conſpicuous, that at the Age of *Seventeen Years*, he was called to be a publick Preacher in *Boſton*, the *Metropolis* of the whole Engliſh *America*; and within a while after that, he was ordained *Paſtor* of the ſame Church, whereof his own *Father* was the *Teacher*, and this at the unanimous Deſire of the People, and with the Approbation of the *Magiſtrates*, *Miniſters* and *Churches*, in the Vicinity of *Boſton*. And after he had, for divers Years, approved himſelf in an exemplary way, and obliged his *Native Country*, by publiſhing many uſeful *Treatiſes*, ſuitable to the *Preſent State* of Religion amongſt us, he ſet himſelf to write the *Church-Hiſtory of New-England*, not at all omitting his Miniſterial Employments; and in the midſt of many Difficulties, Tears and Temptations, having made a diligent Search, Collecting of proper *Materials*, and Selecting the choiceſt *Memorials*, he hath, in the Iſſue, within a few Months, contrived, compoſed, and methodized the ſame into this Form and Frame which we here ſee: So that it deſerves the name of, *THE CHURCH-HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND*.

But as I behold this Exemplary Son of *New-England*, while thus *Young and Tender*, at ſuch a rate Building the *Temple of God*, and in a few Months diſpatching ſuch a piece of *Temple-work* as this is; a Work ſo notably adjuſted and adorned, it brings to mind the Epigram upon young *Borellus*:

Cum Juveni tantam dedit Experientia Lucem,
Tale ut promat opus, quam Dabit illa Seni?

As for *my ſelf*, having been, by the Mercy of God, now above *Sixty eight Years* in *New-England*, and ſerved the Lord and his People in my weak Meaſure, *Sixty Years* in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, I may now ſay in my Old Age, *I have ſeen all that the Lord hath done for his People in* New-England, and have known the Beginning and Progreſs of theſe Churches unto this Day; and having read over much of this *Hiſtory*, I cannot but in the Love and Fear of God, bear witneſs to the *Truth of it*; viz. That this preſent *Church-Hiſtory of* New England, Compiled by Mr. *Cotton Mather*, for the Subſtance, End and Scope of it, is, as far as I have been acquainted therewithall, *according to Truth*.

The manifold *Advantage*, and *Uſefulneſs* of this preſent *Hiſtory*, will appear, if we conſider the Great and Good *Ends* unto which it may be ſerviceable; As,

Firſt, That a plain Scriptural Duty of *Recording the Works of God unto After-times*, may not any longer be omitted, but performed in the beſt manner we can.

Secondly, That by the Manifeſtation of the *Truth of things*, as they have been and are amongſt us, the *Miſrepreſentations* of *New-England* may be removed and prevented; for, *Rectum eſt ſui & obliqui Index*.

Thirdly, That the True *Original* and *Deſign* of this Plantation may not be loſt, nor buried in *Oblivion*, but known and remembred for ever, [*Pſal.* 111. 4. *He hath made his wonderful Works to be remembred.* Pſal. 105. 5. *Remember ye the marvellous Works which he hath done.*]

Fourthly, That God may have the *Glory* of the Great and Good *Works* which he hath done for his People in theſe Ends of the Earth, [As in *Iſaiah* 63. 7. *I will mention the loving Kindneſs of the Lord, and the Praiſes of the Lord, according to all the Great Goodneſs and Mercy he has beſtowed on us.*]

Fifthly, That the *Names* of ſuch Eminent Perſons as the Lord made uſe of, as *Inſtruments* in his hand, for the beginning and carrying on of this Work, may be embalmed, and preſerved, for the Knowledge and Imitation of Poſterity; for *the Memory of the Juſt is Bleſſed*.

Sixthly, That the preſent Generation may remember the *Way* wherein the Lord hath led his People in this *Wilderneſs*, for ſo many Years paſt unto this Day; [according to that in *Deut.* 8. 2. *Thou ſhalt remember all the way wherein the Lord hath led thee in the Wilderneſs this Forty Years, to humble thee, and to prove thee, and to know what was in thy Heart, whether thou wouldeſt keep his Commandments or no.*] All conſidering Perſons cannot but obſerve, that our *Wilderneſs*-condition hath been full of *humbling, trying, diſtreſſing Providences*. We have had our *Maſſahs* and *Meribahs*; and few of our Churches but have had ſome remarkable *hours of Temptation* paſſing over them, and God's End in all has been to *prove us*, whether, according to *our Profeſſion*, and *his Expectation*, we would *keep his Commandments, or not.*

Seventhly, That the *Generations to come* in *New-England*, may *know the God of their Fathers*, and may *ſerve him with a perfect Heart and willing Mind*; as eſpecially the *firſt Generation* did before them; and that they may ſet *their hope in God, and not forget his Works, but keep his Commandments.* (Pſal. 78. 7.)

Eighthly, And whereas it may be truly ſaid, (as *Jer.* 23. 21.) *That when this People began to follow the Lord into this Wilderneſs, they were, Holineſs to the Lord, and he planted them as a noble Vine*; Yet if in proceſs of time, when they are *greatly increaſed and multiplied*, they ſhould ſo far Degenerate, as to forget the *Religious Deſign* of their Fathers, and forſake the Holy Ways of God, (as it was ſaid of them in *Hoſea* 4. 7. *As they were increaſed, ſo they ſinned againſt the Lord*) and ſo that many Evils and Troubles will befall them; *Then* this Book may be for a *Witneſs againſt them*; and yet thro' the Mercy of God, may be alſo a means to *Reclaim* them, and cauſe them to *Return* again unto the Lord, and his Holy Ways, that He may *Return* again in Mercy unto them; even unto the *many Thouſands of* New-England.

Ninthly, That the Little Daughter of *New-England* in *America*, may bow down her ſelf to her Mother *England*, in *Europe*, preſenting this *Memorial* unto her; aſſuring her, that tho' by ſome of her *Angry Brethren*, ſhe was forced to make a *Local Seceſſion*, yet not a *Separation*, but hath always retained a Dutiful Reſpect to the *Church of God in* England; and giving ſome account to her, how graciouſly the Lord has dealt with her ſelf in a *Remote Wilderneſs*, and what ſhe has been doing all this while; giving her thanks for all the *Supplies* ſhe has received from her; and becauſe ſhe is yet in her *Minority*, ſhe craves her farther *Bleſſing* and *Favour* as the Caſe may require; being glad, if what is now preſented to her, may be of any uſe, to help forward the *Union* and *Agreement* of her *Brethren*, which would be ſome Satisfaction to her for her undeſired Local Diſtance from her Dear *England*; and Finally, promiſing all that Reverence and Obedience which is due to her Good *Mother*, by Virtue of the *Fifth* Commandment. And

Laſtly, That this preſent *Hiſtory* may ſtand as a *Monument*, in relation to future times, of a fuller and better *Reformation* of the Church of God, than it hath yet appeared in the World. For by this *Eſſay* it may be ſeen, that a *farther Practical Reformation* than that which began at the firſt coming out of the Darkneſs of *Popery*, was aimed at, and endeavoured by a great Number of *Voluntary Exiles*, that came into a *Wilderneſs* for that very end, that hence they might be free from humane *Additions* and *Inventions* in the Worſhip of God, and might practice the *poſitive part* of Divine *Inſtitutions*, according to the Word of God. How far we have attained this Deſign, may be judged by this *Book*. But we beſeech our Brethren, of our own and of other *Nations*, to believe that we are far from thinking that we have attained a *perfect Reformation*. Oh, *No!* Our Fathers did in their time acknowledge, there were many *Defects* and *Imperfections* in our Way, and yet we believe they did as much as could be expected from Learned and Godly Men in their Circumſtances; and we, their *Succeſſors*, are far ſhort of them in many reſpects, meeting with many *Difficulties* which they *did not*; and *mourning* under many *Rebukes* from our God which they *had not*, and with trembling Hearts obſerving the *Gradual Declinings* that are amongſt us from the Holy Ways of God; we are forced to cry out, and ſay, *Lord, what will become of theſe Churches in time? And what wilt thou do for thy great Name?* And yet in the Multitude of our Thoughts and Fears, the *Conſolations of God refreſh our Souls*, that all thoſe that *in Simplicity and Godly Sincerity* do ſerve the Lord, and his People in their Generation (tho they ſhould miſs it in ſome things) they ſhall deliver their own Souls, they are accepted of the Lord, and *their Reward is*

with

with him; and in the approaching Days of a better *Reformation*, the *ſincere*, tho' *weak* Endeavours of the Servants of God, that went before them, will be alſo accepted of the Saints in thoſe times of greater Light and Holineſs, that are to come; and when the Lord ſhall make *Jeruſalem* (or, the true Church of God, and the true Chriſtian Religion) *a Praiſe in the Earth, and the Joy of many Generations*, then the *Miſtakes* of *theſe times* will be rectified; and that which is of *God* in any of his Churches, now in any Part of the World, will be owned and improved unto an higher Degree of *Practical Godlineſs*, that ſhall continue for many Generations ſucceeding one another, which hitherto hath been ſo rare a thing to be found in the World.

I ſhall now draw to a *Concluſion*, with an *Obſervation* which hath viſited my Thoughts: That the Lord hath bleſſed the Family of the *MATHERS*, amongſt us, with a ſingular Bleſſing, in that no leſs than *Ten* of them, have been accepted of him, to ſerve the Lord and his People in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt; of whom, as the Apoſtle ſaid in another caſe, tho' *ſome are fallen aſleep*, yet the *greateſt part remain unto this Day*; I do not know the like in our *New-England*, and perhaps it will be found rare to parallel the ſame in other Countries. Truly I have thought, it hath been a Reward of *Grace*, with reſpect unto the *Faithfulneſs* they have expreſſed, in aſſerting, clearing, maintaining, and putting on for the Practice of that great Principle, of the *Propagation of Religion* in theſe Churches, viz. *The Covenant-State and Church-memberſhip of the Children born in theſe Churches*, together with the *Scripture-Duties* appertaining thereunto, and that by vertue of God's *Covenant of Grace*, eſtabliſhed by God with his People, and their Seed with them, and after them in their Generations. And this has been done eſpecially by Mr. *Richard Mather* the Father, and by Mr. *Increaſe Mather* his Son, and by Mr. *Cotton Mather* his Son, the Author of this preſent Work.

I ſhall give the Reader the Satisfaction to enumerate this happy *Decemvirate*.

1. *Richard Mather*, Teacher of the Church in *Dorcheſter*.

2. *Samuel Mather*: He was the firſt Fellow of *Harvard-Colledge* in *Cambridge* in *New-England*, and the firſt Preacher at *North-Boſton*, where his *Brother* and his *Nephew* are now his Succeſſors. He was afterwards one of the Chaplains in *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*; after that, a *Senior Fellow* of *Trinity-Colledge* in *Dublin*, and Paſtor of a Church in that City, where he died.

3. *Nathanael Mather*; which ſucceeded his Brother *Samuel* as Paſtor of that *Church* in *Dublin*, and is now Paſtor of a *Church* in *London*.

4. *Eleazar Mather*: He was Paſtor of the Church at *Northampton* in *New-England*, and much eſteemed in thoſe parts of the Country: He died when he was but Thirty two years old.

5. *Increaſe Mather*; who is known in both *Englands*. Theſe four were the Sons of *Richard Mather*.

6. *Cotton Mather*, the Author of this Hiſtory.

7. *Nathanael Mather*. He died at the *Nineteenth* Year of his Age; was a *Maſter of Arts*; began to preach in private. His Piety and Learning was beyond his Years. The Hiſtory of his *Life and Death* was written by his *Brother*, and there have been *Three Editions* of it printed at *London*. He dyed here at *Salem*, and over his Grave there is written, *THE ASHES OF AN HARD STUDENT, A GOOD SCHOLAR, AND A GREAT CHRISTIAN.*

8. *Samuel Mather*; he is now a publick Preacher. Theſe three laſt mentioned, are the Sons of *Increaſe Mather*.

9. *Samuel Mather*, the Son of *Timothy*, and Grandſon of *Richard Mather*; He is the Paſtor of a Church in *Windſor*; a Pious and a Prudent Man; who has been an happy Inſtrument of uniting the Church and Town, amongſt whom there had been great Diviſions.

10. *Warham Mather*, the Son of *Eleazar Mather*, and by his Mother Grandſon to the Reverend Mr. *Warham*, late Paſtor of the Church in *Windſor*: He is now alſo a publick Preacher. Behold, an happy Family, the *Glad ſight* whereof, may well inſpire even an Old Age paſt Eighty, with *Poetry* enough to add this,

Epigramma

Epigramma in *MATHEROS*.

O Nimium Dilecte Deo, Venerande MATHERE,
Gaudens tot Natos Chriſti numerare Miniſtros!
Det Deus ut tales inſurgant uſque Matheri,
Et Nati, Natorum, & qui Naſcentur ab illis.
Has inter ſtellas fulgens, Cottone Mathere,
Patrum tu ſequeris veſtigia ſemper ad orans,
Phoſphorus aſt aliis!——

Now the Lord our God, the Faithful God, that *keepeth Covenant and Mercy to a thouſand Generations*, with his People; let him incline the Heart of this People of *New-England*, to keep Covenant and Duty towards their God, to walk in his Ways, and keep his Commandments, that he may bring upon them the Bleſſing of *Abraham*, the Mercy and Truth unto *Jacob*, the ſure Mercies of *David*, the Grace and Peace that cometh from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that the *Grace* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt may be in and with theſe Churches, from one Generation to another, until the Second Coming of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt! *Unto him be Glory and Dominion, for Ever and Ever. Amen.*

Salem, the 25th of the
First Month 1697.

John Higginſon.

A

A Prefatory Poem,

On that Excellent Book, Entituled,

Magnalia Chriſti Americana:

Written by the Reverend

Mr. *COTTON MATHER*, Paſtor of a Church at *Boſton*, *New-England.*

To the Candid Reader.

S*Truck with huge Love*, of what to be poſſeſt,
I much deſpond, good Reader, in the *queſt*;
Yet help me, if at length it may be ſaid,
Who firſt the *Chambers of the South* diſplay'd?
Inform me, Whence the *Tawny People* came?
Who was their Father, *Japhet*, *Shem*, or *Cham*?
And how they ſtraddled to th' *Antipodes*,
To look *another World* beyond the Seas?
And when, and why, and where they laſt broke ground,
What Risks they ran, where they firſt Anchoring found?
Tell me their Patriarchs, Prophets, Prieſts and Kings,
Religion, Manners, Monumental things:
What *Charters* had they? What Immunities?
What Altars, Temples, Cities, Colonies,
Did they erect? Who were their publick Spirits?
Where may we find the *Records* of their Merits?
What Inſtances, what glorious Diſplayes
Of Heav'ns high Hand, commenced in their dayes?
Theſe things in *Black Oblivion* covered o'er,
(As they'd ne'er been) lye, with a thouſand more.
A vexing Thought, that makes me ſcarce forbear
To ſtamp, and wring my Hands, and pluck my Hair,
To think, what Bleſſed *Ignorance* hath done,
What fine Threads *Learnings* Enemies have ſpun,
How well Books, Schools, and Colledge may be ſpar'd,
So *Men* with *Beaſts* may fitly be compar'd!
Yea, how *Tradition* leaves us in the lurch,
And who, nor ſtay at home, nor go to Church:
The *Light-within-Enthuſiaſts*, who let fly
Againſt our *Pen and Ink Divinity*;
Who boldly do pretend (but who'll believe it?)
If *Geneſis* were loſt, they could retrieve it;
Yea, all the *Sacred Writ*; Pray let them try
On the *New World*, their *Gift of Prophecy*.
For all them, the *New Worlds Antiquities*,
Smother'd in everlaſting Silence lies;
And its *Firſt Sachims* mention'd are no more,
Than they that *Agamemnon* liv'd before.
The poor *Americans* are under blame,
Like them of old, that from *Tel-melah* came,

B *Conjectur'd*

Conjectur'd once to be of *Iſrael's* Seed,
But no *Record* appear'd to prove the Deed:
And like *Habajah's* Sons, that were put by
The *Prieſthood*, Holy things to come not nigh,
For having loſt their *Genealogy*.
Who can paſt things to memory command,
Till one with *Aaron's* *Breaſt-plate* up ſhall ſtand?
Miſchiefs Remedileſs ſuch Sloth enſue;
God and their Parents loſe their Honour due,
And Childrens Children ſuffer on that Score,
Like Baſtards caſt forlorn at any Door;
And they and others put to ſeek their Father,
For want of ſuch a *Scribe* as *COTTON MATHER*;
Whoſe Piety, whoſe Pains, and peerleſs Pen,
Revives *New-England's* nigh-loſt Origin.
Heads of our *Tribes*, whoſe *Corps* are under ground,
Their Names and Fames in *Chronicles* renown'd,
Begemm'd on *Golden Ouches* he hath ſet,
Paſt Envy's Teeth, and Times corroding Fret:
Of *Death* and *Malice*, he has bruſh'd off the Duſt,
And made a *Reſurrection of the Juſt*:
And clear'd the Lands Religion of the Gloſs,
And *Copper-Cuts* of *Alexander Roſs*.
He hath related *Academic* things,
And paid their *First-Fruits* to the King of Kings;
And done his *Alma Mater* that juſt Favour,
To ſhew *Sal Gentium* hath not loſt its Savour.
He writes like an *Hiſtorian*, and *Divine*,
Of *Churches*, *Synods*, *Faith*, and *Diſcipline*.
Illuſtrious Providences are diſplay'd,
Mercies and Judgments are in colours laid;
Salvations wonderful by Sea and Land,
Themſelves are *Saved* by his Pious Hand.
The *Churches Wars*, and various *Enemies*,
Wild *Salvages*, and wilder *Sectaries*,
Are notify'd for them that after riſe.
This *well-inſtructed Scribe* brings *New* and *Old*,
And from his *Mines* digs richer things than Gold;
Yet freely gives, as *Fountains* do their Streams,
Nor more than they, Himſelf, by giving, drains.
He's all *Deſign*, and by his *Craftier Wiles*
Locks faſt his Reader, and the Time beguiles:
Whilſt *Wit* and *Learning* move themſelves aright,
Thro' ev'ry line, and *Colour* in our ſight,
So interweaving *Profit* with *Delight*;
And curiouſly inlaying both together,
That he muſt needs find Both, who looks for either.
His *Preaching*, *Writing*, and his Paſtoral Care,
Are very much, to fall to one Man's ſhare.
This added to the reſt, is admirable,
And proves the Author *Indefatigable*.
Play is his Toyl, and *Work* his Recreation,
And his *Inventions* next to Inſpiration.
His *Pen* was taken from ſome *Bird of Light*,
Addicted to a ſwift and lofty Flight.
Dearly it loves *Art*, *Air*, and *Eloquence*,
And hates *Confinement*, ſave to *Truth* and *Senſe*.

Allow

Allow what's known; they who write Hiſtories,
Write many things they ſee with others Eyes;
'Tis fair, where nought is feign'd, nor undigeſted,
Nor ought, but what is credibly atteſted.
The Risk is his; and ſeeing others do,
Why may not I ſpeak mine Opinion too?
The *Stuff* is true, the *Trimming* neat and ſpruce,
The Workman's good, the Work of publick uſe;
Moſt piouſly deſign'd, a publick Store,
And well deſerves the publick Thanks, and more.

Nicholas Noyes, Teacher of the Church at *Salem*.

Reverendo Domino,

D. COTTONO MADERO,

Libri Utiliſſimi, cui Titulus, *Magnalia Chriſti Americana*,
Authori Doctiſſimo, ac Dilectiſſimo,
Duo Ogdoaſtica, & bis duo Anagrammata, dat Idem, *N. Noyes*.

Cottonus Maderus.

Anagr. { *Eſt duo Sanctorum.* / *Natus es Doctorum.* }

Nomina Sanctorum, *quos Scribis, clara* duorum
Nomine Cerno Tuo; *Virtutes Lector eaſdem*
Candidus inveniet Tecum, Charitate refertas.
Doctrina Eximius Doctos, Pietate pioſque
Tu bene deſcribis, deſcribere neſcit at alter.
Doctorum es Natus, *Domino Spirante Renatus*;
De bene quæſitis gaudeto Tertius Hæres;
Nomen præſagit, nec non Anagrammata, vates.

Cottonus Maderus.

Anagr. { *Unctas demortuos.* / *Senatus Doctorum.* }

Unctas demort'os, *decoratur Laude* Senatus
Doctorum, *Merita, ſit præſens præterita ætas,*
Huic exempla patent, & poſtera Progenitores
Non ignorabit, patriiſque ſuperbiet Actis;
More, Fide, cultu, quoque patriſſare ſtudebit;
Gratum opus eſt Domino, Patriæ nec inutile noſtræ;
Orbi fructificat. Fer Fertilitatis Honorem,
Scribendo Vitas alienas, propria ſcripta eſt.

Celeberrimi

COTTONI MATHERI,

Celebratio;

Qui Heroum Vitas, in ſui-ipſius & illorum Memoriam ſempiternam, revocavit.

Quod Patrios Manes revocaſti a Sedibus altis,
Sylveſtres Muſæ grates, Mathere, *rependunt.*
Hæc nova Progenies, veterum ſub Imagine, cælo
Arte Tua Terram viſitans, aemiſſa, ſalutat.
Grata Deo Pietas; Grates perſolvimus omnes:
Semper Honos, Nomenque Tuum, Mathere, *manebunt.*

Is the Bleſs'd *MATHER Necromancer* turn'd,
To raiſe his Countries Father's Aſhes Urn'd?
Eliſha's Duſt, Life to the Dead imparts;
This Prophet, by his more *Familiar Arts,*
Unſeals our *Hero*'s Tombs, and gives them Air;
They Riſe, they Walk, they Talk, Look wond'rous Fair;
Each of them in an Orb of *Light* doth ſhine,
In Liveries of *Glory* moſt Divine.
When ancient Names I in thy Pages met,
Like Gems on *Aaron*'s coſtly Breaſt-plate ſet;
Methinks Heaven's open, while Great *Saints* deſcend,
To wreathe the Brows, by which their *Acts* were penn'd.

B. Thompſon.

To

To the Reverend

Mr. COTTON MATHER,

ON HIS

Hiſtory of New-England.

IN this Hard Age, when Men ſuch Slackneſs ſhow,
To pay *Loves* Debts, and what to *Truth* we owe,
You to ſtep forth, and ſuch Example ſhew,
In paying what's to God and Country due,
Deſerves *our* Thanks: *Mine* I do freely give:
'Tis fit that with the *Raiſed Ones* you Live.
Great your Attempt. No doubt ſome Sacred Spy,
That Leiger in your Sacred Cell did ly,
Nurs'd your firſt Thoughts, with gentle Beams of Light,
And taught your Hand Things paſt to bring to ſight:
Thus led by ſecret ſweeteſt Influence,
You make Returns to God's good Providence:
Recording how that mighty Hand was nigh,
To Trace out Paths not known to mortal Eye,
To thoſe brave Men, that to this Land came o'er,
And plac'd them ſafe on the *Atlantick Shore:*
And how the ſame Hand did them after ſave,
And ſay, *Return*, oft on the Brink o'th' Grave;
And gave them room to ſpread, and bleſs'd their Root,
Whence, hung with Fruit, now many Branches ſhoot.
Such were theſe *Heroes*, and their *Labours* ſuch,
In their Juſt Praiſe, Sir, who can ſay too much?
Let the Remoteſt parts of Earth behold,
New-England's Crowns excelling *Spaniſh Gold.*
Here be Rare Leſſons ſet for us to Read,
That Off-ſprings are of ſuch a Goodly Breed.
The *Dead Ones* here, ſo much *Alive* are made,
We think them ſpeaking from Bleſs'd *Eden*'s Shade;
Hark! How they check the Madneſs of this Age,
The Growth of Pride, fierce Luſt, and worldly Rage.
They tell, we ſhall to *Clam-banks* come again,
If Heaven ſtill doth Scourge us all in vain.
But, Sir, upon your Merits heap'd will be,
The *Bleſſings* of all thoſe that here ſhall ſee
Vertue Embalm'd; *This Hand* ſeems to put on
The *Lawrel* on your Brow, ſo juſtly won.

Timothy Woodbridge, Miniſter of *Hartford.*

Ad

Ad Politum Literaturæ, atque Sacrarum Literaturum Antiſtitem,

Angliæque Americanæ Antiquarium Callentiſſimum,

Reverendum Dominum,

D. *COTTONUM MATHERUM*,

Apud Boſtonenſes V. D. M.

Epigramma.

Cottonus Matherus.

Anagr.

Tu tantum Cohors es.

Epigramma.

Ipſe, vales Tantum, Tu, *mi memorande MATHERE,*
Fortis pro Chriſto Miles, es *ipſe* cohors.

A Pindaric.

Art thou *Heavens Trumpet* ? ſure by the *Archangel* blown;
Tombs Crack, Dead Start, Saints Riſe, are ſeen and known,
And *Shine* in Conſtellation;
From ancient Flames here's a New *Phœnix* flown,
To ſhew the World, when Chriſt Returns, he'll not Return alone.

J. Danforth, V. D. M. *Dorceſtr.*

To the Learned and Reverend

Mr. *COTTON MATHER*,

On his Excellent *Magnalia.*

S I R,

MY Muſe will now by Chymiſtry draw forth
The Spirit of your Names Immortal worth.

Cottonius Matherus.

Anagr.

Tuos Tecum ornaſti.

While thus the Dead in thy rare Pages Riſe,
Thine, with thy ſelf, thou doſt Immortalize.
To view the Odds, thy Learned *Lives* invite,
'Twixt *Eleutherian* and *Edomite.*
But all ſucceding Ages ſhall deſpair,
A Fitting Monument for *thee* to Rear.
Thy own Rich Pen (Peace, ſilly *Momus*, Peace!)
Hath given them a Laſting *Writ of Eaſe.*

Grindal Rawſon, Paſtor of *Mendon.*

In

In Jeſu Chriſti

MAGNALIA AMERICANA,

Digeſta in Septem Libros,

Per Magnum, Doctiſſimumque Virum,

D. Cottonum Matherum,

J. Chriſti Servum, Eccleſiæque Americano Boſtonienſis Miniſtrum Pium & Diſertiſſimum.

SUnt *Miracla Dei*, ſunt & *Magnalia Chriſti*,
Qua patet *Orbis*. Erant ultra *Garamantas*, & *Indos*
Maxuma, quæ paucis licuit cognoſcere. Sed, quæ
Cernis in *America*, procul unus-quiſque videbit.
Vivis, ubi ſertur nullum vixiſſe. Videſque
Mille homines, res multas, Incunabula mira.
Strabo ſile, qui *Magna* refers. *Veſputius* autem
Primis ſcire *Novum* potuit conatibus *Orbem*.
Et dum *Magna* docet te *Grotius*, Unde repletos
Ecce per *Americam*, volucreſque, homineſque, Deoſque.
Deumque libet, tibi ſcire licet *Nova* viſcera rerum.
Nullus erat, niſi brutus homo: Sine lege, Deoque.
Numa dat Antiquis, *Solon*que & Jura *Lycurgus*.
Hic nihil, & nullæ (modo ſic ſibi vivere) Leges.
Jam decreta vide, & Regum diplomata, curque,
Ne ſibi vivat homo, noſtrorum vivere Regi eſt.
Dic tot habendo Deos, legiſque videndo peritos,
Centenoſque viros, celebres virtute, Statumque
Quem *Novus Orbis* habet; *Quantum mutatus ab illo es!*
Res bona. Nec ſat erit, & Rege & Lege beatum,
Poſſe vehi ſuper Aſtra. *Deum* tibi noſcere, fas eſt.
Nil Lex, nil *Solon*, nil & ſine *Numine Numa*.
Sit *Deus*, ignotoſque *Deos* fuge. Multa Poetæ
De *Jove* finxerunt, *Neptuno* & *Marte*, Diiſque
Innumerabilibus. *Magni*que *Manitto* pependit
Non converſa Deo Gens *Americana*, *Manitto*,
Quem velut *Artificem* colit, & ceu *Numen* adorat.
E tenebris Lux eſt. In abyſſo cernere Cœlum eſt,
*Ignotum*que *Deum*, notum INDIS, *Biblia Sancta*
Indica, *Templa*, *Preces*, *Pſalmos*, multoſque *Miniſtros*.
Ut *Chriſtum* diſcant, *Indorum* Idiomate *Numen*
Utitur, & ſeſe patefecit ubique locorum.
Plura canam. Veterem *Schola* ſit diſperſa per *Orbem*,
Et tot *Athenæis* ſcatet *Anglus*, *Belga*, *Polonus*,
Germanus, *Galluſ*que. Sat eſt *Academia noſtra*.
Extra *Orbem Novus Orbis* habet, quod habetur in *Orbe*.

Dat

Dat *Cantabrigiæ Domus Harvardina* Cathedram
Cuilibet, & cur non daret *Indis*, Proſelytiſque?
Trans Mare non opus eſt ad *Pallada* currere. *Pallas*
Hic habitat, confertque *Gradus*; modo *Pallada* diſcas,
Deſiſtaſque gradum. Quantum *Sapientia* confert!
Forte novas, pluresque artes *Novus Orbis* haberet.
Quotquot in *America* licet *Admiranda* ſuperſint,
Singula non narro. Nec opus tibi ſingula narrem.
Multa fidem ſuperant, multorum Exempla docebunt,
Plura quot *Orbis* habet *Novus Admiranda*, quot artes,
Et quot in *America* degunt ubicunque *Coloni*.
Deque *Veneficiis* quid erit tibi noſcere? Luſus
Sperne Diabolicos. Sunt hic *Magnalia Chriſti*.
Ne timeas Umbram. Corpus ſine corpore ſpectrum eſt.
Pax rara in terris. Ætas quaſi ferrea. *Bellum*
Sceptra gerens, gladioſque ferox ubicunque Noverca eſt.
Deſtruit omnia, deſtruit oppida, deſtruit artes.
Mars nulli cedit. Nihil exitialius armis.
Teſtis adeſt. *Europa* docet lacrymabile *Bellum*,
Hiſpani, *Belgæ*, *Germani*, & quotquot in *Orbe*
Sunt Veteri, Rigidiſq; plagis vexantur & armis.
Quas *Sectas* vetus *Orbis* habet, quæ dogmata Carnis?
Primum *Roma* locum tenet, *Enthuſiaſta* ſecundum,
Arminius tandem, *Menno* & *Spinoſa* ſequuntur.
Quiſque incredibiles poterit dignoſcere *Sectas*?
Non tot cernuntur fidei diſcrimina, nec tot
Hæreticos *novus Orbis* habet, quod & Enthea res eſt.
Tu dilecte *Deo*, cujus *Boſtonia* gaudet
Noſtra Miniſterio, ſeu cui tot ſcribere Libros,
Non opus, aut labor eſt, & qui *Magnalia Chriſti Americana* reſers, ſcriptura plurima. Nonne
Dignus es, agnoſcare inter *Magnalia Chriſti*?
Vive *Liber*, totique *Orbi Miracula* monſtres,
Quæ ſunt extra *Orbem*. *Cottone*, in ſæcula vive;
Et dum Mundus erit, vivat tua Fama per *Orbem*.

Dabam, Neo-Eboraci Americana, 16 Oct. 1697.

Henricus Selijns,

Eccleſiæ Neo-Eboracenſis Miniſter Belgicus.

A

A General
INTRODUCTION.

Ἐρῶ δὲ τοῦτο, τῆς τῶν ἐντευξαμένων ὠφελείας ἕνεκα.

Dicam hoc propter utilitatem eorum qui Lecturi ſunt hoc opus. Theodorit.

§ 1. I WRITE the *Wonders* of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, flying from the Depravations of *Europe*, to the *American Strand*: And, aſſiſted by the Holy Author of that *Religion*, I do, with all Conſcience of *Truth*, required therein by Him, who is the *Truth* it ſelf, Report the *Wonderful Diſplays* of His Infinite Power, Wiſdom, Goodneſs, and Faithfulneſs, wherewith His Divine Providence hath *Irradiated* an *Indian Wilderneſs*.

I Relate the *Conſiderable Matters*, that produced and attended the Firſt Settlement of COLONIES, which have been Renowned for the Degree of REFORMATION, Profeſſed and Attained by *Evangelical Churches*, erected in thoſe *Ends of the Earth*: And a *Field* being thus prepared, I proceed unto a Relation of the *Conſiderable Matters* which have been acted thereupon.

I firſt introduce the *Actors*, that have, in a more exemplary manner ſerved thoſe *Colonies*; and give *Remarkable Occurrences*, in the exemplary LIVES of many *Magiſtrates*, and of more *Miniſters*, who ſo *Lived*, as to leave unto Poſterity, *Examples* worthy of *Everlaſting Remembrance*.

I add hereunto, the *Notables* of the only *Proteſtant Univerſity*, that ever *ſhone* in that Hemiſphere of the *New World*; with particular Inſtances of *Criolians*, in our *Biography*, provoking the *whole World*, with vertuous Objects of Emulation.

I introduce then, the *Actions* of a more Eminent Importance, that have ſignalized thoſe *Colonies*; Whether the *Eſtabliſhments*, directed by their *Synods*; with a Rich Variety of *Synodical* and *Eccleſiaſtical* Determinations; or, the *Diſturbances*, with which they have been from all ſorts of *Temptations* and *Enemies* Tempeſtuated; and the *Methods* by which they have ſtill weathered out each *Horrible Tempeſt*.

And into the midſt of theſe *Actions*, I interpoſe an entire *Book*, wherein there is, with all poſſible Veracity, a *Collection* made, of *Memorable Occurrences*, and amazing *Judgments* and *Mercies*, befalling many *particular Perſons* among the People of *New-England*.

Let my Readers expect all that I have promiſed them, in this *Bill of Fair*; and it may be they will find themſelves entertained with yet many other Paſſages, above and beyond their Expectation, deſerving likewiſe a room in *Hiſtory*: In all which, there will be nothing, but the *Author's* too mean way of preparing ſo great Entertainments, to Reproach the Invitation.

§. 2. The Reader will doubtleſs deſire to know, what it was that

——— tot Volvere caſus
Inſignes Pietate Viros, tot adire Labores,
Impulerit.

And our *Hiſtory* ſhall, on many fit Occaſions which will be therein offered, endeavour, with all *Hiſtorical* Fidelity and Simplicity, and with as little Offence as may be, to ſatisfie him. The Sum of the Matter is, That from the very Beginning of the REFORMATION in the *Engliſh Nation*, there hath always been a Generation of *Godly Men*, deſirous to purſue the *Reformation of Religion, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches*; and anſwering the Character of *Good Men*, given by *Joſephus*, in his Paraphraſe on the words of *Samuel* to *Saul*, μηδὲν ἄλλο πραχθήσεσθαι καλῶς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν νομίζοντες ἢ ὅ, τι ἂν ποιήσωσι τοῦ Θεοῦ κεκελευκότος. *They think they do nothing Right in the Service of God, but what they do according to the Command of God.* And there hath been another Generation of Men, who have ſtill employed the *Power* which they have generally ſtill had in their Hands, not only to ſtop the Progreſs of the Deſired *Reformation*, but alſo, with Innumerable Vexations, to Perſecute thoſe that moſt Heartily wiſhed well unto it. There were many of the *Reformers*, who joyned with the Reverend JOHN FOX, in the *Complaints* which he then entred in his *Martyrology*, about the *Baits of Popery* yet left in the Church; and in his *Wiſhes*, *God take them away, or eaſe us from them, for God knows, they be the Cauſe of much Blindneſs and Strife amongſt Men!* They Zealouſly decreed

C the

the *Policy* of complying always with the *Ignorance* and *Vanity* of the *People*; and cried out earneſtly for *Purer Adminiſtrations* in the Houſe of God, and more *Conformity* to the *Law of Chriſt*, and *Primitive Chriſtianity*: While others would not hear of going any further than the *Firſt Eſſay of Reformation*. 'Tis very certain, that the *Firſt Reformers* never intended, that what *They* did, ſhould be the *Abſolute Boundary of Reformation*, ſo that it ſhould be a Sin to proceed any further; as, by their own going beyond *Wickliff*, and *Changing* and *Growing* in their own *Models* alſo, and the Confeſſions of *Cranmer*, with the *Scripta Anglicana* of *Bucer*, and a thouſand other things, was abundantly demonſtrated. But after a Fruitleſs Expectation, wherein the trueſt Friends of the *Reformation* long waited, for to have that which *Heylin* himſelf owns to have been the Deſign of the *Firſt Reformers*, followed as it ſhould have been, a Party very unjuſtly arrogating to themſelves, the Venerable Name of, *The Church of* England, by Numberleſs Oppreſſions, grievouſly *Smote thoſe their Fellow-Servants*. Then 'twas that, as our Great OWEN hath expreſſed it, *Multitudes of Pious, Peaceable Proteſtants, were driven, by their Severities, to leave their Native Country, and ſeek a Refuge for their Lives and Liberties, with Freedom, for the Worſhip of God, in a Wilderneſs, in the Ends of the Earth.*

§. 3. It is the Hiſtory of theſe PROTESTANTS, that is here attempted: PROTESTANTS that highly honoured and affected *The Church of* ENGLAND, and humbly Petition to be a *Part* of it: But by the Miſtake of a few powerful *Brethren*, driven to ſeek a place for the Exerciſe of the *Proteſtant Religion*, according to the Light of their Conſciences, in the Deſarts of *America*. And in this Attempt I have propoſed, not only to preſerve and ſecure the Intereſt of *Religion*, in the Churches of that little Country *NEW-ENGLAND*, ſo far as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt may pleaſe to Bleſs it for that End, but alſo to offer unto the Churches of the *Reformation*, abroad in the World, ſome ſmall *Memorials*, that may be ſerviceable unto the Deſigns of *Reformation*, whereto, I believe, they are quickly to be awakened. I am far from any ſuch Boaſt, concerning theſe Churches, *That they have Need of Nothing*, I wiſh their *Works* were more *perfect before God*. Indeed, that which *Auſtin* called *The Perfection of Chriſtians*, is like to be, until the Term for the *Antichriſtian Apoſtaſie* be expired, *The Perfection of Churches* too; *Ut Agnoſcant ſe nunquam eſſe perfectas*. Nevertheleſs, I perſwade my ſelf, that *ſo far as they have attained*, they have given *Great Examples* of the *Methods* and *Meaſures*, wherein an *Evangelical Reformation* is to be proſecuted, and of the *Qualifications* requiſite in the Inſtruments that are to proſecute it, and of the *Difficulties* which may be moſt likely to obſtruct it, and the moſt likely *Directions* and *Remedies* for thoſe Obſtructions. It may be, 'tis not poſſible for me to do a greater Service unto the Churches on the *Beſt Iſland* of the Univerſe, than to give a diſtinct Relation of thoſe *Great Examples* which have been occurring among Churches of *Exiles*, that were driven out of that *Iſland*, into an horrible *Wilderneſs*, meerly for their being Well-willers unto the *Reformation*. When that Bleſſed Martyr *Conſtantine* was carried, with other Martyrs, in a *Dung-Cart*, unto the place of Execution, he pleaſantly ſaid, *Well, yet we are a precious Odour to God in Chriſt*. Tho' the *Reformed Churches* in the *American Regions*, have, by very Injurious Repreſentations of their Brethren (all which they deſire to Forget and Forgive!) been many times thrown into a *Dung-Cart*; yet, as they have been a *precious Odour to God in Chriſt*, ſo, I hope, they will be a *precious Odour* unto *His People*; and not only *Precious*, but *Uſeful* alſo, when the *Hiſtory* of them ſhall come to be conſidered. A *Reformation of the Church* is coming on, and I cannot but thereupon ſay, with the dying *Cyrus* to his Children in *Xenophon*, Ἐκ τῶν προγεγεννημένων μανθάνετε, αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη διδασκαλία. *Learn from the things that have been done already, for this is the beſt way of Learning.* The Reader hath here an Account of *The Things that have been done already. Bernard* upon that Clauſe in the *Canticles*, [*O thou faireſt among Women*] has this ingenious Gloſs, ***Pulchram**, non omnimode quidem, ſed pulchram inter mulieres eam docet, videlicet cum Diſtinctione, quatenus ex hoc amplius reprimatur, & ſciat quid deſit ſibi.* Thus I do not ſay, That the Churches of *New-England* are the moſt *Regular* that can be; yet I do ſay, and am ſure, That they are very like unto thoſe that were in the *Firſt Ages* of Chriſtianity. And if I aſſert, That in the *Reformation* of the Church, the State of it in thoſe *Firſt Ages*, is to be not a little conſidered, the Great *Peter Ramus*, among others, has emboldened me. For when the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the *Mæcenas* of that Great Man, was offended at him, for turning *Proteſtant*, he replied, ***Inter Opes illas, quibus me ditaſti, has etiam in æternum recordabor, quod Beneficio, Poeſſiacæ Reſponſionis tuæ didici, de Quindecim a Chriſto ſæculis, primum vere eſſe aureum, Reliqua, quo longius abſcederent eſſe nequiora, atque deteriora: Tum igitur cum fieret optio, Aureum ſæculum delegi.*** In ſhort, The *Firſt Age* was the *Golden Age*: To return unto *That*, will make a Man a *Proteſtant*, and I may add, a *Puritan*. 'Tis poſſible, That our Lord Jeſus Chriſt carried ſome Thouſands of *Reformers* into the Retirements of an *American Deſart*, on purpoſe, that, with an opportunity granted unto many of his Faithful Servants, to enjoy the precious *Liberty* of their *Miniſtry*, tho' in the midſt of many *Temptations* all their days, He might there, *To* them firſt, and then *By* them, give a *Specimen* of many Good Things, which He would have His Churches elſewhere aſpire and ariſe unto: And *This* being done, He knows not whether there be not *All done*, that *New-England* was planted for; and whether the Plantation may not, ſoon after this, *Come to Nothing*.

Upon

Upon that Expreſſion in the Sacred Scripture, *Caſt the unprofitable Servant into Outer Darkneſs*, it hath been imagined by ſome, That the *Regiones Exteræ* of *America*, are the *Tenebræ Exteriores*, which the *Unprofitable* are there condemned unto. No doubt, the Authors of thoſe Eccleſiaſtical Impoſitions and Severities, which drove the Engliſh Chriſtians into the *Dark Regions* of *America*, eſteemed thoſe *Chriſtians* to be a very *unprofitable* ſort of Creatures. But behold, ye *European* Churches, There are *Golden Candleſticks* [more than *twice Seven times Seven!*] in the midſt of this *Outer Darkneſs*; Unto the *upright* Children of *Abraham*, here hath ariſen *Light in Darkneſs*. And let us humbly ſpeak it, it ſhall be *Profitable* for you to conſider the *Light*, which from the midſt of this *Outer Darkneſs*, is now to be Darted over unto the other ſide of the *Atlantick Ocean*. But we muſt therewithal ask your Prayers, that theſe *Golden Candleſticks* may not *quickly* be *Removed out of their place!*

§. 4. But whether *New England* may *Live* any where elſe or no, it muſt *Live* in our *Hiſtory!*

HISTORY, in general, hath had ſo many and mighty Commendations from the Pens of thoſe Numberleſs Authors, who, from *Herodotus* to *Howel*, have been the profeſſed Writers of it, that a tenth part of them Tranſcribed, would be a Furniture for a *Polyanthea in Folio*. We, that have neither liberty, nor occaſion, to quote thoſe Commendations of *Hiſtory*, will content our ſelves with the Opinion of one who was not much of a *profeſs'd Hiſtorian*, expreſſed in that paſſage, whereto all Mankind ſubſcribe, *Hiſtoria eſt Teſtis temporum, Nuntia vetuſtatis, Lux veritatis, vita memoriæ, magiſtra vitæ.* But of all *Hiſtory* it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Palm* is to be given unto *Church Hiſtory*; wherein the *Dignity*, the *Suavity*, and the *Utility* of the *Subject* is tranſcendent. I obſerve, that for the Deſcription of the *whole World* in the Book of *Geneſis*, that *Firſt-born of all Hiſtorians*, the great *Moſes*, implies but *one* or *two* Chapters, whereas he implies, it may be *ſeven times* as many Chapters, in deſcribing that one little *Pavilion, The Tabernacle*. And when I am thinking, what may be the Reaſon of this *Difference*, methinks it intimates unto us, That the *Church* wherein the Service of God is performed, is much more Precious than the *World*, which was indeed created for the Sake and Uſe of the *Church*. 'Tis very certain, that the greateſt Entertainments muſt needs occur in the Hiſtory of the *People*, whom the *Son* of God hath *Redeemed* and *Purified* unto himſelf, as a *Peculiar People*, and whom the *Spirit* of God, by *Supernatural Operations* upon their Minds, does cauſe to live like *Strangers* in *this World*, conforming themſelves unto the *Truths* and *Rules* of his Holy Word, in Expectation of a *Kingdom*, whereto they ſhall be in another and a better *World* advanced. Such a *People* our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath procured and preſerved in all Ages *viſible*; and the Diſpenſations of his *wonderous Providence* towards this People (for, *O Lord, thou do'ſt lift them up, and caſt them down!*) their Calamities, their Deliverances, the Diſpoſitions which they have ſtill diſcovered, and the conſiderable *Perſons* and *Actions* found among them, cannot but afford Matters of *Admiration* and *Admonition*, above what any other Story can pretend unto: 'Tis nothing but *Atheiſm* in the Hearts of Men, that can perſwade them otherwiſe. Let any Perſon of good Senſe peruſe the Hiſtory of *Herodotus*, which, like a River taking Riſe, where the *Sacred Records* of the *Old Teſtament* leave off, runs along ſmoothly and ſweetly, with Relations that ſometimes perhaps want an *Apology*, down until the *Grecians* drive the *Perſians* before them. Let him then peruſe *Thucydides*, who from *Acting* betook himſelf to *Writing*, and carries the ancient State of the *Grecians*, down to the twenty firſt Year of the *Peloponneſian Wars* in a manner, which *Caſaubon* judges to be *Mirandum potius quam imitandum*. Let him next Revolve *Xenophon*, that *Bee* of *Athens*, who continues a Narrative of the *Greek Affairs*, from the *Peloponneſian Wars*, to the Battle of *Mantinea*, and gives us a *Cyrus* into the bargain, at ſuch a rate, that *Lipſius* reckons the Character of a *Suavi, Fidus & Circumſpectus Scriptor*, to belong unto him. Let him from hence proceed unto *Diodorus Siculus*, who, beſides a rich Treaſure of *Egyptian, Aſſyrian, Lybian* and *Grecian*, and other *Antiquities*, in a Phraſe, which according to *Photius*'s Judgment, is ἱστορία μάλιστα πρεπούση, *of all moſt becoming an Hiſtorian*, carries on the Thread begun by his Predeceſſors, until the End of the Hundred and nineteenth *Olympiad*; and where he is defective, let it be ſupplied from *Arianus*, from *Juſtin*, and from *Curtius*, who in the reliſh of *Colerus* is, *Quovis melle dulcior*. Let him hereupon conſult *Polybius*, and acquaint himſelf with the Birth and Growth of the *Roman Empire*, as far as 'tis deſcribed, in *Five* of the *Forty* Books compoſed by an Author, who with a Learned *Profeſſor of Hiſtory* is, *Prudens Scriptor, ſi quis alius*. Let him now run over the Table of the *Roman* Affairs, compendiouſly given by *Lucius Florus*, and then let him conſider the Tranſactions of above three hundred Years reported by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus*, who, if the Cenſure of *Bodin* may be taken, *Græcos omnes & Latinos ſuperaſſe videatur*. Let him from hence paſs to *Livy*, of whom the famous Critick ſays, *Hoc ſolum ingenium (de Hiſtoricis Loquor) populus Romanus par Imperio ſuo habuit*, and ſupply thoſe of his *Decads* that are loſt, from the beſt Fragments of Antiquity, in others (and eſpecially *Dion* and *Saluſt*) that lead us on ſtill further in our way. Let him then proceed unto the Writers of the *Ceſarean* times, and firſt revolve *Suetonius*, then *Tacitus*, then *Herodian*, then a whole Army more of *Hiſtorians*, which now crowd into our *Library*; and unto all the reſt, let him not fail of adding the Incomparable *Plutarch*, whoſe Books they ſay, *Theodore Gaza* preferred above any in the World, next unto the Inſpired Oracles of the *Bible*: But if the Number be ſtill too little to ſatisfie an *Hiſtorical Appetite*, let him add

Polyhiſtor unto the number, and all the *Chronicles* of the following Ages. After all, he muſt ſenſibly acknowledge, that the two ſhort Books of *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, written by the Evangeliſt *Luke*, hath given us more *glorious Entertainments*, than all theſe voluminous Hiſtorians if they were put all together. The *Atchievements* of one *Paul* particularly, which that Evangeliſt hath *Emblazon'd*, have more *True Glory* in them, than all the Acts of thoſe Execrable *Plunderers* and *Murderers*, and irreſiſtible *Banditti* of the World, which have been dignified with the Name of *Conquerors*. *Tacitus* counted *Ingentia bella, Expugnationes urbium, fuſos captoſque Reges*, the Ravages of *War*, and the glorious *Violences*, whereof great Warriors make a wretched Oſtentation, to be the *Nobleſt Matter* for an *Hiſtorian*. But there is a *Nobler*, I humbly conceive, in the planting and forming of *Evangelical Churches*, and the *Temptations*, the *Corruptions*, the *Afflictions*, which aſſault them, and their *Salvations* from thoſe Aſſaults, and the Exemplary *Lives* of thoſe that Heaven employs to be Patterns of *Holineſs* and *Uſefulneſs* upon Earth: And unto ſuch it is, that I now invite my Readers; Things, in compariſon whereof, the Subjects of many other Hiſtories, are of as little weight, as the Queſtions about Z, the laſt Letter of our Alphabet, and whether H is to be pronounced with an Aſpiration, where about whole Volumes have been written, and of no more Account, than the Compoſure of *Didymus*. But for the *manner* of my treating this *Matter*, I muſt now give ſome account unto him.

§. 5. *Reader!* I have done the part of an *Impartial Hiſtorian*, albeit not without all occaſion perhaps, for the Rule which a worthy Writer, in his *Hiſtorica*, gives to every Reader, *Hiſtorici Legantur cum Moderatione & venia, & cogitetur fieri non poſſe ut in omnibus circumſtantiis ſint Lyncei*. *Polybius* complains of thoſe *Hiſtorians*, who always made either the *Carthagenians* brave, and the *Romans* baſe, or è *contra*, in all their Actions, as their Affection for their own *Party* led them. I have endeavoured, with all *good Conſcience*, to decline this writing meerly for a *Party*, or doing like the Dealer in Hiſtory, whom *Lucian* derides, for always calling the Captain of his own Party an *Achilles*, but of the adverſe Party a *Therſites*: Nor have I added unto the juſt Provocations for the Complaint made by the Baron *Maurier*, That the *greateſt part of Hiſtories* are but ſo many *Panegyricks* compoſed by *Intereſted Hands*, which *elevate Iniquity to the Heavens*, like *Paterculus*, and like *Machiavel*, who propoſe *Tiberius Ceſar*, and *Ceſar Borgia*, as Examples fit for *Imitation*, whereas *True Hiſtory* would have Exhibited them as Horrid *Monſters*, as very *Devils*. 'Tis true, I am not of the Opinion, that one cannot merit the Name of an *Impartial Hiſtorian*, except he write bare *Matters of Fact*, without all *Reflection*; for I can tell where to find this given as the Definition of *Hiſtory*, *Hiſtoria eſt rerum geſtarum, cum laude aut vituperatione, Narratio*: And if I am not altogether a *Tacitus*, when *Vertues* or *Vices* occur to be Matters of *Reflection*, as well as of *Relation*, I will, for my Vindication, appeal to *Tacitus* himſelf, whom *Lipſius* calls one of the *Prudenteſt* (tho' *Tertullian*, long before, counts him the *Lyingeſt*) of them who have Inriched the World with *Hiſtory*: He ſays, *Præcipuum munus Annalium reor, ne virtutes ſileantur, utque pravis Dictis, Factiſque ex poſteritate & Infamia metus ſit*. I have not *Commended* any Perſon, but when I have really judg'd, not only *That* he *Deſerved* it, but alſo that it would be a Benefit unto Poſterity to know, Wherein he deſerved it: And my Judgment of *Deſert*, hath not been *Biaſſed*, by Perſons being of my own particular Judgment in matters of *Diſputation*, among the Churches of God. I have been as willing to wear the Name of *Simplicius Verinus*, throughout my whole undertaking, as he that, before me, hath aſſumed it: Nor am I like Pope *Zachary*, impatient ſo much as to hear of any *Antipodes*. The Spirit of a *Schluſſelbergius*, who falls foul with Fury and Reproach on all who differ from him; The Spirit of an *Heylin*, who ſeems to count no Obloquy too hard for a *Reformer*; and the Spirit of thoſe (*Folio-writers* there are, ſome of them, in the Engliſh Nation!) whom a Noble Hiſtorian Stigmatizes, as, *Thoſe Hot-headed, Paſſionate Bigots, from whom, 'tis enough, if you be of a* Religion *contrary unto theirs, to be defamed, condemned and purſued with a thouſand Calumnies*. I thank Heaven I Hate it with all my Heart. But how can the *Lives* of the *Commendable* be written without *Commending* them? Or, is that Law of *Hiſtory* given in one of the eminenteſt pieces of *Antiquity* we now have in our hands, wholly antiquated, *Maxime proprium eſt Hiſtoriæ, Laudem rerum egregie geſtarum perſequi?* Nor have I, on the other ſide, forbore to mention many *Cenſurable* things, even in the Beſt of my Friends, when the things, in my opinion, were *not Good*; or ſo bore away for *Placentia*, in the courſe of our Story, as to paſs by *Verona*; but been mindful of the Direction which *Polybius* gives to the Hiſtorian, *It becomes him that writes an Hiſtory, ſometimes to extol Enemies in his Praiſes, when their praiſe-worthy Actions beſpeak it, and at the ſame time to reprove the beſt Friends, when their Deeds appear worthy of a reproof; in-as much as Hiſtory is good for nothing, if Truth (which is the very Eye of the Animal) be not in it*. Indeed I have thought it my duty upon all accounts, (and if it have proceeded unto the degree of a *Fault*, there is, it may be, ſomething in my *Temper* and *Nature*, that has betray'd me therein) to be more ſparing and eaſie, in thus mentioning of *Cenſurable* things, than in my *other Liberty*: A writer of *Church-Hiſtory*, ſhould, I know, be like the *builder of the Temple*, one of the *Tribe* of *Naphthali*; and for this I will alſo plead my *Polybius* in my Excuſe; *It is not the Work of an Hiſtorian, to commemorate the Vices and Villanies of Men, ſo much as their juſt, their fair, their honeſt Actions: And the Readers of Hiſtory get more good by the Objects of their*

Emulation,

Emulation, than of their Indignation. Nor do I deny, that tho' I cannot approve the Conduct of *Joſephus*, (whom *Jerom* not unjuſtly nor ineptly calls, *The Greek Livy*) when he left out of his *Antiquities*, the Story of the *Golden Calf*, and I don't wonder to find *Chamier*, and *Rivet*, and others, taxing him for his *Partiality* towards his Country-men; yet I have left unmentioned ſome *Cenſurable Occurrences* in the *Story* of our *Colonies*, as things no leſs *Unuſeful* than *Improper* to be raiſed out of the Grave, wherein *Oblivion* hath now buried them; leſt I ſhould have incurred the *Paſquil* beſtowed upon Pope *Urban*, who employing a *Committee* to Rip up the *Old Errors* of his Predeceſſors, one clap'd a pair of Spurs upon the heels of the Statue of St. *Peter*; and a Label from the Statue of St. *Paul* oppoſite thereunto, upon the Bridge, ask'd him, *Whither he was bound?* St. *Peter* anſwered, *I apprehend ſome Danger in ſtaying here; I fear they'll call me in Queſtion for denying my Maſter.* And St. *Paul* replied, *Nay, then I had beſt be gone too, for they'll queſtion me alſo, for Perſecuting the Chriſtians before my Converſion.* Briefly, My Pen ſhall Reproach none, that can give a Good Word unto any Good Man that is not of their *own Faction*, and ſhall *Fall out* with none, but thoſe that can *Agree* with no body elſe, except thoſe of their own *Schiſm*. If I draw any ſort of Men with *Charcoal*, it ſhall be, becauſe I remember a notable paſſage of the *Beſt Queen* that ever was in the World, our late Queen *Mary*. Monſieur *Juvien*, that he might Juſtifie the Reformation in *Scotland*, made a very black Repreſentation of their old Queen *Mary*; for which, a certain *Sycophant* would have incenſed our Queen *Mary* againſt that Reverend Perſon, ſaying, *Is it not a Shame that this Man, without any Conſideration for your* Royal *Perſon, ſhould dare to throw ſuch Infamous Calumnies upon a Queen, from whom your* Royal *Highneſs is deſcended?* But that Excellent Princeſs replied, *No, not at all; Is it not enough that by fulſome Praiſes great Perſons be lull'd aſleep all their Lives; But muſt Flattery accompany them to their very Graves? How ſhould they fear the Judgment of Poſterity, if Hiſtorians be not allowed to ſpeak the Truth after their Death?* But whether I do my ſelf *Commend*, or whether I give my Reader an opportunity to *Cenſure*, I am careful above all things to do it with *Truth*; and as I have conſidered the words of *Plato*, *Deum indigne & graviter ferre, cum quis ei ſimilem hoc eſt, virtute præſtantem, vituperet, aut laudet contrarium:* So I have had the *Ninth Commandment* of a greater *Law-giver* than *Plato*, to preſerve my care of *Truth* from firſt to laſt. If any Miſtake have been any where committed, it will be found meerly *Circumſtantial*, and wholly *Involuntary*; and let it be remembred, that tho' no *Hiſtorian* ever merited better than the Incomparable *Thuanus*, yet learned Men have ſaid of *his* Work, what they never ſhall truly ſay of *ours*, that it contains *multa falſiſſima & indigna.* I find *Eraſmus* himſelf miſtaking *One* Man for *Two*, when writing of the Ancients. And even our own Engliſh Writers too are often miſtaken, and in Matters of a very late Importance, as *Baker*, and *Heylin*, and *Fuller*, (profeſſed Hiſtorians) tell us, that *Richard Sutton*, a ſingle Man, founded the *Charter-Houſe*; whereas his Name was *Thomas*, and he was a married Man. I think I can Recite ſuch Miſtakes, it may be *Sans* Number occurring in the moſt credible Writers; yet I hope I ſhall *commit* none ſuch. But altho' I thus challenge, as my due, the Character of an *Impartial*, I doubt I may not challenge *That* of an *Elegant Hiſtorian.* I cannot ſay, whether the *Style*, wherein this *Church-Hiſtory* is written, will pleaſe the Modern *Criticks:* But if I ſeem to have uſed ἀπλουστάτῃ συντάξει γραφῆς, a Simple, Submiſs, Humble *Style*, 'tis the ſame that *Euſebius* affirms to have been uſed by *Hegeſippus*, who, as far as we underſtand, was the firſt Author (after *Luke*) that ever compoſed an entire Body of *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which he divided into *Five Books*, and Entitled, ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων. Whereas *others*, it may be, will reckon the *Style* Embelliſhed with too much of *Ornament*, by the multiplied References to other and former Concerns, cloſely couch'd, for the Obſervation of the *Attentive*, in almoſt every Paragraph; but I muſt confeſs, that I am of his mind who ſaid, *Sicuti ſal modice cibis aſperſus Condit, & gratiam ſaporis addit, ita ſi paulum Antiquitatis admiſcueris, Oratio fit venuſtior.* And I have ſeldom ſeen that Way of Writing faulted, but by thoſe, who, for a certain odd Reaſon, ſometimes find fault, *That the Grapes are not ripe.* Theſe *Embelliſhments* (of which yet I only--*Veniam pro laude peto*) are not the puerile Spoils of *Polyanthea*'s; but I ſhould have aſſerted them to be as choice *Flowers* as moſt that occur in Ancient or Modern Writings, almoſt unavoidably putting themſelves into the Authors Hand, while about his Work, if thoſe words of *Ambroſe* had not a little frighted me, as well as they did *Baronius*, *Unumquemque Fallunt ſua ſcripta.* I obſerve that Learned Men have been ſo terrified by the Reproaches of *Pedantry*, which little Smatterers at Reading and Learning have, by their *Quoting Humours* brought upon themſelves, that, for to avoid all Approaches towards that which thoſe Feeble Creatures have gone to imitate, the beſt way of Writing has been moſt injuriouſly deſerted. But what ſhall we ſay? The Beſt way of Writing, under Heaven, ſhall be the Worſt, when *Eraſmus* his Monoſyllable Tyrant will have it ſo! And if I ſhould have reſign'd my ſelf wholly to the Judgment of *others*, What way of Writing to have taken, the Story of the two Statues made by *Policletus* tells me, what may have been the Iſſue: He contrived one of them according to the Rules that beſt pleaſed himſelf, and the other according to the Fancy of every one that look'd upon his Work: The former was afterwards Applauded by all, and the latter Derided by thoſe very Perſons who had given their Directions for it. As for ſuch *Unaccuracies* as the *Critical* may diſcover, *Opere in longo*, I appeal to the *Courteous*, for a favourable Conſtruction of them; and certainly they

will

will be favourably Judged of, when there is conſidered the *Variety* of my *other Employments*, which have kept me in continual Hurries, I had almoſt ſaid, like thoſe of the *Ninth Sphere*, for the few Months in which this Work has been *Digeſting*. It was a thing well thought, by the wiſe Deſigners of *Chelſey-Colledge*, wherein able *Hiſtorians* were one ſort of Perſons to be maintained; That the Romaniſts do in one Point condemn the Proteſtants; for among the Romaniſts, they don't burden their *Profeſſors* with any *Parochial Incumbrances*; but among the *Proteſtants*, the very ſame *Individual* Man muſt *Preach*, *Catechize*, Adminiſter the *Sacraments*, Viſit the Afflicted, and manage all the parts of *Church-Diſcipline*; and if any *Books* for the Service of Religion, be written, Perſons thus *extreamly incumbred* muſt be the Writers. Now, of all the Churches under Heaven, there are none that expect ſo much *Variety* of Service from their Paſtors, as thoſe of *New-England*; and of all the Churches in *New-England*, there are none that require more, than thoſe in *Boſton*, the Metropolis of the Engliſh *America*; whereof *one* is, by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, committed unto the Care of the unworthy Hand, by which this *Hiſtory* is compiled. Reader, Give me leave humbly to mention, with him in *Tully*, *Antequam de Re, Pauca de Me!* Conſtant *Sermons*, uſually more than once, and perhaps three or four times, in a Week, and all the other Duties of a *Paſtoral Watchfulneſs*, a very *large Flock* has all this while demanded of me; wherein, if I had been furniſhed with as many *Heads* as a *Typheus*, as many *Eyes* as an *Argos*, and as many *Hands* as a *Briareus*, I might have had Work enough to have employ'd them all; nor hath my *Station* left me free from Obligations to ſpend very much time in the *Evangelical Service* of *others* alſo. It would have been a great *Sin* in me, to have *Omitted*, or *Abated*, my Juſt Cares, to *fulfil my Miniſtry in theſe things*, and in a manner *Give my ſelf wholly to them*. All the time I have had for my *Church-Hiſtory*, hath been perhaps only, or chiefly, that, which I might have taken elſe for leſs profitable Recreations; and it hath all been done by *Snatches*. My Reader will not find me the Perſon intended in his *Littany*, when he ſays, *Libera me ab homine unius Negotis*: Nor have I ſpent *Thirty Years* in ſhaping this my *Hiſtory*, as *Diodorus Siculus* did for his, [and yet both *Bodinus* and *Sigonius* complain of the Σφαλματα attending it.] But I wiſh I could have enjoy'd entirely for this Work, one quarter of the little more than *Two Years* which have roll'd away ſince I began it; whereas I have been forced ſometimes wholly to throw by the Work whole Months together, and then reſume it, but by a ſtolen hour or two in a day, not without ſome hazard of incurring the *Title* which *Coryat* put upon his Hiſtory of his Travels, *Crudities haſtily gobbled up in five Months*. *Protogenes* being ſeven Years in drawing a Picture, *Apelles* upon the ſight of it, ſaid, *The Grace of the Work was much allay'd by the length of the Time*. Whatever elſe there may have been to take off the *Grace of the Work*, now in the Readers hands, (whereof the *Pictures* of Great and Good Men make a conſiderable part) I am ſure there hath not been the *length of the Time* to do it. Our Engliſh Martyrologer, counted it a ſufficient *Apology*, for what Meanneſs might be found in the firſt Edition of his *Acts and Monuments*, that it was *haſtily raſhed up in about fourteen Months*: And I may Apologize for this Collection of our *Acts and Monuments*, that I ſhould have been glad, in the little more than *Two Years* which have ran out, ſince I enter'd upon it, if I could have had one half of *About fourteen Months* to have entirely devoted thereunto. But beſides the *Time*, which the *Daily Services* of *my own* firſt, and then many *other* Churches, have neceſſarily call'd for, I have loſt abundance of precious *Time*, thro' the feeble and broken State of my *Health*, which hath unfitted me for *Hard Study*; I can do nothing to purpoſe at *Lucubrations*. And yet, in this *Time* alſo of the two or three Years laſt paſt, I have not been excuſed from the further Diverſion of *Publiſhing* (tho' not ſo many as they ſay *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* did, yet) more than a *Score* of other *Books*, upon a copious Variety of other Subjects, beſides the compoſing of ſeveral more, that are not yet publiſhed. Nor is this neither all the *Task* that I have in this while had lying upon me; for (tho' I am very ſenſible of what *Jerom* ſaid, *Non bene fit, quod occupato Animo fit*; and of *Quintilian's* Remark, *Non ſimul in multa intendere Animus totum poteſt*;) when I applied my mind unto this way of ſerving the Lord JESUS CHRIST in my Generation, I ſet upon another and a greater, which has had, I ſuppoſe, more of my *Thought* and *Hope* than this, and wherein there hath paſſed me, for the moſt part, *Nulla dies ſine linea*. I conſidered, That all ſort of *Learning* might be made glorioſly Subſervient unto the *Illuſtration* of the *Sacred Scripture*; and that no *profeſſed Commentaries* had hitherto given a thouſandth part of ſo much *Illuſtration* unto it, as might be given. I conſidered, that Multitudes of *particular Texts*, had, eſpecially of later Years, been more notably *Illuſtrated* in the *Scattered Books* of Learned Men, than in any of the *Ordinary Commentators*. And I conſider'd, That the *Treaſures* of *Illuſtration* for the Bible, diſperſed in many hundred Volumes, might be fetch'd all together by a Labour that would reſolve to *Conquer all things*; and that all the *Improvements* which the *Later-ages* have made in the *Sciences*, might be alſo, with an inexpreſſible Pleaſure, call'd in, to Chriſt the *Illuſtration* of the *Holy Oracles*, at a Rate that hath not been attempted in the vulgar *Annotations*; and that a common degree of *Senſe*, would help a Perſon, who ſhould converſe much with theſe things, to attempt ſometimes alſo an *Illuſtration* of his own, which might expect ſome Attention. Certainly, it will not be ungrateful unto good Men, to have innumerable *Antiquities*, *Jewiſh*, *Chaldee*, *Arabian*, *Grecian* and *Roman*, brought home unto us, with a *Sweet Light* Reflected from them on the *Word*, which is our *Light*: Or, To have all the *Typical*

Men and things in our *Book of Myſteries*, accommodated with their *Antitypes*: Or, To have many Hundreds of References to our deareſt *Lord Meſſiah*, diſcovered in the Writings which *Teſtifie of Him*, oftner than the moſt of Mankind have hitherto imagined: Or, To have the *Hiſtories* of all Ages, coming in with punctual and ſurpriſing *Fulfillments* of the Divine *Prophecies*, as far as they have been hitherto fulfilled; and not meer *Conjectures*, but even Mathematical and Inconteſtable *Demonſtrations*, given of *Expoſitions* offered upon the *Prophecies*, that yet remain to be accompliſhed: Or, To have in *One Heap*, Thouſands of thoſe *Remarkable Diſcoveries of the deep things of the Spirit of God*, whereof *one* or *two*, or a few, ſometimes, have been, with good Succeſs accounted Materials enough to advance a Perſon into *Authoriſm*; or to have the delicious *Curioſities* of *Grotius*, and *Bochart*, and *Mede*, and *Lightfoot*, and *Selden*, and *Spencer* (carefully ſelected and corrected) and many more Giants in Knowledge, all ſet upon one Table. Travellers tell us, That at *Florence* there is a rich Table, worth a thouſand Crowns, made of Precious Stones neatly inlaid; a Table that was fifteen Years in making, with no leſs than thirty Men daily at work upon it; even ſuch a Table could not afford ſo rich Entertainments, as one that ſhould have the Soul-feaſting Thoughts of thoſe Learned Men together ſet upon it. Only 'tis pitty, that inſtead of one poor feeble *American*, overwhelm'd with a thouſand other Cares, and capable of touching this Work no otherwiſe than in a Digreſſion, there be not more than Thirty Men daily employ'd about it. For, when the excellent Mr. *Pool* had finiſhed his Laborious and Immortal Task, it was noted by ſome conſiderable Perſons, *That wanting Aſſiſtance to Collect for him many miſcellaneous Criticiſms, occaſionally ſcattered in other Authors, he left many better Things behind him than he found.* At more than all this, our *Eſſay* is levell'd, if it be not anticipated with that Epitaph, *agnis tamen excidit auſis.* Deſigning accordingly, to give the Church of God ſuch diſplays of his bleſſed Word, as may be more Entertaining for the Rarity and Novelty of them, than any that have hitherto been ſeen together in any *Expoſition*; and yet ſuch as may be acceptable unto the moſt Judicious, for the Demonſtrative Truth of them, and unto the moſt Orthodox, for the regard had unto the *Analogy of Faith* in all, I have now, in a few Months, got ready an huge number of *Golden Keys* to open the *Pandects* of Heaven, and ſome thouſands of charming and curious and ſingular Notes, by the *New Help* whereof, the *Word of* CHRIST *may run and be glorified.* If the *God of my Life*, will pleaſe to ſpare my Life [my yet Sinful, and Slothful, and thereby Fofeited Life!] as many years longer as the *Barren Fig-tree* had in the Parable, I may make unto the Church of God, an humble Tender of our BIBLIA AMERICANA, a Volumn enrich'd with better things than all the Plate of the *Indies*; YET NOT I, BUT THE GRACE OF CHRIST WITH ME. My Reader ſees, why I commit the Fault of a *περιαυτία*, which appears in the mention of theſe Minute-paſſages; 'tis to excuſe whatever other Fault of Inaccuracy, or Inadvertency, may be diſcovered in an Hiſtory, which hath been a ſort of Rapſody made up (like the Paper whereon 'tis written!) with many little Rags, torn from an Employment, multifarious enough to overwhelm one of my ſmall Capacities.

Magna dabit, qui magna poteſt; mihi parva potenti,
Parvaque poſcenti, parva dediſſe ſat eſt.

§ 6. But ſhall I prognoſticate thy Fate, now that,

Parve (ſed invideo) ine me, Liber, ibis in Urbem.

Luther, who was himſelf owner of ſuch an Heart, adviſed every Hiſtorian to get the *Heart of a Lion*; and the more I conſider of the Provocation, which this our *Church-Hiſtory* muſt needs give to that Roaring Lion, who has, through all Ages hitherto, been tearing the Church to pieces, the more occaſion I ſee to wiſh my ſelf a *Cœur de Lion*. But had not my Heart been Trebly Oak'd and Braſs'd for ſuch Encounters as this our Hiſtory may meet withal, I would have worn the Silk-worms Motto, *Operitur dum Operatur*, and have choſen to have written *Anonymouſly*; or, as *Claudius Salmaſius* calls himſelf *Walo Meſſalinus*, as *Ludovicus Molinæus* calls himſelf *Ludiomæus Colvinus*, as *Carolus Scribanius* calls himſelf *Clarus Bonarſcius*, (and no leſs Men than *Peter du Moulin*, and Dr. *Henry More*, ſtile themſelves, the one *Hippolytus Fronto*, the other *Franciſcus Paleopolitanus*.) Thus I would have tried, whether I could not have Anagrammatized my Name into ſome Concealment; or I would have referr'd it to be found in the ſecond Chapter of the ſecond Syntagm of *Selden de Diis Syris*. Whereas now I freely confeſs, 'tis COTTON MATHER that has written all theſe things;

Me, me, ad ſum qui ſcripſi; tu me convertite Ferrum.

I hope 'tis a right Work that I have done; but we are not yet arrived unto the *Day, wherein God will bring every Work into Judgment* (the Day of the *Kingdom* that was promiſed unto *David*) and a Son of *David* hath as Truly as Wiſely told us, that until the arrival of that Happy Day, this is one of the *Vanities* attending Humane Affairs; *For a right VVork a Man ſhall be envied of his Neighbour.* It will not be ſo much a Surpriſe unto me, if I ſhould live to ſee our *Church-Hiſtory* vexed with *Anie-mad-verſions* of Calumnious Writers, as it would have been unto *Virgil*, to read his *Bucolicks* reproached by the *Antibucolica* of a *Nameleſs Scribbler*, and his *Æneids* traveſtied by the *Æneidomaſtix* of *Carbilius*: Or *Herennius* taking pains to make a Collection of the *Faults*, and *Fauſtinus* of the *Thefts*, in his incomparable Compoſures: Yea, *Pliny*, and *Seneca*

Seneca themſelves, and our *Jerom*, reproaching him, as a Man of no Judgment, nor Skill in Sciences; while *Pædianus* aſſirms of him, that he was himſelf, *Uſque adeo invidiæ Expers, ut ſi quid erudite dictum inſpiceret alterius, non minus gauderet ac ſi ſuum eſſet.* How ſhould a Book, no better laboured than this of ours, eſcape *Zoilian* Outrages, when in all Ages, the moſt exquiſite Works have been as much vilified, as *Plato*'s by *Scaliger*, and *Ariſtotle*'s by *Lactantius*? In the time of our K. *Edward* VI. there was an Order to bring in all the Teeth of St. *Apollonia*, which the People of his one Kingdom carried about them for the Cure of the *Tooth ach*; and they were ſo many, that they almoſt fill'd a Tun. Truly *Envy* hath as many *Teeth* as Madam *Apollonia* would have had, if all thoſe pretended Reliques had been really hers. And muſt all theſe *Teeth* be faſtned on thee, *O my Book*? It may be ſo! And yet the *Book*, when ground between theſe *Teeth*, will prove like *Ignatius* in the *Teeth* of the furious Tygers, *The whiter Manchet for the Churches of God.* The greateſt and fierceſt Rage of *Envy*, is that which I expect from thoſe IDUMÆANS, whoſe Religion is all Ceremony, and whoſe Charity is more for them who deny the moſt Eſſential things in the Articles and Homilies of the Church of *England*, than for the moſt Conſcientious Men in the World, who manifeſt their being ſo, by their Diſſent in ſome little Ceremony: Or thoſe Perſons whoſe Hearts are notably expreſſed in thoſe words uſed by one of them ['tis *Howel* in his *Familiar Letters*, Vol. 1. Sect. 6. Lett. 32.] *I rather pitty, than hate, Turk or Infidel, for they are of the ſame Metal, and bear the ſame Stamp, as I do, tho' the Inſcriptions differ; If I hate any, 'tis thoſe Schiſmaticks that puzzle the ſweet Peace of our Church; ſo that I could be content to ſee an Anabaptiſt go to Hell on a Browniſts Back.* The Writer whom I laſt quoted, hath given us a Story of a young Man in *High-Holbourn*, who being after his death Diſſected, there was a Serpent with divers tails, found in the left Ventricle of his Heart. I make no queſtion, that our Church-Hiſtory will find ſome Reader diſpoſed like that Writer, with an Heart as full of Serpent and Venom as ever it can hold: Nor indeed will they be able to hold, but the Tongues and Pens of thoſe angry Folks, will ſcourge me as with Scorpions, and cauſe me to feel (if I will feel) as many Laſhes as *Cornelius Agrippa* expected from their Brethren, for the Book in which he expoſed their Vanities. A Scholar of the great JUELS, made once about fourſcore Verſes, for which the Cenſor of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in the beginning of Queen *Maries* Reign, publickly and cruelly ſcourged him, with one Laſh for every Verſe. Now in thoſe Verſes, the young Man's Prayers to the Lord JESUS CHRIST, have this for part of the anſwer given to them.

Reſpondet Dominus, ſpectans de ſedibus altis,
Ne dubites recte credere, parve puer.
Olim ſum paſſus mortem, nunc occupo dextram
Patris, nunc ſummi ſunt mea regna poli.
Sed tu, crede mihi, vires Scriptura reſumet,
Tolleturque ſuo tempore miſſa nequam.

In Engliſh.

The Lord beholding from his Throne, reply'd,
Doubt not, *O Youth*, firmly in me confide:
I dy'd long ſince, now ſit at the Right Hand
Of my bleſs'd Father, and the World command.
Believe me, *Scripture* ſhall regain her ſway,
And wicked *Maſs* in due time fade away.

Reader, I alſo expect nothing but *Scourges* from that Generation, to whom the *Maſs-book* is dearer than the *Bible*. But I have now likewiſe confeſſed another Expectation, that ſhall be my Conſolation under all. They tell us, That on the higheſt of the *Capſian* Mountains in *Spain*, there is a Lake, whereinto if you throw a Stone, there preſently aſcends a Smoke, which forms a denſe Cloud, from whence iſſues a Tempeſt of Rain, Hail, and horrid Thunder-claps, for a good quarter of an hour. Our Church-Hiſtory will be like a Stone caſt into that Lake, for the furious Tempeſt which it will raiſe among ſome, whoſe Eccleſiaſtical Dignities have ſet them, as on the top of Spaniſh Mountains. The Catholick Spirit of Communion wherewith 'tis written, and the Liberty which I have taken, to tax the Schiſmatical Impoſitions and Perſecutions of a Party, who have always been as real Enemies to the Engliſh Nation, as to the Chriſtian and Proteſtant Intereſt, will certainly bring upon the whole Compoſure, the quick Cenſures of that Party, at the firſt caſt of their look upon it. In the Duke of *Alva*'s Council of twelve Judges, there was one *Heſſels* a *Flemming*, who ſlept always at the Trial of Criminals, and when they wak'd him to deliver his Opinion, he rub'd his Eyes, and cry'd, between ſleeping and waking, *Ad patibulum! ad Patibulum!* To the Gallows with 'em! [And, by the way, this Blade was himſelf, at the laſt, condemned unto the Gallows, without an Hearing!] As quick Cenſures muſt this our Labour expect from thoſe who will not beſtow waking thoughts upon the Repreſentations of Chriſtianity here made unto the World; but have a Sentence of Death always to paſs, or at leaſt, Wiſh, upon thoſe Generous Principles, without which, 'tis impoſſible to maintain the Reformation: And I confeſs, I am very well content, that this our Labour takes the Fate of thoſe Principles: Nor do I diſſent from the words of the Excellent *VVhitaker* upon *Luther*, *Fœlix ille, quem Dominus eo Honore dignatus eſt, ut Homines nequiſſimos ſuos haberet inimicos.* But if the old Epigrammatiſt, when he ſaw Guilty Folks raving Mad at his Lines, could ſay——

Hoc volo; nunc nobis carmina noſtra placent:

Certainly an Hiſtorian ſhould not be diſpleaſed at it, if the Enemies of Truth diſcover their Madneſs at the true and free Communications of his Hiſtory; and therefore the more Stones they throw

throw at this Book, there will not only be the more Proofs, that it is a Tree which hath good Fruits growing upon it, but I will build my ſelf a Monument with them, whereon ſhall be inſcribed, that Clauſe in the Epitaph of the Martyr *Stephen*:

Excepit Lapides, cui petra Chriſtus erat:

Albeit perhaps the *Epitaph*, which the old *Monks* beſtow'd upon *Wickliff*, will be rather endeavour'd for me, (*If I am thought worth one!*) by the Men, who will, with all poſſible *Monkery*, ſtrive to ſtave off the approaching *Reformation*.

But ſince an Undertaking of this Nature,muſt thus encounter ſo much Envy, from thoſe who are under the Power of the *Spirit that works in the Children of Unperſwadeableneſs*, methinks I might perſwade my ſelf, that it will find another ſort of Entertainment from thoſe Good Men who have a better Spirit in them: For, as the Apoſtle *James* hath noted,(ſo with Monſieur *Claude* I read it) *The Spirit that is in us, luſteth againſt Envy*; and yet even in *us* alſo, there will be the *Fleſh*, among whoſe Works, one is *Envy*, which will be *Luſting* againſt the *Spirit*. All Good Men will not be ſatiſfied with every thing that is here ſet before them. In my own Country, beſides a conſiderable number of looſe and vain Inhabitants riſen up, to whom the Congregational Church-Diſcipline, which cannot Live well, where the Power of Godlineſs dyes, is become diſtaſtful for the Purity of it; there is alſo a number of eminently Godly Perſons, who are for a Larger way, and unto theſe my Church-Hiſtory will give diſtaſt, by the things which it may happen to utter,in favour of that Church-Diſcipline on ſome few occaſions; and the Diſcoveries which I may happen to make of my Apprehenſions, that *Scripture*, and *Reaſon*, and *Antiquity* is for it; and that it is not far from a glorious Reſurrection. But that,as the Famous Mr. *Baxter*, after Thirty or Forty Years hard Study, about the true Inſtituted Church-Diſcipline, at laſt, not only own'd, but alſo invincibly prov'd, That it is *The Congregational*; ſo, The further that the *Unprejudiced Studies* of Learned Men proceed in this Matter, the more generally the *Congregational Church-Diſcipline* will be pronounced for. On the other ſide, There are ſome among us, who very ſtrictly profeſs the *Congregational Church-Diſcipline*, but at the ſame time they have an unhappy Narrowneſs of Soul, by which they confine their value and Kindneſs too much unto their own Party; and unto thoſe my *Church Hiſtory* will be offenſive, becauſe my Regard unto our own declared Principles, does not hinder me from giving the Right-hand of Fellowſhip unto the valuable Servants of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who find not our Church-Diſcipline as yet agreeable unto their preſent Underſtandings and Illuminations. If it be thus in my own Country, it cannot be otherwiſe in That whereto I ſend this account of my own. Briefly, as it hath been ſaid, That if all *Epiſcopal* Men were like Archbiſhop *Uſher*, and all *Presbyterians* like *Stephen Marſhal*, and all *Independents* like *Jeremiah Burroughs*, the Wounds of the Church would ſoon be healed; my Eſſay to carry that Spirit through this whole Church-Hiſtory, will beſpeak Wounds for it, from thoſe that are of another Spirit. And there will alſo be in every Country thoſe Good Men, who yet have not had the Grace of Chriſt ſo far prevailing in them, as utterly to diveſt them of that piece of Ill Nature which the Comedian reſents, *In homine Imperito, quo nil quicquam Injuſtius, quia niſi quod ipſe facit, nil recte factum putat.*

However, All theſe things, and an hundred more ſuch things which I think of, are very ſmall Diſcouragements for ſuch a Service as I have here endeavoured. I foreſee a Recompence, which will abundantly ſwallow up all Diſcouragements! It may be *Strato* the Philoſopher counted himſelf well recompenſed for his Labours, when *Ptolomy* beſtow'd fourſcore Talents on him. It may be *Archimelus* the Poet counted himſelf well recompenſed, when *Hiero* ſent him a thouſand Buſhels of Wheat for one little Epigram: And *Saleius* the Poet might count himſelf well recompenſed, when *Veſpaſian* ſent him twelve thouſand and five hundred *Philippicks*; and *Oppian* the Poet might count himſelf well recompenſed, when *Caracalla* ſent him a piece of Gold for every Line that he had inſcribed unto him. As I live in a Country where ſuch Recompences never were in faſhion; it hath no Preferments for me, and I ſhall count that I am well Rewarded in it, if I can eſcape without being heavily Reproached, Cenſured and Condemned,for what I have done: So I thank the Lord, I ſhould exceedingly Scorn all ſuch mean Conſiderations, I ſeek not out for Benefactors, to whom theſe Labours may be Dedicated: There is ONE to whom all is due! From Him I ſhall have a Recompence: And what Recompence? The Recompence, whereof I do, with inexpreſſible Joy, aſſure my ſelf, is this, *That theſe my poor Labours will certainly ſerve the Churches and Intereſts of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* And I think I may ſay, That I aſk to live no longer, than I count a Service unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his Churches, to be it ſelf a glorious Recompence for the doing of it. When *David* was contriving to build the Houſe of God, there was that order given from Heaven concerning him, *Go tell* David, *my Servant.* The adding of *that* more than *Royal Title* unto the Name of *David*, was a ſufficient Recompence for all his Contrivance about the Houſe of God. In our whole *Church-Hiſtory*, we have been at work for the Houſe of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, [Even that *Man* who is the *Lord God*, and whoſe *Form* ſeems on that occaſion repreſented unto His *David*.] And herein 'tis Recompence enough, that I have been a *Servant* unto that heavenly Lord. The greateſt *Honour*, and the ſweeteſt *Pleaſure*, out of *Heaven*, is to Serve our Illuſtrious Lord JESUS CHRIST, who hath *loved us, and given himſelf for us*; and unto whom it is infinitely reaſonable that we ſhould

 give

give our ſelves, and all that we *have* and *Are*: And it may be the *Angels* in *Heaven* too, aſpire not after an higher Felicity.

Unto thee, therefore, O thou Son of God, and King of Heaven, and Lord of all things, whom all the Glorious Angels of Light, unſpeakably love to Glorifie; I humbly offer up a poor Hiſtory of Churches, which own thee alone for their Head, and Prince, and Law-giver; Churches which thou haſt purchas'd with thy own Blood, and with wonderful Diſpenſations of thy Providence hitherto protected and preſerved; and of a People which thou didſt Form for thy ſelf, to ſhew forth thy Praiſes. I bleſs thy great Name, for thy inclining of me to, and carrying of me through, the Work of this Hiſtory: I pray thee to ſprinkle the Book of this Hiſtory with thy Blood, and make it acceptable and profitable unto thy Churches, and ſerve thy Truths and Ways among thy People, by that which thou haſt here prepared; for 'tis THOU *that haſt prepar'd it for them.* Amen.

Quid ſum? Nil. Quis ſum? Nullus. Sed Gratia CHRISTI,
Quod ſum, quod Vivo, quodque Laboro, facit.

The

The CONTENTS.

A *General Introduction*, giving an Account of the whole enſuing Work.

The Firſt Book, Entituled, ANTIQUITIES.

It reports the Deſign where-*on*, the Manner where-*in*, and the People where-*by*, the ſeveral Colonies of *New-England* were planted. And ſo it prepares a *Field* for conſiderable things to be acted thereupon.

The Introduction.

Chap. I. *Veniſti tandem?* Or, Diſcoveries of *America*, tending to, and ending in, Diſcoveries of *New-England*.
Chap. II. *Primordia*. Or, The Voyage to *New-England*, which produced the firſt Settlement of *New-Plymouth*; with an Account of many Remarkable and Memorable *Providences*, relating to that Voyage.
Chap. III. *Conamur Tenues Grandia*. Or, A Brief Account of the *Difficulties*, the *Deliverances*, and other *Occurrences*, through which the Plantation of *New-Plymouth*, arrived unto the Conſiſtency of a Colony.
Chap. IV. *Paulo Majora!* Or, The *Eſſays* and *Cauſes*, which produced the *Second*, but largeſt, Colony of *New-England*; and the Manner wherein the Firſt Church of this *New Colony* was gathered.
Chap. V. *Peregrini Deo Curæ*. Or, The Progreſs of the *New Colony*; with ſome Account of the *Perſons*, the *Methods*, and the *Troubles*, by which it came to *Something*.
Chap. VI. *Qui trans mare Currunt*. Or, The *Addition* of ſeveral *other* Colonies to the *former*; with ſome Conſiderables, in the *Condition* of theſe later Colonies.
Chap. VII. *Hecatompolis*. Or, *A Field which the Lord hath Bleſſed*. An Eccleſiaſtical MAP of *New-England*. With Remarks upon it.

Appendix.

The *Boſtonian Ebenezer*. Or, Some Hiſtorical Remarks on the State of *Boſton*, the Chief Town of *New-England*, and of the Engliſh *America*.

The Second Book, Entituled,

ECCLESIARUM CLYPEI.

It contains the *Lives* of the *Governours*, and the *Names* of the *Magiſtrates*, that have been *Shields* unto the Churches of *New-England*.

The Introduction.

Chap. I. *Galeacius Secundus*. The Life of *William Bradford*, Eſq; Governour of *Plymouth* Colony.
Chap. II. Succeſſors.
Chap. III. *Patres Conſcripti*. Or, Aſſiſtents.
Chap. IV. *Nehemias Americanus*. The Life of *John Winthrop* Eſq; Governour of the *Maſſachuſet* Colony.
Chap. V. Succeſſors. Among whom, larger Accounts are given of Governour *Dudley*, and Governour *Bradſneet*.
Chap. VI. בעלי נפש i. e. *Viri Animati*. Or, Aſſiſtents. With Remarks.
Chap. VII. *Publicola Chriſtianus*. Or, The Life of *Edward Hopkins* Eſq; the firſt Governour of *Connecticut* Colony.
Chap. VIII. Succeſſors.
Chap. IX. *Humilitas Honorata*. The Life of *Theophilus Eaton* Eſq; Governour of *New-Haven* Colony.
Chap. X. Succeſſors.
Chap. XI. *Hermes Chriſtianus*. The Life of *John Winthrop* Eſq; the firſt Governour of *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, united.
Chap. 12. Aſſiſtents.

Appendix.

Pietas in Patriam. Or, The Life of his Excellency, Sir *William Phips*, late Governour of *New-England*. An Hiſtory filled with great Variety of *Memorable Matters*.

The Third Book, Entituled, POLYBIUS.

It contains the *Lives* of many *Divines*, by whoſe Evangelical Miniſtry, the Churches of *New-England* have been Illuminated.

The Introduction.

A General Hiſtory, *De Vires Illuſtribus*, dividing into *Three Claſſes* the Miniſters who came out of *Old England*, for the Service of *New*.

The Firſt Part, Entituled, *Johannes in Eremo*.

The Introduction.

Chap. I. *Cottonus Redivivus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Cotton*.
Chap. II. *Nortonus Honoratus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Norton*.
Chap. III. *Memoria Wilſoniana*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Wilſon*.
Chap. IV. *Puritaniſmus Nov-Anglicanus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Davenport*.

Appendix.

The Light of the Weſtern Churches. Or, The Life of Mr. *Thomas Hooker*.

The Second Part, Entituled,

Sepher Jereim, i. e. *Liber Deum Timentium*. Or, Dead *Abels* yet ſpeaking, and ſpoken of.

The Introduction.

Chap. I. *Janus Nov-Anglicanus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Francis Higginſon*.
Chap. II. *Cygnea Cantio*. Or, The Death of Mr. *Avery*.
Chap. III. *Natus ad Exemplar*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Jonathan Burr*.
Chap. IV. The Life of Mr. *George Philips*.
Chap. V. *Paſtor Evangelicus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Thomas Shepard*.
Chap. VI. *Prudentius*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Peter Prudden*.
Chap. VII. *Melancthon*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Adam Blackman*.
Chap. VIII. The Life of Mr. *Abraham Pierſon*.
Chap. IX. The Life of Mr. *Richard Denton*.
Chap. X. The Life of Mr. *Peter Bulkly*.
Chap. XI. The Life of Mr. *Ralph Partridge*.
Chap. XII. *Pſaltes*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Henry Dunſter*.
Chap. XIII. The Life of Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*.
Chap. XIV. *Eulogius*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Nathanael Rogers*.

Appendix.

An Extract from the Diary of the famous old Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*.

Chap. XV. *Bibliander Nov-Anglicanus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Samuel Newman*.
Chap. XVI. *Doctor Irrefragabilis*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Samuel Stone*.
Chap. XVII. The Life of Mr. *William Thompſon*.
Chap. XVIII. The Life of Mr. *John Warham*.
Chap. XIX. The Life of Mr. *Henry Flint*.
Chap. XX. *Fulgentius*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Richard Mather*.
Chap. XXI. The Life of Mr. *Zachariah Symmes*.
Chap. XXII. The Life of Mr. *John Allin*.
Chap. XXIII. *Cadmus Americanus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Charles Chauncey*.
Chap. XXIV. *Lucas*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Fisk*.
Chap. XXV. *Scholaſticus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Thomas Parker*. With an Appendix containing Memoirs of Mr. *James Noyes*.
Chap. XXVI. The Life of Mr. *Thomas Thacher*.
Chap. XXVII. The Life of Mr. *Peter Hobart*.
Chap. XXVIII. *A Man of God, and an Honourable Man*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Samuel Whiting*.
Chap. XXIX. S. *Aſterius*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Sherman*.
Chap. XXX. *Euſebius*. Or, The Life of Mr. *Thomas Cobbet*.
Chap. XXXI. *Modeſtus*. Or, The Life of Mr. *John Ward*.

Mantiſſa.

The Epitaph of Dr. *John Owen*.

Th

The CONTENTS.

The Third Part, Entituled,

Ὀνησιφόρα διηγήματα, ſive, *Utiles Narrationes.*

It contains, the Life of the Renowned *John Eliot*; with an Account, concerning the Succeſs of the Goſpel among the *Indians*. A very entertaining piece of *Church-Hiſtory*.

The Fourth Part, Entituled, *Remains.*

The Introduction.

Chap. I. *Remains* of the *firſt Claſſis*. Or, Shorter Accounts of ſome uſeful Divines.

Chap. II. The Life of Mr. *Thomas Allen.*

Chap. III. The Life of Mr. *John Knowles.*

Chap. IV. *Eliſha*'s Bones. Or, The Life of Mr. *Henry Whitfield.*

Chap. V. *Remains* of the *Second Claſſis*. And more largely, The Life of Mr. *John Woodbridge.*

Chap. VI. *Remains* of the *Third Claſſis*. With more punctual Accounts of Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, Mr. *Thomas Walley*, and Mr. *Samuel Lee.*

Chap. VII. *A good Man making a good End.* Or, The Life and Death of Mr. *John Baily.*

The Fourth Book, Entituled, SAL GENTIUM.

It contains, an Account of the *New-Engliſh Univerſity.*

The Introduction.

Part I. The *Laws*, the *Benefactors*, and the *Viciſſitudes*, of *Harvard-Colledge*. And a Catalogue of its *Graduates*; with Remarks upon it.

Part II. The Lives of ſome eminent Perſons therein educated.

Chap. I. *Fides in Vita.* Or, Memorables concerning Mr. *John Brock.*

Chap. II. *Fructuoſus.* Or, The Life of Mr. *Samuel Mather.*

Chap. III. The Life of Mr. *Samuel Danforth.*

Chap. IV. *Eccleſiaſtes.* Or, The Life of Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel.*

Chap. V. *Druſius Nov-Anglicanus.* Or, The Life of Mr. *Urian Oakes.*

Chap. VI. The Life of Mr. *Thomas Shepard.*

Chap. VII. St. *Stephen*'s Reliques. Or, Memoirs of Mr. *Joſhua Moodey.*

Chap. VIII. *Gemini.* Or, The Life of the *Collins*'s.

Chap. IX. The Life of Mr. *Thomas Shepard.*

Chap. X. Early Piety Exemplified; in the Life and Death of Mr. *Nathanael Mather.*

The Fifth Book, Entituled,

ACTS and MONUMENTS.

It contains, the *Faith* and *Order* in the Churches of *New-England*, agreed by their Synods: With Hiſtorical Remarks upon all thoſe Venerable Aſſemblies. And a great Variety of other *Church-Caſes*, occurring and reſolved in thoſe *American* Churches.

The Firſt Part.

The Faith profeſſed by the Churches of *New-England*. With Remarks.

The Second Part.

The Diſcipline practiſed in the Churches of *New-England*. With Hiſtorical Remarks.

And a rich Collection of *Church-Caſes* happily decided.

Appendix.

The Heads of Agreement, aſſented to by the United Miniſters, formerly called, *Presbyterian* and *Congregational*.

The Third Part.

The *Principles* owned, and *Endeavours* uſed, by the Churches of *New-England*, concerning the *Church-State* of their *Poſterity*. With Remarks.

The Fourth Part.

The *Reforming Synod* of *New-England*; with ſubſequent Eſſays of *Reformation* in the Churches.

The Sixth Book, Entituled,

THAUMATURGUS. vel, ספר דכרניא

i. e. *Liber Memorabilium.*

It contains many Illuſtrious Diſcoveries and Demonſtrations of the *Divine Providence*, in Remarkable *Mercies* and *Judgments* on many particular Perſons among the People of *New-England.*

The Introduction. With *Propoſals* made, about Recording Illuſtrious Diſcoveries of the Divine Providence.

Chap. I. *Chriſtus ſuper Aquas.* Relating Remarkable Sea-Deliverances.

Chap. II. *Hoſana.* Relating Remarkable Salvations experienced by others beſides the Sea-faring.

Chap. III. *Ceraunius.* Relating Remarkables done by Thunder. With a *Brontologia Sacra*, remarkably produced.

Chap. IV. *The Returning Prodigal.* Relating Remarkable Converſions.

Chap. V. *Hiſtoria Nemeſeos.* Relating Remarkable *Judgments* of God, on ſeveral ſorts of *Offenders*, in ſeveral Scores of Inſtances.

An Appendix, containing, an Hiſtory of Criminals, executed for Capital Crimes; with their Dying Speeches.

Chap. VI. The Triumphs of Grace. Or, A Narrative of the Succeſs which the Goſpel hath had among the *Indians* of *New-England.*

An Appendix, Relating things greatly Remarkable, fetch'd from one little Iſland of Chriſtianiz'd *Indians.*

Chap. VII. *Thaumatographia Pneumatica.* Relating, *The Wonders of the Inviſible World*, in Preternatural Occurrences. It contains fourteen aſtoniſhing, but well-atteſted Hiſtories.

The Seventh Book, Entituled,

ECCLESIARUM PRÆLIA: Or, *A Book of the Wars of the Lord.*

It contains, the Afflictive Diſturbances which the Churches of *New-England* have ſuffered, from their various Adverſaries; and the wonderful Methods and Mercies, whereby the Churches have been delivered.

The Introduction.

Chap. I. *Mille Nocendi Artes.* Or, ſome General Heads of *Temptation*, with which the Churches of *New-England* have been Exerciſed.

Chap. II. *Little Foxes.* Or, The Spirit of *Rigid Separation* in one remarkable Zelot, vexing the Churches of *New-England*, and the Spirit of Giddy Familiſm in another. And ſome Leſſer Controverſies ariſing upon ſundry Occaſions.

Chap. III. *Hydra decapitata.* Or, The firſt Synod of *New-England*, quelling a Storm of Antinomian Opinions; and many remarkable Events relating thereunto.

Chap. IV. *Ignes Fatui.* Or, The Moleſtations given to the Churches of *New-England*, by that Odd Sect of People called *Quakers*. And ſome uncomfortable Occurrents, relating to a Sect of *other*, and *Better* People.

Chap. V. *Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing.* Or, An Hiſtory of ſeveral *Impoſtors*, pretending to be Miniſters, detected in the Churches of *New-England.* With a Faithful Advice to all the Churches, emitted by ſome of the *Paſtors*, on that occaſion.

Chap. VI. *Arma Viroſque Cano.* Or, The Troubles which the Churches of *New-England* have undergone, in the WARS which the People of that Country have had with the *Indian Salvages.*

VII. Appendix.

Decennium Luctuoſum. Or, An Hiſtory of Remarkable Occurrences, in the WAR which *New-England* had with Indian Salvages, from the Year 1688, to the Year 1698.

THE

The Firſt BOOK.

ANTIQUITIES:

OR,

A FIELD prepar'd for Conſiderable Things to be Acted thereupon.

The INTRODUCTION.

א י ה

IT *was not long ago, as about the middle of the former Century, that under the Influences of that admirable* Hero *and* Martyr, *of the* Proteſtant Religion, Gaſper Coligni, *the great Admiral of* France, *a Noble and Learned Knight called* Villagagnon, *began to attempt the Settlement of ſome Colonies in* AMERICA, *(as it was declared)* for the Propagation of that Religion. *He Sailed with ſeveral Ships of no ſmall Burthen, till he arriv'd at* Braſile; *where he thought there were now ſhown him* Quiet Seats, *for the retreat of a People harraſs'd already with deadly Perſecutions, and threatned with yet more Calamities.* Thence *he wrote Home Letters unto that glorious* Patron *of the* Reform'd Churches, *to inform him, That he had now a fair Proſpect of ſeeing thoſe* Churches *erected, multiply'd and ſhelter'd in the Southern Regions of the* New World; *and requeſted him, That* Geneva *might ſupply them with* Paſtors *for the planting of ſuch Churches in theſe* New Plantations. *The Bleſſed* Calvin, *with his Collegues, thereupon ſent of their Number* Two *Worthy Perſons, namely* Richerius *and* Quadrigarius, *to aſſiſt this Undertaking; and unto theſe were joined ſeveral more, eſpecially* Lerius, *and, who became a Leader to the reſt,* Corquillerius, *an eminent Man, for the Cauſe of Chriſtianity, then reſiding at* Geneva. *Embark'd in three Ships, well fitted, they came to the* American *Country, whither they had been invited; and they ſoon ſet up an Evangelical* Church Order, *in thoſe Corners of the Earth where God in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had never before been called upon. But it was not long before ſome unhappy* Controverſies *aroſe among them, which drove their Principal Miniſters into* Europe *again, beſides thoſe* Three *that were Murthered by their* Apoſtate Governour, *whoſe Martyrdom* Lerius *procured* Criſpin *to Commemorate in his Hiſtory, but I now omit in this of ours,* Ne me Criſpini ſcrinia lecti, compitaſſe putes: *And as for the People that ſtaid behind, no other can be Learn'd, but that they are entirely* loſt, *either in* Paganiſm *or* Diſaſter: *In this, more unhappy ſure, than that* Hundred Thouſand *of their Brethren who were ſoon after Butcher'd at Home, in that horrible* Maſſacre, *which then had not, but ſince hath, known a Parallel. So has there been utterly* loſt *in a little time,* A Country intended for a Receptacle of Proteſtant Churches on the *American Strand. It is the moſt Incomparable* De Thou, *the Honourable Preſident of the Parliament at* Paris, *an Hiſtorian whom* Caſaubon *Pronounces,* A Singular Gift of Heaven, to the laſt Age, for an Example of Piety and Probity, *that is our Author, (beſides others) for* this *Hiſtory.*

'T*is now time for me to tell my Reader, that* in our Age *there has been another Eſſay, made not by* French, *but by* Engliſh PROTESTANTS, *to fill a certain Country in* America *with* Reform'd Churches; *nothing in* Doctrine, *little in* Diſcipline, *different from that of* Geneva. *Mankind will pardon* me, *a Native of that Country, if ſmitten with a juſt Fear of incroaching and ill-bodied* Degeneracies, *I ſhall uſe my Modeſt Endeavours to prevent the* Loſs *of a Country, ſo ſignaliz'd for the* Profeſſion *of the pureſt Religion, and for the* Protection *of God upon it, in that Holy Profeſſion. I ſhall count my Country* loſt, *in the* Loſs *of the Primitive* Principles, *and the Primitive* Practices, *upon which it was at firſt Eſtabliſhed: But certainly one good way to ſave that Loſs, wou'd be to do ſomething that the Memory of the* great Things done for us by our God *may not be* loſt, *and that the Story of the Circumſtances attending the* Foundation *and* Formation *of this* Country, *and of its* Preſervation *hitherto, may be impartially handed unto Poſterity.* THIS

is the Undertaking whereto I now Addreſs my ſelf; and now, Grant me thy Gracious Aſſiſtances, O my God; that in this my Undertaking I may be kept from every falſe way: But that ſincerely aiming at thy Glory in my Undertaking, I may find my Labours made Acceptable and Profitable unto thy Churches, and Serviceable unto the Intereſts of thy Goſpel; ſo let my God think upon me for Good; and ſpare me according to the greatneſs of thy Mercy in the Bleſſed Jeſus, *Amen.*

CHAP. I.

Veniſti tandem? *Or Diſcoveries of* AMERICA, *tending to, and ending in, Diſcoveries of* NEW-ENGLAND.

§. 1. IT is the Opinion of ſome, though 'tis *but* an *Opinion*, and *but* of *ſome* Learned Men, That when the Sacred Oracles of Heaven aſſure us, *The Things under the Earth* are ſome of thoſe, whoſe *Knees are to bow in the Name of Jeſus*, by thoſe *Things* are meant the Inhabitants of *America*, who are *Antipodes* to thoſe of the other *Hemiſphere*. I would not Quote any Words of *Lactantius*, tho' there are *ſome* to Countenance this Interpretation, becauſe of their being ſo *Ungeographical:* Nor would I go to ſtrengthen the Interpretation by reciting the Words of the *Indians* to the firſt *White Invaders* of their Territories, *We hear you are come from under the World to take our World from us.* But granting the *uncertainty* of ſuch an Expoſition, I ſhall yet give the Church of God a certain Account of thoſe *Things*, which in *America* have been Believing and Adoring the glorious *Name* of Jeſus; and of that Country in *America*, where thoſe *Things* have been attended with Circumſtances moſt remarkable. I can contentedly allow that *America* (which as the Learned *Nicolas Fuller* Obſerves, might more juſtly be called *Columbina)* was altogether unknown to the *Penmen* of the Holy Scriptures, and in the *Ages* when the Scriptures were Penned. I can allow, that thoſe Parts of the Earth, which do not include *America*, are in the inſpired Writings of *Luke*, and of *Paul*, ſtiled, *All the World*. I can allow, that the Opinion of *Torniellus*, and of *Pagius*, about the Apoſtles Preaching the Goſpel in *America*, has been ſufficiently refuted by *Baſnagius*. But I am out of the reach of Pope *Zachary*'s Excommunication. I can aſſert the Exiſtence of the *American Antipodes:* And I can Report unto the *European* Churches great Occurrences among theſe *Americans*. Yet I will Report every one of them with ſuch a Chriſtian and exact Veracity, that no Man ſhall have cauſe to uſe about any one of them, the Words which the great *Auſtin* (as *great* as he was) uſed about the Exiſtence of *Antipodes*; it is a Fable, and, *nulla ratione credendum*.

§. 2. If the *Wicked One in whom the whole World lyeth*, were *he*, who like a *Dragon*, keeping a Guard upon the ſpacious and mighty *Orchards* of *America*, could have ſuch a *Faſcination* upon the Thoughts of Mankind, that neither this *Ballancing half* of the Globe ſhould be conſidered in *Europe* till a little more than two Hundred Years ago, nor the *Clue* that might lead unto it, namely, the *Loadſtone*, ſhould be known, till a *Neapolitan* ſtumbled upon it, about an Hundred Years before; yet the over-ruling *Providence* of the *great God* is to be acknowledged, as well in the *Concealing* of *America* for ſo long a time, as in the *Diſcovering* of it, when the fulneſs of Time was come for the Diſcovery: For we may count *America* to have been concealed, while Mankind in the other *Hemiſphere* had loſt all Acquaintance with it, if we may conclude it had any from the Words of *Diodorus Siculus*, That *Phœnecians* were by great Storms driven off the Coaſt of *Africa*, far *Weſtward*, ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, *for many Days together*, and at laſt fell in with an Iſland of prodigious Magnitude; or from the Words of *Plato*, that beyond the Pillars of *Hercules* there was an Iſland in the *Atlantick* Ocean, ἅμα λιβύης καὶ Ἀσίας μείζων, *larger than* Africa *and* Aſia *put together*: Nor ſhould it paſs without Remark, that *Three* moſt memorable things which have born a very great Aſpect upon *Humane Affairs*, did near the ſame time, namely at the Concluſion of the *Fifteenth*, and the beginning of the *Sixteenth Century*, ariſe unto the World: The Firſt was the *Reſurrection of Literature*; the Second was the opening of *America*; the Third was the *Reformation* of *Religion*. But, as probably, the *Devil* ſeducing the firſt Inhabitants of *America* into it, therein aimed at the having of them and their Poſterity out of the ſound of the *Silver Trumpets* of the *Goſpel*, then to be heard through the *Roman Empire*; if the *Devil* had any Expectation, that by the Peopling of *America*, he ſhould utterly deprive any *Europeans* of the Two Benefits, *Literature* and *Religion*, which dawned upon the miſerable World, one juſt *before*, t'other juſt *after*, the firſt famed *Navigation* hither, 'tis to be hop'd he will be diſappointed of that Expectation. The *Church* of God muſt no longer be wrapp'd up in *Strabo*'s Cloak: *Geography* muſt now find work for a *Chriſtiano-graphy* in Regions far enough beyond the Bounds wherein the *Church* of God had thro' all former Ages been circumſcribed. Renown'd *Churches* of Chriſt muſt be gathered where the Ancients once Derided them that look'd for any *Inhabitants*. The Myſtery of our Lord's Garments, made *Four Parts*, by the Soldiers that caſt *Lots* for them, is to be accompliſhed in the good Sence put upon it by *Auſtin*, who if he

he had known *America* could not have given a better *Quadripartita veſtis Domini Jeſu, quadripartitam figuravit ejus Eccleſiam, toto ſcilicet, qui quatuor partibus conſtat, terraram orbe diffuſam.*

§. 3. Whatever Truth may be in that Aſſertion of one who writes; *If we may credit any Records beſides the Scriptures, I know it might be ſaid and proved well, that this New World was known, and partly Inhabited by* Britains, *or by* Saxons *from* England, *Three or Four Hundred Years before the* Spaniards *coming thither*; which Aſſertion is Demonſtrated from the Diſcourſes between the *Mexicans* and the *Spaniards* at their firſt Arrival; and the Popiſh *Reliques*, as well as *Britiſh* Terms and Words, which the *Spaniards* then found among the *Mexicans*, as well as from undoubted Paſſages, not only in other Authors, but even in the *Britiſh* Annals alſo: Nevertheleſs, Mankind generally agree to give unto *Chriſtopher Columbus*, a *Genoeſe*, the Honour of being the Firſt *European* that opened a way into theſe Parts of the World. It was in the Year 1492. that this famous Man, acted by a moſt vehement and wonderful *Impulſe*, was carried into the *Northern Regions* of this vaſt Hemiſphere, which might more juſtly therefore have receiv'd its *Name* from *Him*, than from *Americus Veſputius* a *Florentine*, who in the Year 1497. made a further Detection of the more *Southern Regions* in this Continent. So a *World*, which has been one great Article among the *Res deperditæ* of *Pancirolius*, is now *found out*, and the Affairs of the *whole World* have been affected by the finding of it. So the *Church* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, well compared unto a *Ship*, is now *victoriouſly* ſailing round the *Globe* after Sir *Francis Drake*'s renowned Ship, called, *The Victory*, which could boaſt,

Prima ego velivolis ambivi curſibus orbem.

And yet the Story about *Columbus* himſelf muſt be corrected from the Information of *De la Vega*, That one *Sanchez*, a Native of *Helva* in *Spain*, did before him find out theſe Regions. He tells us, That *Sanchez* uſing to Trade in a ſmall Veſſel to the *Canaries*, was driven by a furious and tedious Tempeſt over unto theſe Weſtern Countries; and at his return he gave to *Colon*, or *Columbus*, an account of what he had ſeen, but ſoon after died of a Diſeaſe he had got on his dangerous Voyage. However, I ſhall expect my Reader e're long to grant, that ſome things done ſince by Almighty God for the *Engliſh* in theſe Regions, have exceeded all that has been hitherto done for any other Nation: If this *New World* were not found out firſt by the *Engliſh*; yet in thoſe regards, that are of all the *greateſt*, it ſeems to be found out more *for* them than any other.

§. 4. But indeed the two *Cabots*, Father and Son, under the Commiſſion of our King *Henry* VII. entering upon their generous Undertakings in the Year 1497. made further Diſcoveries of *America*, than either *Columbus* or *Veſputius*; in regard of which notable Enterprizes, the younger of them had very great Honours by the Crown put upon him, till at length he died in a good Old Age, in which Old Age King *Edward* VI. had allowed him an Honourable Penſion. Yea, ſince the *Cabots*, employ'd by the King of *England*, made a Diſcovery of this *Continent* in the Year 1497. and it was the Year 1498. before *Columbus* diſcovered any part of the *Continent*; and *Veſputius* came a conſiderable time after both of them; I know not why the *Spaniard* ſhould go *unrivall'd* in the claim of this *New World*, which from the *firſt finding* of it is pretended unto. Theſe Diſcoveries of the *Cabots* were the Foundation of all the *Adventures*, with which the *Engliſh Nation* have ſince followed the *Sun*, and *ſerved* themſelves into an Acquaintance on the hither ſide of the *Atlantick* Ocean. And now I ſhall *drown* my Reader with my ſelf in a tedious Digreſſion, if I enumerate all the Attempts made by a *Willoughby*, a *Frobriſher*, a *Gilbert*, and beſides many others, an Incomparable *Rawleigh*, to ſettle *Engliſh* Colonies in the Deſarts of the Weſtern *India*. It will be enough if I entertain him with the Hiſtory of that *Engliſh* Settlement, which may, upon a Thouſand accounts, pretend unto more of *True Engliſh* than all the reſt, and which alone therefore has been called *New-England*.

§. 5. After a diſcouraging Series of Diſaſters attending the Endeavours of the *Engliſh* to ſwarm into *Florida*, and the reſt of the Continent unto the Northward of it, called *Virginia*, becauſe the firſt *White* Born in thoſe Regions was a *Daughter*, then Born to one *Ananias Dare*, in the Year 1585. The Courage of one *Bartholomew Goſnold*, and one Captain *Bartholomew Gilbert*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, ſerved them to make yet more Eſſays upon the like Deſigns. This Captain *Goſnold* in a ſmall Bark, on *May* 11. 1602. Made Land on this Coaſt in the Latitude of *Forty-Three*; where, tho' he liked the *Welcome* he had from the Salvages that came aboard him, yet he diſliked the *Weather*, ſo that he thought it neceſſary to ſtand more Southward into the Sea. Next Morning he found himſelf Embayed within a mighty Head of Land; which Promontory, in remembrance of the *Cod-Fiſh* in great quantity by him taken there, he called *Cape-Cod*, a Name which I ſuppoſe it will never loſe, till Shoals of *Cod-Fiſh* be ſeen ſwimming upon the top of its higheſt Hills. On this Cape, and on the Iſlands to the Southward of it, he found ſuch a comfortable Entertainment from the *Summer-Fruits* of the Earth, as well as from the *Wild Creatures* then ranging the Woods, and from the *wilder People* now ſurprized into Courteſie, that he carried back to *England* a Report of the Country, better than what the *Spies* once gave of the

Land flowing with Milk and Honey. Not only did the Merchants of *Briſtol* now raiſe a conſiderable Stock to Proſecute theſe Diſcoveries, but many other Perſons of ſeveral Ranks Embarked in ſuch Undertakings; and many *Sallies* into *America* were made; the exacter Narrative whereof I had rather my Reader ſhould *purchaſe* at the expence of conſulting *Purchas*'s *Pilgrims*, than endure any *ſtop* in our haſtening Voyage unto the **Hiſtory of a New-Engliſh Iſrael.**

§. 6. Perhaps my Reader would gladly be informed how *America* came to be *firſt Peopled*; and if *Hornius*'s Diſcourſes, *De origine Gentium Americanarum*, do not ſatisfie him, I hope ſhortly the moſt Ingenious Dr. *Woodward* in his *Natural Hiſtory of the Earth*, will do it. In the mean time, to ſtay thy Stomach, Reader, accept the Account which a very ſenſible *Ruſſian*, who had been an Officer of Prime Note in *Siberia*, gave unto Father *Avril.* Said he, 'There is beyond the *Obi* a 'great River called *Kawoina*, at the Mouth 'whereof, diſcharging it ſelf into the *Frozen* '*Sea*, there ſtands a ſpacious Iſland very well 'Peopled, and no leſs conſiderable for Hunt'ing an Animal, whoſe Teeth are in great 'eſteem. The Inhabitants go frequently upon the 'ſide of the *Frozen Sea* to Hunt this Monſter; 'and becauſe it requires great Labour with Aſſi'duity, they carry their Families uſually along 'with them. Now it many times happens, 'that being ſurprized with a Thaw, they are 'carried away, I know not whither, upon 'huge peices of Ice that break off one from 'another. For my part, I am perſwaded that 'ſeveral of thoſe Hunters have been carried 'upon theſe floating pieces of Ice to the moſt 'Northern Parts of *America*, which is not 'far from that Part of *Aſia* that jutts out in'to the Sea of *Tartary.* And that which con'firms me in this Opinion, is this, That the '*Americans* who Inhabit that Country, which 'advances fartheſt towards that Sea, have the 'ſame *Phyſiognomy* as thoſe Iſlanders. Thus the *Vayvode* of *Smotensko.* But all the concern of this our Hiſtory, is to tell how *Engliſh People* firſt came into *America*; and what *Engliſh People* firſt came into that Part of *America*, where this Hiſtory is compoſed. Wherefore, inſtead of reciting the many *Adventures* of the *Engliſh*, to viſit theſe Parts of the World, I ſhall but repeat the Words of one Captain *Weymouth*, an *Hiſtorian*, as well as an *Undertaker* of thoſe *Adventures*; who Reports, *That one main End of all theſe Undertakings, was to plant the Goſpel in theſe dark Regions of* America. How well the moſt of the *Engliſh* Plantations have anſwered this *main End*, it *mainly* becomes them to conſider: However, I am now to tell Mankind, that as for *One* of theſe *Engliſh* Plantations, this was not only a *main End*, but the *ſole End* upon which it was erected. If they that are ſolicitous about the Intereſts of the *Goſpel*, would know *what* and *where* that Plantation is; be it noted, That all the vaſt Country from *Florida* to *Nova-Francia*, was at firſt called *Virginia*; but this *Virginia* was diſtinguiſhed into *North Virginia* and *South Virginia*, till that Famous *Traveller* Captain *John Smith*, in the Year 1614. preſenting unto the Court of *England* a Draught of *North Virginia*, got it called by the Name of *NEW-ENGLAND*; which Name has been ever ſince allowed unto my Country, as unto the moſt *Reſembling Daughter*, to the chief Lady of the *European* World. Thus the Diſcoveries of the Country proceeded ſo far, that K. *James* I. did by his *Letters Patents* under the Great Seal of *England*, in the 18th Year of his Reign, give and grant unto a certain Honourable *Council* Eſtabliſhed at *Plymouth*, in the County of *Devon*, for the Planting, Ruling, and Ordering, and Governing of *New-England* in *America*, and to their Succeſſors and Aſſigns, all that Part of *America*, lying and being in Breadth, from *Forty Degrees* of Northerly Latitude, from the Equinoctial Line, to the *Forty-Eighth Degree* of the ſaid Northerly Latitude Incluſively; and the *Length* of, and within all the Breadth aforeſaid, throughout all the *firm Lands* from Sea to Sea. This at laſt is the Spot of *Earth*, which the God of Heaven *Spied out* for the Seat of ſuch *Evangelical*, and *Eccleſiaſtical*, and very remarkable Tranſactions, as require to be made an **Hiſtory**; *here* 'twas that our Bleſſed **Jeſus** intended a *Reſting-place*, muſt I ſay? Or only an *Hiding-place* for thoſe *Reformed CHURCHES*, which have given him a little Accompliſhment of his Eternal Father's Promiſe unto him; to be, we hope, yet further accompliſhed, *of having the utmoſt Parts of the Earth for his Poſſeſſion?*

§. 7. The Learned *Joſeph Mede* conjectures that the *American Hemiſphere* will eſcape the *Conflagration* of the *Earth*, which we expect at the deſcent of our Lord JESUS CHRIST from *Heaven*: And that the People here will not have a ſhare in the Bleſſedneſs which the *Renovated World* ſhall enjoy, during the *Thouſand Years* of *Holy Reſt* promiſed unto the Church of God: And that the Inhabitants of theſe Regions, who were Originally *Scytheans*, and therein a notable fulfilment of the Prophecy, about the *Enlargement of* Japhet, will be the *Gog* and *Magog* whom the *Devil* will ſeduce to Invade the *New-Jeruſalem*, with an Envious Hope to gain the *Angelical Circumſtances* of the People there. All this is but Conjecture; and it may be 'twill appear unto ſome as little probable, as that of the later *Pierre Poiret* in his *L'Oeconomy Divine*, that by *Gog* and *Magog* are meant the *Devils* and the *Damned*, which he thinks will be let looſe at the end of the *Thouſand Years*, to make a furious, but a fruitleſs Attempt on the glorified Saints of the *New-Jeruſalem*. However, I am going to give unto the *Chriſtian Reader* an *Hiſtory* of *ſome feeble Attempts* made in the *American Hemiſphere* to anticipate the State of the *New-Jeruſalem*,

ruſalem, as far as the unavoidable *Vanity* of *Humane Affairs*, and *Influence* of *Satan* upon them would allow of it; and of *many worthy Perſons*, whoſe Poſterity, if they make a *Squadron* in the *Fleets* of *Gog* and *Magog*, will be *Apoſtates* deſerving a Room, and a Doom with the *Legions* of the *Grand Apoſtate*, that will deceive the Nations to that *Myſterious Enterprize*.

CHAP. II.

Primordia: *Or, The Voyage to* NEW-ENGLAND, *which produced the Firſt Settlement of* NEW-PLYMOUTH; *with an Account of many Remarkable and Memorable Providences relating to that Voyage.*

§. 1. A Number of devout and ſerious *Chriſtians* in the *Engliſh Nation*, finding the *Reformation* of the *Church* in that Nation, according to the WORD OF GOD, and the Deſign of many among the *Firſt Reformers*, to labour under a ſort of *hopeleſs Retardation*, they did, *Anno* 1602. in the *North* of *England*, enter into a COVENANT, wherein expreſſing themſelves deſirous, not only to attend the *Worſhip* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with a freedom from humane *Inventions* and *Additions*, but alſo to enjoy *all* the Evangelical Inſtitutions of that Worſhip, they did like thoſe *Macedonians*, that are *therefore* by the Apoſtle *Paul* commended, *give themſelves up*, *firſt unto God*, *and then to one another*. Theſe Pious People finding that their Brethren and Neighbours in the Church of *England*, as then *eſtabliſhed by Law*, took offence at theſe their Endeavours after a *Scriptural Reformation*; and being loth to live in the continual *Vexations*, which they felt ariſing from their *Non-Conformity* to things which their Conſciences accounted *Superſtitious* and *Unwarrantable*, they peaceably and willingly embraced a *Baniſhment* into the *Netherlands*; where they ſettled at the City of *Leyden*, about Seven or Eight Years after their Firſt Combination. And now in that City this People ſojourned, an Holy CHURCH of the Bleſſed JESUS, for ſeveral Years under the Paſtoral Care of Mr. *John Robinſon*, who had for his *Help* in the *Government* of the Church, a moſt Wiſe, Grave, good Man, Mr. *William Brewſter*, the ruling Elder. Indeed Mr. *John Robinſon* had been in his *younger* time, (as very good Fruit hath ſometimes been, before Age hath *Ripened* it) *Sowred* with the Principles of the moſt Rigid *Separation*, in the maintaining whereof he compoſed and publiſhed ſome little Treatiſes, and in the Management of the Controverſie made no Scruple to call the incomparable Dr. *Ames* himſelf, Dr. *Amiſs*, for oppoſing ſuch a Degree of *Separation*. But this worthy Man ſuffered himſelf at length to be ſo far convinced by his Learned *Antagoniſt*, that with a moſt Ingenious *Retractation*, he afterwards writ a little Book to prove the *Lawfulneſs* of one thing, which his miſtaken *Zeal* had formerly impugned ſeveral Years, even till 1625. and about the *Fiftieth* Year of his own Age, continued he a Bleſſing unto the whole Church of God, and at laſt, when he dy'd, he left behind him in his immortal Writings, a *Name* very much embalm'd among the People that are beſt able to judge of *Merit*; and even among ſuch, as about the Matters of *Church-Diſcipline*, were not of his Perſwaſion. Of ſuch an eminent Character was he, while he *lived*, that when *Arminianiſm* ſo much prevailed, as it then did in the *low Countries*, thoſe famous Divines, *Polyander*, and *Feſtus Hommius*, employed this our Learned *Robinſon* to diſpute publickly in the Univerſity of *Leyden* againſt *Epiſcopius*, and the other Champions of that Grand *Choak-weed of true Chriſtianity*: And when he *Died*, not only the *Univerſity*, and Miniſters of the City, accompanied him to his *Grave*, with all their accuſtomed *Solemnities*, but ſome of the Chief among them with ſorrowful Reſentments and Expreſſions affirmed, *That all the Churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had ſuſtained a great Loſs by the Death of this worthy Man.*

§. 2. The *Engliſh Church* had not been very long at *Leyden* before they found themſelves encountred with many Inconveniencies. They felt that they were neither for *Health*, nor *Purſe*, nor *Language* well accommodated; but the concern which they moſt of all had, was for their *Poſterity*. They ſaw, that whatever *Banks* the *Dutch* had againſt the Inroads of the *Sea*, they had not ſufficient Ones againſt a *Flood* of manifold *Profaneneſs*. They could not with *Ten Years Endeavour* bring their Neighbours, particularly to any ſuitable Obſervation of the LORD's DAY; without which they knew, that all *practical Religion* muſt wither Miſerably. They beheld ſome of their *Children*, by the Temptations of the Place, which were eſpecially given in the licentious Ways of many *Young People*, drawn into dangerous Extravagancies. Moreover, they were very loth to loſe their Intereſt in the *Engliſh Nation*; but were deſirous rather to enlarge their *King's Dominions*. They found themſelves alſo under a very ſtrong diſpoſition of *Zeal*, to attempt the Eſtabliſhment of **Congregational Churches** in the remote Parts of the World; where they hoped they ſhould be reached by the Royal Influence of their *Prince*, in whoſe *Allegiance* they choſe to live and die; at the ſame time likewiſe hoping that the *Eccleſiaſticks*, who had thus driven them out of the Kingdom into a *New World*, for nothing in the World but their *Non-Conformity* to certain *Rites*, by the Impoſers confeſſed *Indifferent*, would be *aſhamed* ever to perſecute them with

with any further Moleſtations, at the diſtance of a Thouſand Leagues. Theſe *Reaſons* were deeply conſidered by the *Church*; and after many *Deliberations*, accompanied with the moſt ſolemn *Humiliations* and *Supplications* before the God of Heaven, they took up a *Reſolution*, under the conduct of Heaven, to REMOVE into *AMERICA*; the opened Regions whereof had now filled all *Europe* with Reports. It was reſolved, that *part* of the Church ſhould go before their Brethren, to *prepare* a place for the Reſt; and whereas the *Minor part* of younger and ſtronger Men were to go firſt, the *Paſtor* was to ſtay with the *Major*, till *they* ſhould ſee cauſe to follow. Nor was there any occaſion for this Reſolve, in any wearineſs which the *States* of *Holland* had of their Company, as was baſely *whiſpered* by their Adverſaries; therein like thoſe who of old aſſign'd the ſame cauſe for the Departure of the *Iſraelites* out of *Egypt*: For the Magiſtrates of *Leyden* in their Court, reproving the *Walloons*, gave this Teſtimony for our *Engliſh*; *Theſe* Engliſh *have lived now Ten Years among us, and yet we never had any Accuſation againſt any one of them; whereas your Quarrels are continual.*

§. 3. Theſe good People were now *ſatisfy'd*, they had as plain a command of Heaven to attempt a Removal, as ever their Father *Abraham* had for his leaving the *Caldean* Territories; and it was nothing but ſuch a *Satisfaction* that could have carried them thro' ſuch, otherwiſe inſuperable Difficulties, as they met withal. But in this Removal the *Terminus ad Quem* was not yet reſolved upon. The Country of *Guiana* flattered them with the Promiſes of a *perpetual Spring*, and a Thouſand other comfortable Entertainments. But the probable diſagreement of ſo *Torrid* a Climate unto *Engliſh Bodies*, and the more dangerous Vicinity of the *Spaniards* to that Climate; were Conſiderations which made them fear that Country would be *too Hot* for them. They rather propounded ſome Country bordering upon *Virginia*; and unto this purpoſe, they ſent over Agents into *England*, who ſo far treated not only with the *Virginia Company*, but with ſeveral great Perſons about the Court; unto whom they made Evident *their Agreement with the French reformed Churches in all things whatſoever, except in a few ſmall accidental Points*; that at laſt, after many tedious *Delays*, and after the loſs of many *Friends* and *Hopes* in thoſe delays, they obtained a *Patent* for a quiet Settlement in thoſe Territories; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf gave them ſome Expectations that they ſhould never be diſturbed in that Exerciſe of Religion, at which they aimed in their Settlement; yea, when Sir *Robert Nanton*, then Principal Secretary of State unto King *James*, moved his Majeſty to give way, *that ſuch a People might enjoy their Liberty of Conſcience under his gracious Protection in* America, *where they would endeavour the Advancement of his Majeſty's Dominions, and the Enlargement of the Intereſts of the Goſpel*; the King ſaid, *it was a good and honeſt Motion.* All this notwithſtanding, they never made uſe of that *Patent*: But being inform'd of *NEW-ENGLAND*, *thither* they diverted their Deſign, thereto induced by ſundry Reaſons; but particularly by *this*, that the Coaſt being extreamly well circumſtanced for *Fiſhing*, they might therein have ſome immediate Aſſiſtance againſt the hardſhips of their Firſt Encounters. Their Agents then again ſent over to *England*, concluded *Articles* between *them* and ſuch *Adventures*, as would be concerned with them in their preſent Undertakings. *Articles*, that were indeed ſufficiently *hard* for thoſe poor Men, that were now to tranſplant themſelves into an horrid *Wilderneſs*. The *Diverſion* of their Enterprize from the *Firſt* State and Way of it, caus'd an unhappy Diviſion among thoſe that ſhould have Encourag'd it; and many of *them* hereupon fell off. But the *Removers* having already ſold their Eſtates, to put the Money into a *Common Stock*, for the welfare of the *Whole*; and their *Stock* as well as their *Time*, ſpending ſo faſt as to threaten them with an *Army* of Straits, if they delayed any longer; they nimbly diſpatcht the beſt *Agreements* they could, and came away furniſhed with a Reſolution for a large Tract of Land in the *South-Weſt* Parts of *New-England*.

§. 4. All things now being in ſome Readineſs, and a couple of Ships, one called, *The Speedwell*, t'other, *The May-flower*, being hired for their Tranſportation, they ſolemnly ſet apart a Day for *Faſting* and *Prayer*; wherein their Paſtor preached unto them upon *Ezra* 8. 21. *I proclaimed a Faſt there, at the River* Ahava, *that we might afflict our ſelves before our God, to ſeek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our ſubſtance.*

After the fervent Supplications of this Day, accompanied by their affectionate Friends, they took their leave of the pleaſant City, where they had been *Pilgrims* and *Strangers* now for Eleven Years. *Delft-Haven* was the Town, where they went on Board one of their Ships, and there they had ſuch a mournful parting from their Brethren, as even *drowned* the *Dutch* Spectators themſelves, then ſtanding on the *Shore*, in Tears. Their excellent *Paſtor*, on his Knees, by the *Sea-ſide*, poured out their mutual Petitions unto God; and having wept in one another's Arms, as long as the *Wind* and the *Tide* would permit them, they bad *Adieu*. So ſailing to *Southampton* in *England*, they there found the other of their Ships come from *London*, with the reſt of their Friends that were to be the *Companions of the Voyage*. Let my Reader place the *Chronology* of this Buſineſs on *July* 2. 1620. And know, that the faithful *Paſtor* of this People immediately ſent after them a *Paſtoral Letter*; a Letter filled with Holy Counſels unto them, to ſettle their *Peace* with God in their own Conſciences, by an exact *Repentance* of all Sin whatſoever, that ſo they might more eaſily bear all the Difficulties that were now before them; and then to maintain a good

Peace

Peace with one another, and beware of giving or taking *Offences*; and avoid all Diſcoveries of a *Touchy Humour*; but uſe much *Brotherly Forbearance*, [whereby the way he had this remarkable Obſervation, *In my own experience few or none have been found that ſooner give Offence, than thoſe that eaſily take it*; *neither have they ever proved ſound and profitable Members of Societies, who have nouriſhed this Touchy Humour*;] as alſo to take heed of a *private Spirit*, and all *retiredneſs of Mind in each Man, for his own proper Advantage*; and likewiſe to be careful, that the *Houſe of God*, which *they* were, might not be ſhaken with unneceſſary *Novelties* or *Oppoſitions*: Which LETTER afterwards produced moſt happy Fruits among them.

§. 5. On *Auguſt* 5th, 1620. they ſet Sail from *Southampton*; but if it *ſhall*, as I believe it *will*, afflict my Reader to be told what Heart-breaking Diſaſters befel them, in the very beginning of their Undertaking, let him glorifie God, who carried *them* ſo well through *their* greater Affliction.

They were by bad *Weather* twice beaten back, before they came to the *Land*'s *End*: But it was judged, that the *Badneſs* of the *Weather* did not retard them ſo much as the *deceit* of a *Maſter*, who grown *Sick* of the Voyage, made ſuch Pretences about the Leakineſs of his Veſſel, that they were forced at laſt wholly to diſmiſs that leſſer Ship from the Service. Being now all ſtowed into *one Ship*, on the *Sixth* of *September* they put to *Sea*; but they met with ſuch terrible Storms, that the principal Perſons on Board had ſerious Deliberations upon returning Home again; however, after long beating upon the *Atlantick* Ocean, they fell in with the Land at *Cape-Cod*, about the *Ninth* of *November* following, where going on Shore they fell upon their Knees, with many and hearty Praiſes unto God, who had been *their Aſſurance*, when they were *afar off upon the Sea*, and was to be further *ſo*, now that they were come to the *Ends of the Earth*.

But why at this *Cape*? *Here* was not the Port which they intended; *this* was not the Land for which they had provided. There was indeed a moſt wonderful *Providence* of God, over a Pious and a Praying People, in this *Diſappointment*! The moſt *crooked Way* that ever was gone, even that of *Iſrael*'s Peregrination *thro*' the *Wilderneſs*, may be called *a right Way*, ſuch was the *way* of this little *Iſrael*, now going *into* a *Wilderneſs*.

§. 6. Their deſign was to have ſat down ſomewhere about *Hudſon*'s River; but ſome of their Neighbours in *Holland* having a Mind themſelves to ſettle a Plantation there, ſecretly and ſinfully contracted with the Maſter of the Ship, employed for the Tranſportation of theſe our Engliſh *Exiles*, by a more *Northerly* Courſe, to put a Trick upon them. 'Twas in the purſuance of this *Plot*, that not only the *Goods*, but alſo the *Lives* of all on Board were now hazarded, by the Ships falling among the Shoals of *Cape-Cod*: Where they were ſo entangled among dangerous *Breakers*, thus late in the Year, that the *Company* got at laſt into the *Cape-Harbour*, *Broke off* their Intentions of going any further. And yet behold the watchful Providence of God over them that ſeek him! This *Falſe-dealing* proved a *Safe-dealing* for the good People againſt whom it was uſed. Had they been carried according to their deſire unto *Hudſon*'s *River*, the *Indians* in thoſe Parts were at this time ſo Many, and ſo Mighty, and ſo Sturdy, that in probability all this little feeble Number of Chriſtians had been Maſſacred by theſe bloody Salvages, as not long after ſome others were: Whereas the good Hand of God now brought them to a Country wonderfully prepared for their Entertainment, by a ſweeping *Mortality* that had lately been among the Natives. *We have heard with our Ears, O God, our Fathers have told us, what work thou didſt in their Days, in the times of Old*; *how thou draveſt out the Heathen with thy Hand, and planted'ſt them*; *how thou did'ſt afflict the People, and caſt them out!* The *Indians* in theſe Parts had newly, even about a Year or Two before, been viſited with ſuch a prodigious Peſtilence; as carried away not a *Tenth*, but *Nine Parts* of *Ten*, (yea, 'tis ſaid, *Nineteen* of *Twenty*) among them: So that the *Woods* were almoſt cleared of thoſe pernicious Creatures, to make Room for a *better Growth*. It is Remarkable, that a *Frenchman* who not long before theſe Tranſactions, had by a Shipwreck been made a Captive among the *Indians* of this Country, did, as the Survivers reported, juſt before he dy'd in their Hands, tell thoſe *Tawny Pagans*, *that God being angry with them for their Wickedneſs, would not only deſtroy them all, but alſo People the place with another Nation, which would not live after their Brutiſh Manners*. Thoſe Infidels then Blaſphemouſly reply'd, *God could not kill them*; which Blaſphemous miſtake was confuted by an horrible and unuſual *Plague*, whereby they were conſumed in ſuch vaſt Multitudes, that our *firſt Planters* found the Land almoſt covered with their unburied Carcaſes; and they that were left *alive*, were ſmitten into awful and humble Regards of the *Engliſh*, by the Terrors which the Remembrance of the *Frenchman*'s Propheſie had Imprinted on them.

§. 7. Inexpreſſible the Hardſhips to which this *choſen Generation* was now expoſed! Our Saviour once directed his Diſciples to deprecate *a flight in the Winter*; but theſe Diſciples of our Lord were now arrived at a very *Cold* Country, in the beginning of a Rough and Bleak *Winter*; the *Sun* was withdrawn into *Sagittarius*, whence he ſhot the penetrating *Arrows* of *Cold*; feathered with nothing but *Snow*, and pointed with *Hail*; and the *Days* left them to behold the *Froſt*-bitten and *Weather*-beaten face of the *Earth*, were grown ſhorter than the *Nights*, wherein they had yet more trouble to get ſhelter from the increaſing Injuries of the *Froſt* and *Weather*. It was a relief to thoſe Primitive Believers, who were caſt on Shore at

Malta,

Malta, That the Barbarous People ſhow'd them no little Kindneſs, becauſe of the preſent Rain, and becauſe of the Cold. But theſe Believers in *our* Primitive Times, were more afraid of the *Barbarous People* among whom they were now caſt, than they were of the *Rain, or Cold:* Theſe *Barbarians* were at the firſt ſo far from accommodating them with *Bundles of Sticks* to *Warm* them, that they let Fly other ſorts of *Sticks* (that is to ſay, *Arrows*) to *Wound* them: And the very *Looks* and *Shouts* of thoſe *Grim Salvages*, had not much leſs of Terrour in them, than if they had been ſo many *Devils.* It is not long ſince I compared this remove of our Fathers, to that of *Abraham*, whereas I muſt now add, that if our Father *Abraham*, called out of *Ur*, had been directed unto the *Deſarts* of *Arabia*, inſtead of the *Land flowing with Milk and Honey*, the *Trial of his Faith* had been greater than it was; but ſuch was the *Trial of the Faith* in theſe holy Men, who followed the Call of God into *Deſarts* full of diſmal Circumſtances. All this they chearfully underwent, in hope, that they ſhould ſettle the *Worſhip* and *Order* of the Goſpel, and the *Kingdom* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in theſe Regions, and that thus enlarging the *Dominion*, they ſhould thereby ſo Merit the *Protection* of the Crown of *England*, as to be never abandoned unto any further *Perſecutions*, from any Party of their *Fellow Subjects*, for their Conſciencious Regards unto the *Reformation.* Their Propoſal was,

Exiguam ſedem Sacris, *Littuſque rogamus*,
Innocuum, & cunctis undamq; auramq; Patentem.

§. 8. Finding at their Arrival, that what other Powers they had, were made uſeleſs by the *undeſigned Place* of their Arrival; they did, as the *Light of Nature* it ſelf directed them, immediately in the Harbour, ſign an *Inſtrument*, as a Foundation of their future and needful *Government*; wherein Declaring themſelves the Loyal Subjects of the Crown of *England*, they did combine into a *Body Politick*, and ſolemnly engage Submiſſion and Obedience to the *Laws*, *Ordinances*, *Acts*, *Conſtitutions* and *Officers*, that from time to time ſhould be thought moſt convenient for the general Good of the *Colony*. This was done on *Nov.* 11th, 1620. and they choſe one Mr. *John Carver*, a Pious and Prudent Man, their Governour.

Hereupon they ſent Aſhore to look a convenient Seat for their intended Habitation: And while the Carpenter was fitting of their Shallop, *Sixteen Men* tender'd themſelves, to go, by Land, on the Diſcovery. Accordingly on *Nov.* 16th, 1620. they made a dangerous Adventure; following five *Indians*, whom they ſpied Flying before them, into the Woods for many Miles; from whence, after two or three Days Ramble, they returned with ſome *Ears* of *Indian Corn*, which were an *Eſhcol* for their Company; but with a poor and ſmall Encouragement, as unto any Scituation. When the Shallop was fitted, about thirty more went in it upon a further Diſcovery; who proſpered little more, than only to find a little *Indian Corn*, and bring to the Company ſome Occaſions of doubtful Debate, whether they ſhould *here* fix their Stakes. Yet theſe Expeditions on Diſcovery had this one Remarkable Smile of Heaven upon them; that being made before the *Snow* covered the Ground, they met with ſome *Indian Corn*; for which, 'twas their purpoſe honeſtly to pay the Natives on demand; and this Corn ſerved them for *Seed* in the Spring following, which elſe they had not been ſeaſonably furniſhed withal. So that it proved, in Effect, their Deliverance from the *Terrible Famine*.

§. 9. The Month of *November* being ſpent in many *Supplications* to Almighty God, and *Conſultations* one with another, about the Direction of their Courſe; at laſt, on *Dec.* 6. 1620. they manned the Shallop with about eighteen or twenty Hands, and went out upon a *third Diſcovery*. So bitterly Cold was the Seaſon, that the Spray of the Sea lighting on their Cloaths, glazed them with an immediate Congelation; yet they kept Cruiſing about the Bay of *Cape-Cod*, and that Night they got ſafe down the Bottom of the Bay. There they Landed, and there they tarried that Night; and unſucceſsfully Ranging about all the next Day, at Night they made a little *Barricado* of Boughs and Logs, wherein the moſt weary ſlept. The next Morning after Prayers, they ſuddenly were ſurrounded with a Crue of *Indians*, who let Fly a Show'r of *Arrows* among them; whereat our diſtreſſed handful of *Engliſh* happily recovering their Arms, which they had laid by from the Moiſture of the Weather, they vigorouſly diſcharged their *Muskets* upon the Salvages, who aſtoniſhed at the ſtrange Effects of ſuch *Dead-doing Things*, as *Powder* and *Shot*, fled apace into the Woods; but not one of ours was wounded by the *Indian* Arrows that flew like *Hail* about their Ears, and pierced through ſundry of their *Coats*: For which they returned their ſolemn Thanks unto God their Saviour; and they call'd the place by the Name of, *The Firſt Encounter*. From hence they coaſted along, till an horrible *Storm* aroſe, which tore their *Veſſel* at ſuch a rate, and threw them into the midſt of ſuch dangerous *Breakers*, it was reckoned little ſhort of *Miracle* that they eſcaped alive. In the End they got under the Lee of a ſmall *Iſland*, where going Aſhore, they kindled Fires for their ſuccour againſt the Wet and Cold; it was the Morning before they found it was an *Iſland*, whereupon they rendred their Praiſes to him, that *hitherto had helped them*; and the Day following, which was, *The Lord's-Day*, the difficulties now upon them, did not hinder them from ſpending it in the devout and pious Exerciſes of a *Sacred Reſt*. On the next Day they ſounded the *Harbour*, and found it fit for Shipping; they viſited the *Main Land* alſo, and found it accommodated with pleaſant Fields and Brooks; whereof they carried an encouraging Report unto their Friends on Board. So they reſolved that they would *here* pitch their Tents; and Sailing up to the *Town* of *Plymouth* [as with an hopeful *Prolepſis*,

lepſis, my Reader ſhall now call it; for otherwiſe, by the *Indians* 'twas called, *Patuxet*;] on the Twenty-fifth Day of *December* they began to erect the *Firſt Houſe* that ever was in that memorable Town; an Houſe for the general Entertainment of their Perſons and Eſtates: And yet it was not long before an unhappy Accident burnt unto the Ground their Houſe, wherein ſome of their principal Perſons then lay Sick; who were forced nimbly to Fly out of the fired Houſe, or elſe they had been blown up with the *Powder* then Lodged there. After this, they ſoon went upon the Building of more little *Cottages*; and upon the ſettling of good *Laws*, for the better Governing of ſuch as were to Inhabit thoſe *Cottages*. They then reſolved, that until they could be further ſtrengthned in their Settlement, by the Authority of *England*, they would be governed by *Rulers* choſen from among themſelves, who were to proceed according to the Laws of *England*, as near as they could, in the Adminiſtration of their Government; and ſuch other *By-Laws*, as by Common Conſent ſhould be judged neceſſary for the Circumſtances of the Plantation.

§. 10. If the Reader would know, how theſe good People fared the reſt of the Melancholy *Winter*; let him know, That beſides the Exerciſes of Religion, with other Work enough, there was the *care of the Sick* to take up no little part of their Time. 'Twas a moſt heavy Trial of their Patience, whereto they were called the firſt Winter of this their *Pilgrimage*, and enough to convince them, and remind them, that they were but *Pilgrims*. The *Hardſhips* which they encountred, were attended with, and productive of *deadly Sickneſſes*; which in two or three Months carried off more than *Half* their Company. They were but meanly provided againſt theſe unhappy *Sickneſſes*; but there died ſometimes *Two*, ſometimes *Three* in a Day; till ſcarce *Fifty* of them were left alive; and of thoſe *Fifty*, ſometimes there were ſcarce *Five* well at a time to look after the Sick. Yet their profound Submiſſion to the Will of God, their Chriſtian Readineſs to help one another, accompanied with a joyful Aſſurance of another and better World, carried them chearfully thro' the Sorrows of this *Mortality*: Nor was there heard among them a continual *Murmur* againſt thoſe who had by *unreaſonable Impoſitions* driven them into all theſe Diſtreſſes. And there was this *Remarkable Providence* further in the Circumſtances of this *Mortality*, that if a *Diſeaſe* had not more eaſily fetcht ſo many of this Number away to Heaven, a *Famine* would probably have deſtroy'd them all, before their expected Supplies from *England* were Arrived. But what a wonder was it that all the Bloody Salvages far and near did not cut off this *little Remnant*! If he that once muzzled the *Lions* ready to devour the Man of Deſires, had not *Admirably*, I had almoſt ſaid, *Miraculouſly* reſtrained them, *Theſe* had been all devoured! But this People of God were come into a *Wilderneſs* to *Worſhip Him*; and ſo *He* kept their Enemies from ſuch Attempts, as would otherwiſe have ſoon *annihilated* this Poor Handful of Men, thus far already diminiſhed. They ſaw no *Indians* all the Winter long, but ſuch as at the firſt Sight always ran away; yea, they quickly found, that God had ſo turned the Hearts of theſe *Babarians*, as more to *Fear*, than to *Hate* his People thus caſt among them. This bleſſed People was as *a little Flock of Kids*, while there were many Nations of *Indians* left ſtill as Kennels of *Wolves* in every Corner of the Country. And yet the *little Flock* ſuffered no damage by thoſe Rapid *Wolves*! We may and ſhould ſay, *This is the Lord's Doing, 'tis marvellous in our Eyes*.

But among the many Cauſes to be aſſigned for it, one was *This*. It was afterwards by *Them* confeſſed, that upon the Arrival of the *Engliſh* in theſe Parts, the *Indians* employ'd their *Sorcerers*, whom they call *Powaws*, like *Balaam*, to *Curſe* them, and let looſe their *Demons* upon them, to Shipwreck them, to Diſtract them, to Poiſon them, or any way to Ruin them. All the noted *Powaws* in the Country ſpent three Days together in Diabolical *Conjurations*, to obtain the Aſſiſtances of the *Devils* againſt the Settlement of theſe our *Engliſh*; but the *Devils* at length acknowledged unto them, that they could not hinder thoſe People from their becoming the *Owners* and *Maſters* of the Country; whereupon the *Indians* reſolved upon a good Correſpondence with our *New-Comers*; and God convinced them, that there was no *Enchantment* or *Divination* againſt ſuch a People.

§. 11. The doleful *Winter* broke up ſooner than was uſual. But our crippled Planters were not more comforted with the early advance of the *Spring*, than they were ſurpriz'd with the appearance of two *Indians*, who in broken *Engliſh* bade them, *Welcome Engliſhmen!* It ſeems that one of theſe *Indians* had been in the Eaſtern Parts of *New-England*, acquainted with ſome of the *Engliſh* Veſſels that had been formerly *Fiſhing* there; but the other of the *Indians*, and he from whom they had moſt of Service, was a Perſon provided by the very ſingular Providence of God for that Service. A moſt wicked Ship-maſter being on this Coaſt a few Years before, had wickedly Spirited away more than Twenty *Indians*; whom having enticed them aboard, he preſently ſtowed them under Hatches, and carried them away to the *Streights*, where he ſold as many of them as he could for *Slaves*. This avaritious and pernicious *Felony* laid the Foundation of grievous Annoyances to all the *Engliſh* Endeavours of Settlements, eſpecially in the Northern Parts of the Land for ſeveral Years enſuing. The *Indians* would never *forget* or *forgive* this Injury; but when the *Engliſh* afterwards came upon this Coaſt, in their *Fiſhing-Voyages*, they were ſtill aſſaulted in an Hoſtile manner, to the Killing and Wounding of many poor Men by the angry *Natives*, in revenge of the wrong that had been done them; and ſome intended *Plantations* here were hereby utterly nipt in the *Bud*. But our good God ſo order'd it, that one of the ſtoln *Indians*, called

led *Squanto*, had eſcaped out of *Spain* into *England*; where he lived with one Mr. *Slany*, from whom he had found a way to return into his own Country, being brought back by one Mr. *Dermer*, about half a Year before our honeſt *Plymotheans* were caſt upon this Continent. This *Indian* (with the other) having received much Kindneſs from the *Engliſh*, who he ſaw generally condemned the Man that firſt betrayed him, now made unto the *Engliſh* a return of that Kindneſs: And being by his Acquaintance with the *Engliſh Language*, fitted for a Converſation with them, he very kindly informed them what was the preſent Condition of the other *Indians*; inſtructed them in the way of ordering their *Corn*; and acquainted them with many other things, which it was neceſſary for them to underſtand. But *Squanto* did for them a yet greater benefit than all *this*: For he brought *Maſſaſoit*, the chief *Sachim*, or Prince of the *Indians* within many Miles, with ſome Scores of his Attenders, to make our People a kind Viſit; the Iſſue of which Viſit was, that *Maſſaſoit* not only entred into a firm Agreement of *Peace* with the *Engliſh*, but alſo they declared and ſubmitted themſelves to be Subjects of the King of *England*; into which *Peace* and *Subjection* many other *Sachims* quickly after came, in the moſt voluntary manner that could be expreſſed. It ſeems this unlucky *Squanto* having told his Conntrymen how eaſie it was for ſo great a Monarch as K. *James* to deſtroy them all, if they ſhould hurt any of his People, he went on to terrifie them with a ridiculous *Rhodomantado*, which they Believed, that this People kept the *Plague* in a Cellar (where they kept their *Powder*) and could at their pleaſure let it looſe to make ſuch Havock among them, as the Diſtemper had already made among them a few Years before. Thus was the *Tongue of a Dog* made uſeful to a feeble and ſickly *Lazarus!* Moreover, our *Engliſh Guns*, eſpecially the *great* ones, made a formidable *Report* among theſe Ignorant *Indians*; and the hopes of enjoying ſome Defence by the *Engliſh*, againſt the Potent Nation of *Narraganſet-Indians*, now at War with *theſe*, made them yet more to Court our Friendſhip. This very ſtrange Diſpoſition of things, was extreamly advantageous to our diſtreſſed *Planters:* And who ſees not herein the ſpecial *Providence* of the God *who diſpoſeth all?*

CHAP. III.

Conamur Tenues Grandia : *Or, A Brief Account of the Difficulties, the Deliverances, and other Occurrences, thro' which the Plantation of* New-Plymouth *arrived unto the Conſiſtency of a Colony.*

§. 1. SEtting aſide the juſt and great Grief of our *new Planters* for the immature Death of their Excellent Governour, ſucceeded by the Worthy Mr. *Bradford*, early in the *Spring* after their firſt Arrival, they ſpent their *Summer* ſomewhat comfortably, Trading with the *Indians* to the Northward of their Plantation; in which Trade they were not a little aſſiſted by *Squanto*, who within a Year or two Dy'd among the *Engliſh*; but before his Death, deſired them to Pray for him, *That he might go to the* Engliſhman's God *in Heaven.* And beſides the aſſiſtance of *Squanto*, they had alſo the help of another *Indian*, called *Hobbamok*, who continued faithful unto the *Engliſh* Intereſts as long as he liv'd; tho' he ſometimes went in Danger of his Life among his Countrymen for that Fidelity. So they jogg'd on till the Day *Twelvemonth* after their firſt Arrival; when there now arrived unto them a good Number more of their old Friends from *Holland*, for the *ſtrengthening* of their new Plantation: But inaſmuch as they brought not a ſufficient ſtock of Proviſions with them, they rather *weakened* it, than *ſtrengthened* it.

If *Peter Martyr* could magnifie the *Spaniards*, of whom he reports, *They led a miſerable Life for three days together with parched Grain of* Maize *only, and that not unto ſatiety*; what ſhall I ſay of our *Engliſhmen*, who would have thought a little *parched Indian Corn* a mighty *Feaſt?* But they wanted it, not only three Days together; no, for two or three Months together, they had no kind of *Corn* among them: Such was the ſcarcity, accompanied with the diſproportion of the *Inhabitants* to the *Proviſions*. However, *Peter Martyr's* Concluſion may be ours, *With their Miſeries this People opened a way to thoſe new Lands, and afterwards other Men came to Inhabit them with eaſe, in reſpect of the Calamities which theſe Men have ſuffered.* They were indeed very often upon the very point of *Starving*; but in their Extremity the God of Heaven always furniſhed them with ſome *ſudden Reliefs*; either by cauſing ſome Veſſels of *Strangers* occaſionally to look in upon them, or by putting them into a way to catch *Fiſh* in ſome convenient Quantities, or by ſome other ſurprizing Accidents; for which they render'd unto Heaven the Solemn *Thanks* of their Souls. They kept in ſuch good *Working-caſe*, that beſides their Progreſs in *Building*, and *Planting*, and *Fiſhing*, they formed a ſort of a *Fort*, wherein they kept a Nightly *Watch* for their ſecurity againſt any Treachery of the *Indians*; being thereto *awakened* by an horrible Maſſacre, which the *Indians* lately made upon ſeveral Hundreds of the *Engliſh* in *Virginia*.

§. 2. In one of the firſt Summers after their ſitting down at *Plymouth*, a terrible *Drought* threatned the Ruin of all their Summers *Huſbandry*. From about the middle of *May* to the middle of *July*, an extream hot *Sun* beat upon their

their Fields, without any *Rain*, ſo that all their *Corn* began to Wither and Languiſh, and ſome of it was irrecoverably parched up. In this Diſtreſs they ſet apart a Day for *Faſting* and *Prayer*, to deprecate the Calamity that might bring them to *Faſting* thro' *Famine*; in the Morning of which Day there was no ſign of any *Rain*, but before the Evening the Sky was overcaſt with Clouds, which went not away without ſuch eaſie, gentle, and yet plentiful *Showers*, as reviv'd a great part of their decay'd *Corn*, for a comfortable Harveſt. The *Indians* themſelves took notice of this Anſwer given from Heaven to the Supplications of this Devout People; and one of them ſaid, *Now I ſee that the* Engliſhman's God *is a good God; for he hath heard you, and ſent you Rain, and that without ſuch Tempeſt and Thunder as we uſe to have with our Rain; which after our* Powawing *for it, breaks down the Corn; whereas your Corn ſtands whole and good ſtill; ſurely, your God is a good God.* The *Harveſt* which God thus gave to this pious People, cauſed them to ſet apart another Day for Solemn *Thankſgiving* to the glorious *Hearer of Prayers!*

§. 3. There was another moſt wonderful *Preſervation*, vouchſafed by God unto this little Knot of Chriſtians. One Mr. *Weſton*, a Merchant of good Note, intereſted at firſt in the *Plymouth* Deſign, afterwards deſerted it; and in the Year 1622, ſent over two Ships with about Sixty Men, to begin a Plantation in the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*. Theſe Beginners being well refreſhed at *Plymouth*, travelled more Northward unto a place known ſince by the Name of *Weymouth*; where theſe *Weſtonians*, who were *Church of England-men*, did not approve themſelves like the *Plymotheans*, a pious, honeſt, induſtrious People; but followed ſuch bad Courſes, as had like to have brought a Ruin upon their Neighbours, as well as themſelves. Having by their *Idleneſs* brought themſelves to *Penury*, they ſtole Corn from the *Indians*, and many other ways provoked them; although the Governour of *Plymouth* Writ them his very ſharp diſapprobation of their Proceedings. To ſatisfie the exaſperated Salvages, divers of the *Thieves* were *Stockt* and *Whipt*, and one of them at laſt put to *Death* by this miſerable Company; which did no other Service than to afford an occaſion for a *Fable* to the Roguiſh *Hudibras*, for all Accommodation was now *too late*. The *Indians* far and near entred into a *Conſpiracy* to cut off theſe abuſive *Engliſh*; and leaſt the Inhabitants of *Plymouth* ſhould revenge that Exciſion of their Countrymen, they reſolv'd upon the Murther of *them* alſo. In purſuance of this *Plot*, Captain *Standiſh*, the Commander of the *Militia* of *Plymouth*, Lodging on a Night, with Two or Three Men in an *Indian* Houſe, the *Indians* propoſed that they might begin the Execution of their Malice by the Aſſaſſination of the Captain, as ſoon as ever he ſhould be fallen aſleep. However, the *watchful* Providence of God ſo ordered it, that the Captain could not *Sleep* all that Night; and ſo they durſt not meddle with him. Thus was the beginning of the *Plot* put by: But the whole Plot came another way to be diſcovered and prevented. *Maſſaſoit*, the Southern *Sachim*, falling Sick, the Governour of *Plymouth* deſired a couple of Gentlemen, whereof one was that good Man, Mr. *Winſlow*, to viſit this poor *Sachim*: Whom, after their long Journey, they found lying at the point of Death with a Crue of Helliſh *Powaws*, uſing their ineffectual *Spells* and *Howls* about him to Recover him. Upon the taking of ſome *Engliſh Phyſick*, he preſently revived; and thus regaining his loſt Health, the *Fees* he Paid his *Engliſh* Doctor were, *A Confeſſion of the Plot among ſeveral Nations of the* Indians, *to deſtroy the* Engliſh. He ſaid, that they had in vain ſollicited *him* to enter into that bloody Combination; but his Advice was, that the Governour of *Plymouth* ſhould immediately take off the *principal Actors* in this Buſineſs, whereupon the reſt being terrify'd, would ſoon deſiſt. There was a Concurrence of many things to confirm the Truth of this Information; wherefore Captain *Standiſh* took Eight reſolute Men with him to the *Weſtonian* Plantation; where pretending to Trade with the *Indians*, divers of the Conſpirators began to Treat him in a manner very Inſolent. The Captain, and his little *Army* of *Eight Men*, (Reader, allow them for their *Courage* to be called ſo) with a prodigious Reſolution, preſently killed ſome of the Chief among theſe *Indians*, while the reſt, after a ſhort Combate, ran before him as faſt as their Legs could carry them; nevertheleſs, in the midſt of the Skirmiſhes, an *Indian* Youth ran to the *Engliſh*, deſiring to be with them; and declaring that the *Indians* waited but for their finiſhing Two *Canoo's*, to have ſurprized the Ship in the Harbour, and have Maſſacred all the People; which had been finiſhed, if the Captain had not arrived among them juſt in the *nick of Time* when he did: And an *Indian* Spy detained at *Plymouth*, when he ſaw the Captain return from this Expedition, with the *Head* of a famous *Indian* in his *Hand*, then with a faln and frighted Countenance, acknowledged the whole Miſchief intended by the *Indians* againſt the *Engliſh*. Releaſing this Fellow, they ſent him to the *Sachim* of the *Maſſachuſets*, with Advice of what he muſt look for, in Caſe he committed any Hoſtility upon the Subjects of the King of *England*; whereof there was this Effect, that not only that *Sachim* hereby terrified, moſt humbly begg'd for *Peace*, and pleaded his Ignorance of his Mens Intentions; but the reſt of the *Indians*, under the ſame Terror, withdrew themſelves to Live in the unhealthful *Swamps*, which prov'd Mortal to many of them. One of the *Weſtonians* was endeavouring to carry unto *Plymouth* a Report of the Straits and Fears which were come upon them, and this Man loſing his *Way*, ſaved his Life; taking a wrong Track, he eſcaped the Hands of the Two *Indians*, who went on hunting after him; however e're he reached *Plymouth*, care had been already taken for theſe

wretched *Weſtonians* by the earlier and fuller Communications of *Maſſaſoit.* So was the Peace of *Plymouth* preſerved, and ſo the *Weſtonian* Plantation broke up, went off, and came to nothing: Altho' 'twas much wiſhed by the Holy *Robinſon*, that ſome of the poor Heathen had been *converted* before any of them had been *Slaughtered.*

§. 4. A certain *Gentleman* [if nothing in the following Story contradict *that Name*] was employed in obtaining from the Grand Council of *Plymouth* and *England*, a Patent in the Name of theſe Planters for a convenient quantity of the Country, where the Providence of God had now diſpoſed them. This Man ſpeaking *one* Word for *them*, ſpake *two* for *himſelf:* And ſurreptitiouſly procured the Patent in his own Name, reſerving for himſelf and his Heirs an huge Tract of the Land; and intending the *Plymotheans* to hold the reſt as *Tenants* under him. Hereupon he took on Board many *Paſſengers* with their Goods; but having Sailed no further than the *Downs*, the Ship ſprang a Leak; and beſides this Diſſaſter, which alone was enough to have ſtopt the Voyage, one Strand of their Cable was accidentally cut; by which means it broke in a ſtreſs of Wind; and they were in extream danger of being wrack'd upon the *Sands.* Having with much Coſt recruited their *Loſs*, and encreaſed the Number of their *Paſſengers*, they put out again to Sea; but after they had got half Way, one of the ſaddeſt and longeſt Storms that had been known ſince the Days of the Apoſtle *Paul*, drove them home to *England* again, with a Veſſel well nigh torn to pieces, tho' the Lives of the People, which were above an Hundred, mercifully preſerved. This Man, by all his tumbling backward and forward, was by this time grown ſo *Sick* of his *Patent*, that he *vomited* it up; he aſſigned it over to the Company, but they afterwards obtained *another*, under the Umbrage whereof they could now more effectually carry on the Affairs of their New *Colony.* The Paſſengers went over afterwards in another Veſſel; and quickly after that another Veſſel of Paſſengers alſo arrived in the Country: Namely, in the Year 1623. Among theſe Paſſengers were divers Worthy and Uſeful Men, who were come to *ſeek the Welfare of this little* Iſrael; tho' at their coming they were as diverſly affected, as the Rebuilders of the Temple at *Jeruſalem:* Some were *grieved* when they ſaw *how bad* the Circumſtances of their Friends were, and others were *glad* that they were *no worſe.*

§. 5. The Immature Death of Mr. *Robinſon* in *Holland*, with many enſuing Diſaſters, hindred a great part of the *Engliſh* Congregation at *Leyden*, from coming over to the *Remnant here ſeparated from their Brethren.* Hence it was, that altho' this *Remnant* of that Church were bleſſed with an *Elder* ſo *apt to Teach*, that he attended all the other Works of a *Miniſter*; yet they had not a *Paſtor* to diſpence the *Sacraments* among them, till the Year 1629. when one Mr. *Ralph Smith* undertook the Paſtoral Charge of this Holy *Flock.* But long before that, namely, in the Year 1624. the *Adventurers* in *England*, with whom this Company held a *Correſpondence*, did ſend over unto them a *Miniſter*, who did them no manner of good; but by his Treacherous and Miſchievous Tricks at laſt utterly deſtroyed that *Correſpondence.* The firſt *Neat-Cattel*, namely, Three *Heifers* and a *Bull*, that ever were brought into this Land, now coming with him, did the Land certainly better Service than was ever done by *him*, who ſufficiently forgot that Scriptural Emblem of a Miniſter, *The Ox Treading out the Corn.* This Miniſter at his firſt arrival did careſs them with ſuch extream Showers of Affection and Humility, that they were very much taken with him; nevertheleſs, within a little while, he uſed moſt malignant Endeavours to make *Factions* among them, and confound all their *Civil* and *Sacred* Order. At laſt there fell into the Hands of the Governour his *Letters* home to *England*, filled with wicked and lying Accuſations againſt the People; of which things being ſhamefully Convicted, the Authority Sentenced him to be expell'd the *Plantation*, only they allowed him to ſtay *Six Months*, with ſecret Reſervations and Expectations to releaſe him from that Sentence, if he approved himſelf ſound in the *Repentance* which he now expreſſed. *Repentance*, I ſay; for he did now publickly in the *Church* confeſs with Tears, that the *Cenſure of the Church was leſs than he deſerved*; he acknowledged, *That he had ſlanderouſly abus'd the good People, and that God might juſtly lay Innocent Blood to his Charge; for he knew not what hurt might have come thro' his Writings; for the Interception whereof he now bleſſed God; and that it had been his manner to pick up all the Evil that was ever ſpoken againſt the People; but he ſhut his Ears and Eyes againſt all the Good; and that if God ſhould make him a Vagabond in the Earth, he were juſt in doing ſo; and that thoſe Three things,* Pride, Vain-glory, *and* Self-love, *had been the Cauſes of his Miſcarriages.* Theſe things he uttered ſo Pathetically, that they again permitted him to Preach among them; and ſome were ſo perſwaded of his *Repentance*, that they profeſs'd they would fall down on their Knees, that the Cenſure paſs'd on him ſhould be remitted. But, *Oh* the *deceitful Heart of Man!* After *Two Months* time, he ſo notoriouſly renewed the Miſcarriages which he had thus bewailed, that his own Wife, through her Affliction of Mind at his *Hypocriſie*, could not forbear declaring her Fears, that God would bring ſome heavy Judgment upon their Family, not only for *theſe*, but ſome former Wickedneſſes by him committed, eſpecially as to fearful Breaches of the *Seventh Commandment*, which he had with an *Oath* denied, tho' they were afterwards evinced. Wherefore upon the whole, being baniſhed from hence, becauſe his Reſidence here was utterly Inconſiſtent with the

* *Life*

Life of this *Infant-Plantation*; he went into *Virginia*, where he ſhortly after ended his own *Life*. Quickly after theſe Difficulties, the Company of *Adventurers* for the ſupport of this Plantation, became rather *Adverſaries* to it; or at leaſt, a, *Be you warmed and filled*; a few good Words were all the help they afforded it; *they* broke to pieces, but the *God of Heaven* ſtill ſupported it.

§. 6. After theſe many Difficulties were thus a little ſurmounted, the Inhabitants of this *Colony* Proſecuted their Affairs at ſo vigorous and ſucceſsful a rate, that they not only fell into a comfortable way, both of *Planting* and of *Trading*; but alſo in a few Years there was a notable number of *Towns* to be ſeen ſetled among them, and very conſiderable *Churches* walking, ſo far as they had *attained*, in the *Faith* and *Order* of the Goſpel. Their *Churches*, flouriſhed ſo conſiderably, that in the Year 1642. there were above a dozen Miniſters, and ſome of thoſe Miniſters were *Stars of the firſt Magnitude*, ſhining in their ſeveral *Orbs* among them. And as they *proceeded* in the Evangelical Service and Worſhip of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo they *proſpered* in their Secular Concernments. When they firſt began to divide their *Lands*, they wiſely contrived the Diviſion ſo, that they might keep cloſe together for their mutual Defence; and then their Condition was very like that of the *Romans* in the time of *Romulus*, when every Man contented himſelf with *Two Acres* of Land; and as *Pliny* tells us, *It was thought a great Reward for one to receive a Pint of Corn from the People of* Rome, *which Corn they alſo pounded in Mortars.* But ſince then their Condition is marvellouſly altered and amended: *Great Farms* are now ſeen among the Effects of this good Peoples Planting; and in their *Fiſhing*, from the catching of *Cod*, and other Fiſh of leſs Dimenſions, they are ſince paſſed on to the catching of *Whales*, whoſe *Oil* is become a *Staple-Commodity* of the Country: *Whales*, I ſay, which living and moving *Iſlands*, do now find a way to this Coaſt, where, notwithſtanding the deſperate hazards run by the *Whale-Catchers* in their thin *Whale-Boats*, often torn to pieces by the ſtroaks of thoſe enraged Monſters; yet it has been rarely known that any of them have miſcarried. And within a few Days of my Writing this Paragraph, a *Cow* and a *Calf* were caught at *Yarmouth* in this Colony; the *Cow* was Fifty Five Foot long, the *Bone* was Nine or Ten Foot wide; a *Cart* upon Wheels might have gone in at the Mouth of it; the *Calf* was Twenty Foot long, for unto ſuch vaſt *Calves*, the *Sea-Monſters draw forth their Breaſts.* But ſo does the good God here give his People to *ſuck the abundance of the Seas!*

§. 7. If my Reader would have the *Religion* of theſe Planters more exactly deſcribed unto him; after I have told him that many Hundreds of Holy Souls, having been *ripened* for Heaven under the Ordinances of God in this Colony; and having left an Example of wonderful Prayerfulneſs, Watchfulneſs, Thankfulneſs, Uſefulneſs, exact Conſcienciouſneſs, Piety, Charity, Weanedneſs from the things of this World, and Affection to the things that are above, are now at reſt with the Bleſſed Jeſus, whoſe *Names*, tho' not Recorded in *this Book*, are yet entred in the *Book of Life*; and I hope there are ſtill many Hundreds of their Children, even of the Third and Fourth Generation, reſolving to *follow them as they followed Chriſt*. I muſt refer him to an account given thereof by the Right Worſhipful *Edward Winſlow*, Eſq; who was for ſome time the *Governour* of the Colony. He gives us to underſtand, that they are entirely of the ſame Faith with the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, only in their *Church-Government* they are Endeavourous after *a Reformation more thorough* than what is in many of them; yet without any uncharitable *Separation* from them. He gives Inſtances of their admitting to Communion among them the Communicants of the *French*, the *Dutch*, the *Scotch* Churches, meerly by Virtue of their being ſo; and ſays, *We ever placed a large difference between thoſe that grounded their Practice on the Word of God, tho' differing from us in the Expoſition and Underſtanding of it, and thoſe that hated ſuch Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichriſtian Oppoſition to it, and Perſecution of it:* After which, he adds, *'Tis true, we profeſs and deſire to practice* a Separation *from the World, and the Works of the World; and as the Churches of Chriſt are all* Saints by Calling, *ſo we deſire to ſee the Grace of God ſhining forth (at leaſt* ſeemingly, *leaving ſecret things to God) in all we admit into* Church-Fellowſhip *with us, and to keep off ſuch as openly wallow in the Mire of their Sins, that neither the Holy things of God, nor the Communion of Saints, may be leavened or polluted thereby. And if any joining to us formerly, either when we lived at* Leyden *in* Holland, *or ſince we came to* New-England, *have with the Manifeſtation of their Faith, and Profeſſion of Holineſs, held forth therewith Separation from the Church of* England; *I have divers times, both in the one place, and in the other, heard either Mr.* Robinſon *our Paſtor, or Mr.* Brewſter *our Elder, ſtop them forthwith, ſhewing them that we required no ſuch thing at their Hands; but only to hold forth Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, Holineſs in the Fear of God, and Submiſſion to every Ordinance and Appointment of God.* Thus he. It is true there have been ſome *Varieties* among this People, but ſtill I ſuppoſe the *Body* of them do with Integrity eſpouſe and maintain the Principles upon which they were firſt Eſtabliſhed: However, I muſt *without Fear* of offending expreſs my *Fear*, that the *Leaven* of that rigid Thing, they call *Browniſm*, has prevailed ſometimes a little of the furtheſt in the *Adminiſtrations* of this Pious People. Yea, there was an *Hour of Temptation*, wherein the

fondneſs

fondneſs of the People for the *Prophecyings of the Brethren*, as they called thoſe Exerciſes; that is to ſay, the *Preachments* of thoſe whom they call'd *Gifted Brethren*, produced thoſe Diſcouragements unto their *Miniſters*, that almoſt all the *Miniſters* left the Colony; apprehending themſelves driven away by the Inſupportable Neglect and Contempt, with which the People on this occaſion treated them. And this *dark Hour* of *Eclipſe*, upon the *Light* of the Goſpel, in the Churches of the Colony, continued until their Humiliation and Reformation before the *Great Shepherd of the Sheep*, who hath ſince then bleſſed them with a *Succeſſion* of as Worthy *Miniſters* as moſt in the Land. Moreover, there has been among them one Church, that have *Queſtioned* and *Omitted* the Uſe of *Infant Baptiſm*, nevertheleſs, there being many good Men among thoſe that have been of this Perſwaſion, I do not know that they have been *Perſecuted* with any harder Means, than thoſe of kind *Conferences* to reclaim them. There have been alſo ſome unhappy *Sectaries*, namely, *Quakers* and *Seekers*, and other ſuch *Energumens*, [pardon me, *Reader*, that I have thought them ſo] which have given uggly Diſturbances to theſe *Good-Spirited* Men in their *Temple-Work*; but they have not prevailed unto the Subverſion of the *Firſt Intereſt*.

Some little *Controverſies* likewiſe have now and then ariſen among them in the Adminiſtration of their *Diſcipline*; but *Synods* then regularly called, have uſually and preſently put into *Joint* all that was apprehended *out*. Their chief *Hazard* and *Symptom* of *Degeneracy*, is in the Verification of that Old Obſervation, *Religio peperit Divitias, & Filia devoravit Matrem: Religion* brought forth *Proſperity*, and the *Daughter* deſtroy'd the *Mother*. The one would expect, that as they grew in their *Eſtates*, they would grow in the Payment of their *Quit-rents* unto the God who *gives them Power to get Wealth*, by more liberally ſupporting his *Miniſters* and *Ordinances* among them; the moſt likely way to ſave them from the moſt miſerable *Apoſtacy*; the neglect whereof in ſome former Years, began for a while to be puniſhed with a ſore *Famine of the Word*; nevertheleſs, there is danger leſt the *Enchantments* of this World make them to forget *their Errand into the Wilderneſs*: And ſome woful Villages in the Skirts of the Colony, beginning to live without the *Means of Grace* among them, are ſtill more Ominous Intimations of the danger. May the God of *New-England* preſerve them from ſo great a Death!

§. 8. Going now to take my leave of this little *Colony*, that I may Converſe for a while with her *Younger Siſters*, which yet have outſtript her in growth exceedingly, and ſo will now draw all the Streams of *her* Affairs into *their Channels*, I ſhall repeat the Counſel which their Faithful *Robinſon* gave the firſt Planters of the Colony, at their parting from him in *Holland*. Said he, [to this purpoſe.]

'*Brethren*, We are now quickly to part from 'one another; and whether I may ever live to 'ſee your Faces on Earth any more, the God 'of Heaven only knows. But whether the 'Lord have appointed *that* or no, I charge 'you before *God*, and before his Bleſſed *Angels*, that you *follow me* no further than you 'have ſeen me *follow the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*.

'If God reveal any thing to you by any *other* Inſtrument of *his*, be as ready to receive 'it, as ever you were to receive any Truth by '*my* Miniſtry; for I am verily perſwaded, I 'am very confident the Lord hath *more Truth* 'yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. 'For my part, I cannot ſufficiently bewail the 'Condition of the *Reformed Churches*, who 'are come to a *Period* in Religion; and will 'go at preſent no further than the Inſtruments 'of their firſt *Reformation*. The *Lutherans* 'can't be drawn to go beyond what *Luther* 'ſaw: Whatever part of his Will our good 'God has imparted amd revealed unto *Calvin*, 'they will rather Die than Embrace it. And 'the *Calviniſts*, you ſee, ſtick faſt where they 'were left by that great Man of God, who yet '*ſaw not all things*.

'This is a Miſery much to be *lamented*; 'for tho' they were *Burning and Shining Lights* 'in their Times, yet they penetrated not into 'the *whole Counſel of God*; but were they 'now living, they would be as willing to embrace *further Light*, as that which they *firſt* 'received. I beſeech you to remember it; it 'is an Article of your *Church-Covenant*, That 'you will *be ready to receive whatever Truth* '*ſhall be made known unto you from the Written Word of God*. Remmber *that*, and every 'other Article of your moſt Sacred *Covenant*. 'But I muſt herewithal exhort you to take 'heed what you receive as *Truth*; examine it, 'conſider it, compare it with the other *Scriptures of Truth*, before you do receive it. For 'it is not poſſible the *Chriſtian World* ſhould 'come ſo lately out of ſuch thick *Antichriſtian Darkneſs*, and that *Perfection of Knowledge* ſhould break forth at once. I muſt alſo adviſe you to abandon, avoid and ſhake off 'the Name of *Browniſt*: It is a meer *Nick-Name*, and a *Brand* for the making of Religion, and the Profeſſors of Religion, odious 'unto the *Chriſtian World*. Unto this End, I 'ſhould be extreamly glad, if ſome *Godly Miniſter* would go with you, or come to you, 'before you can have any Company. For 'there will be no difference between the *Unconformable Miniſters* of *England* and you, 'when you come to the practice of Evangelical Ordinances out of the Kingdom. And I 'would wiſh you by all Means to cloſe with 'the *Godly People of England*; ſtudy *Union* 'with them in all things, wherein you can 'have it without Sin, rather than in the leaſt 'meaſure to affect a *Diviſion* or *Separation* 'from them. Neither would I have you loth 'to take another *Paſtor* beſides *my ſelf*; in as 'much

'much as a Flock that hath Two *Shepherds* 'is not thereby endangered, but ſecured.

So adding ſome other things of great Conſequence, he concluded moſt affectionately, commending his departing *Flock* unto the Grace of God, which now I alſo do the Offſpring of that Holy *Flock*.

CHAP. IV.

Paulo Majora! *Or, The* Eſſays *and* Cauſes *which produced the Second, but largeſt Colony of* NEW-ENGLAND; *and the manner wherein the Firſt Church of this* New-Colony *was gathered.*

§. 1. WORDS full of *Emphaſis*, are thoſe which my Reader may find Written by a Learned and Pious Miniſter of the Church of *England*; and I hope I may without offence tender to the Reader the Words of *ſuch* an Author.

'Some among us (*writes he*) are angry with '*Calvin* for calling Humane Rites, *Tolerabiles* '*Ineptias*; they will not at the great Day be '*ſuch* unto the rigorous Impoſers, who made 'them *the Terms of Communion*. How will 'you at that Day lift up your Faces before 'your Maſter and your Judge, when he ſhall 'demand of you, *what is become of thoſe his* '*Lambs which you drove into the Wilderneſs* '*by needleſs Impoſitions?*

The Story of the Flocks thus *driven into the Wilderneſs* has begun to be related: And we would relate it without all Intemperate Expreſſions of our anger againſt our *Drivers*, before whom the People muſt *needs go*, as they did: It becomes not an *Hiſtorian*, and it leſs becomes a *Chriſtian*, to be *Paſſionate*. Nevertheleſs, *Poetry* may *dare* to do ſomething at the Deſcription of that which *drove* thoſe *Drivers*; and with a few Lines fetch'd from the moſt famous *Epic Poem* of Dr. *Blackmore*, we will deſcribe the Fury.

——*A* Fury *crawl'd from out her Cell,*
The Bloodieſt Miniſter of Death *and* Hell.
A monſtrous Shape, a foul and hideous Sight,
Which did all Hell *with her dire Looks affright.*
Huge full-gorg'd Snakes *on her lean Shoulders hung,*
And Death'*s dark Courts with their loud hiſſing rung.*
Her Teeth *and* Claws *were* Iron, *and her* Breath
Like Subterranean Damps, *gave preſent* Death.
Flames *worſe than* Hell's, *ſhot from her Bloody* Eyes,
And Fire! *and* Sword! *Eternally ſhe cries.*
No certain Shape, no Feature regular,
No Limbs diſtinct in th' odious Fiend *appear.*
Her Squalid, Bloated Belly *did ariſe,*
Swoll'n with black Gore *to a prodigious Size:*
Diſtended vaſtly by a mighty Flood
Of ſlaughter'd Saints, *and conſtant* Martyr'*s Blood.*
A Monſter *ſo deform'd, ſo fierce as this,*
It ſelf a Hell, *ne're ſaw the* dark Abyſs!
Horrow *till now, the uggleiſt Shape eſteem'd,*
So much out-done, an harmleſs Figure *ſeem'd.*
Envy, *and* Hate, *and* Malice *bluſh'd to ſee*
Themſelves Eclips'd *by ſuch Deformity.*
Her Feav'riſh Heat *drinks down a Sea of* Blood,
Not of the Impious, *but the* Juſt *and* Good:
'Gainſt whom ſhe burns with unextinguiſh'd Rage,
Nor can th' Exhauſted World *her Wrath aſſwage.*

It was PERSECUTION; a *Fury* which we conſider not as poſſeſſing *the Church of* England, but as inſpiring a *Party* which have unjuſtly Challenged the Name of *the Church of* England, and which, whenever *the Church of* England ſhall any more encourage her *Fall*, will become like that of the *Houſe* which our Saviour ſaw Built upon the *Sand*.

§. 2. There were more than a few attempts of the *Engliſh*, to People and Improve the Parts of *New-England*, which were to the Northward of *New-Plymouth*; but the Deſigns of thoſe Attempts being aim'd no higher than the Advancement of ſome *Worldly Intereſts*, a conſtant Series of Diſaſters has confounded them, until there was a Plantation erected upon the nobler Deſigns of *Chriſtianity*; and that Plantation, tho' it has had more Adverſaries than perhaps any one upon Earth; yet, *having obtained help from God, it continues to this Day.* There have been very fine Settlements in the *North-Eaſt* Regions; but what is become of them? I have heard that one of our Miniſters once Preaching to a Congregation there, urged them to approve themſelves a *Religious People* from this Conſideration, *That otherwiſe they would contradict the main end of Planting this Wilderneſs*; whereupon a well-known Perſon, then in the Aſſembly, cry'd out, *Sir, You are miſtaken, you think you are Preaching to the People at the* Bay; *our main End was to catch Fiſh.* Truly 'twere to have been wiſhed, that ſomething more excellent had been the *main End* of the *Settlements* in that brave Country, which we have, even long ſince the arrival of that more Pious Colony at the *Bay*, now ſeen dreadfully *unſettled*, no leſs than *twice* at leaſt, by the Sword of the Heathen, after they had been repleniſhed with many *Hundreds* of People, who had thriven to many *Thouſands* of Pounds; and had all the force of the *Bay* too, to aſſiſt them in the maintaining of their Settlements. But the ſame or the like inauſpicious

cious things attended many other Endeavours, to make Plantations upon ſuch a *Main End* in ſeveral other Parts of our Country, before the Arrival of thoſe by whom the *Maſſachuſet* Colony was at laſt formed upon more glorious *Aims:* All proving like the Habitations of the *fooliſh, curſed before they had taken root.* Of all which *Cataſtrophe's*, I ſuppoſe none was more ſudden than that of Monſieur *Finch*, whom in a Ship from *France*, trucking with the *Maſſachuſet-Natives*; thoſe Bloody Salvages, coming on Board without any other *Arms*, but *Knives* concealed under *Flaps*, immediately Butchered with all his Men, and ſet the Ship on Fire. Yea, ſo many Fatalities attended the *Adventurers* in their Eſſays, that they began to ſuſpect that the *Indian* Sorcerers had laid the place under ſome *Faſcination*; and that the *Engliſh* could not proſper upon ſuch *Enchanted Ground*, ſo that they were almoſt afraid of *Adventuring* any more.

§. 3. Several Perſons in the Weſt of *England*, having by Fiſhing-Voyages to Cape *Ann*, the Northern Promontory of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, obtained ſome Acquaintance with thoſe Parts; the News of the good Progreſs made in the New Plantation of *Plymouth*, inſpired the renowned Mr. *White*, Miniſter of *Dorcheſter*, to proſecute the Settlement of ſuch another Plantation here for the Propagation of *Religion*. This good Man engaged ſeveral Gentlemen a bout the Year 1624. in this Noble Deſign; and they employ'd a moſt Religious, Prudent, Worthy Gentleman, one Mr. *Roger Conant*, in the Government of the Place, and of their Affairs upon the Place; but thro' many Diſcouragements, the Deſign for a while almoſt fell unto the Ground. That great Man greatly grieved hereat, wrote over to this Mr. *Roger Conant*, that if he and three Honeſt Men more would yet ſtay upon the Spot, he would procure a *Patent* for them, and ſend them over *Friends*, *Goods*, *Proviſions*, and what was neceſſary to aſſiſt their Undertakings. Mr. *Conant*, then looking out a Scituation more Commodious for a *Town*, gave his Three diſheartned Companions to underſtand, that he did believe God would make this Land a Receptacle for his People, and that if *they* ſhould leave him, yet *he* would not ſtir; for he was confident he ſhould not long want Company; which Confidence of his cauſed them to abandon the thoughts of leaving him. Well, it was not long before the Council of *Plymouth* in *England*, had by a Deed bearing Date, *March* 19. 1627. Sold unto ſome Knights and Gentlemen about *Dorcheſter*, viz. Sir *Henry Roſwel*, Sir *John Young*, *Thomas Southcott*, *John Humphrey*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whetcomb*, and their Heirs and Aſſigns, and their Aſſociates for ever, that Part of *New-England* which lyes between a great River call'd *Merimack*, and a certain other River there call'd *Charles River*, in the bottom of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*. But ſhortly after this, Mr. *White* brought the aforeſaid Honourable Perſons into an Acquaintance with ſeveral other Perſons of Quality about *London*; as, namely, Sir *Richard Saltonſtall*, *Iſaac Johnſon*, *Samuel Adderly*, *John Ven*, *Matthew Cradock*, *George Harwood*, *Increaſe Nowel*, *Richard Perry*, *Richard Bellingham*, *Nathanael Wright*, *Samuel Vaſſal*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *Thomas Goff*, *Thomas Adams*, *John Brown*, *Samuel Brown*, *Thomas Hutchings*, *William Vaſſal*, *William Pinchon*, and *George Foxcraft*. Theſe Perſons being aſſociated unto the former, and having bought of them all their Intereſt in *New-England* aforeſaid, now conſulted about ſettling a *Plantation* in that Country, whither ſuch as were then called *Non-Conformiſts*, might with the Grace and Leave of the King make a peaceable *Seceſſion*, and enjoy the Liberty and the Exerciſe of their own Perſwaſions, about the Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Whereupon Petitioning the King to confirm what they had thus purchaſed with a New *Patent*, he granted them one, bearing Date from the Year 1628. which gave them a Right unto the Soil, holding their Titles of Lands, as of the Mannor of *Eaſt Greenwich* in *Kent*, and in common *Soccage*. By this *Charter* they were empowered yearly to *Elect* their own Governour, Deputy-Governour and Magiſtrates; as alſo to make ſuch *Laws* they ſhould think ſuitable for the Plantation: But as an acknowledgment of their dependance upon *England*, they might not make any Laws Repugnant unto thoſe of the Kingdom; and the Fifth part of all the *Oar* of *Gold* or *Silver* found in the Territory, belong'd unto the Crown. So, ſoon after Mr. *Cradock* being by the Company choſen Governour, they ſent over Mr. *Endicott* in the Year 1628. to carry on the Plantation, which the *Dorcheſter*-Agents had lookt out for them, which was at a Place called *Nahumkeick*. Of which place I have ſomewhere met with an odd Obſervation, that the Name of it was rather *Hebrew* than *Indian*; for נחום *Nahum*, ſignifies Comfort, and חיק *Keik*, ſignifies an *Haven*; and our *Engliſh* not only found it an *Haven of Comfort*, but happened alſo to put an *Hebrew Name* upon it; for they call'd it *Salem*, for the *Peace* which they had and hoped in it; and *ſo it is called unto this Day.*

§. 4. An Entrance being thus made upon the Deſign of Planting a Country of *Engliſh* and *Reformed* Churches; they that were concerned for the Plantation, made their Application to Two Non-Conformiſts Miniſters, that they would go over to ſerve the *Cauſe of God and of Religion* in the beginning of thoſe *Churches*. The one of theſe was Mr. *Higginſon*, a Miniſter in *Leiceſterſhire*, ſilenced for his Non-Conformity; the other was Mr. *Skelton*, a Miniſter of *Lincolnſhire*, ſuffering alſo for his Non-Conformity: Both of which were Men eminent for Learning and Virtue, and who thus driven out of their Native Country, ſought their Graves on the *American-Strand*, whereon the Epitaph might be inſcribed that was on *Scipio's*, *Ingrata Patria, ne*

mortui

Mortui quidem habebis Oſſa. Theſe Miniſters came over to *Salem*, in the Summer of the Year 1629. and with theſe there came over a conſiderable number of Excellent Chriſtians, who no ſooner arrived, but they ſet themſelves about the Church-Work, which was their *Errand* hither.

'Tis true, there were two other *Clergy-Men*, who came over about the ſame time; nevertheleſs, there has been very little Account given of their Circumſtances; except what a certain little *Narrative-Writer* has offered us, by ſaying, *There were Two that began to hew Stones in the Mountains, for the Building of the Temple here; but when they ſaw all ſorts of Stones would not fit in the Building, the one betook himſelf to the Seas again, and the other to Till the Land*; for which cauſe, burying all further mention of them among the Rubbiſh, in the *Foundation* of the Colony, we will proceed with our Story; which is now to tell us, That the Paſſage of theſe our *Pilgrims* was attended with many Smiles of Heaven upon them. They were bleſſed with a Company of honeſt *Seamen*; with whom the Miniſters and Paſſengers conſtantly ſerved God, Morning and Evening; *Reading*, *Expounding* and *Applying* the Word of God, *ſinging* of His Praiſe, and *ſeeking* of His Peace; to which Exerciſes they added on the *Lord's Day* two Sermons, and a *Catechiſing*: And ſometimes they ſet apart an whole Day for *Faſting* and *Prayer*, to obtain from Heaven a good ſucceſs in their Voyage, eſpecially when the Weather was much againſt them, whereto they had very Remarkable Anſwers; but the *Seamen* ſaid, *That they believed theſe were the Firſt* Sea-*Faſts that ever were kept in the World.* At length, *Per varios Caſus, per Tot Diſcrimina Rerum*, they Landed at *the Haven of Reſt* provided for them.

§. 5. The perſecuted Servants of God, under the *Engliſh* Hierarchy, had been in *a Sea of Ice mingled with Fire*; tho' the *Fire* ſcalded them, yet ſuch Cakes of *Ice* were over their Heads, that there was no getting out: But the *Ice* was now broken, by the *American* Offers of a Retreat for the pure Worſhippers of the Lord into a *Wilderneſs*.

The Report of the Charter granted unto the Governour and Company of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, and the Entertainment and Encouragement, which Planters began to find in that *Bay*, came with a, —*Patrias, age, deſere Sedes*, and cauſed many very deſerving Perſons to tranſplant themſelves and their Families into *New-England*. *Gentlemen* of Ancient and Worſhipful Families, and *Miniſters* of the Goſpel, then of great Fame at Home, and *Merchants*, *Husbandmen*, *Artificers*, to the Number of ſome Thouſands, did for Twelve Years together carry on this Tranſplantation. It was indeed a *Baniſhment*, rather than a *Removal*, which was undergone by this glorious Generation, and you may be ſure ſufficiently *Afflictive* to Men of Eſtate, Breeding and Converſation. As the *Hazard* which they ran in this Undertaking was of ſuch *Extraordinarineſs*, that nothing leſs than a ſtrange and ſtrong Impreſſion from *Heaven* could have thereunto moved the Hearts of ſuch as were in it; ſo the *Expence* with which they carried on the Undertaking was truly *Extraordinary*. By Computation, the *Paſſage* of the *Perſons* that peopled *New-England*, coſt at leaſt Ninety Five Thouſand Pound: The Tranſportation of their firſt ſmall Stock of *Cattel* great and ſmall, coſt no leſs than Twelve Thouſand Pound, beſides the Price of the *Cattel* themſelves: The *Proviſions* laid in for Subſiſtence, till *Tillage* might produce more, coſt Forty Five Thouſand Pounds; the *Materials* for their firſt Cottages coſt Eighteen Thouſand Pounds; their Arms, Ammunition and Great Artillery, coſt Twenty Two Thouſand Pounds; beſides which Hundred and Ninety Two Thouſand Pounds, the *Adventurers* laid out in *England*, what was not Inconſiderable. About an *Hundred and Ninety Eight Ships* were employed in paſſing the *Perils of the Seas*, in the Accompliſhment of this Renowned Settlement; whereof, by the way, but *one* miſcarried in thoſe *Perils*.

Briefly, The God of Heaven ſerved as it were, a *Summons* upon the *Spirits* of His People in the Engliſh Nation; ſtirring up the Spirits of Thouſands which never ſaw the *Faces* of each other, with a moſt Unanimous Inclination to leave all the Pleaſant Accommodations of their Native Country, and go over a Terrible *Ocean*, into a more Terrible *Deſart*, for the *pure Enjoyment of all his Ordinances*. It is now Reaſonable that before we paſs any further, the *Reaſons* of this Undertaking ſhould be more exactly made known unto *Poſterity*, eſpecially unto the *Poſterity* of thoſe that were the *Undertakers*, leſt they come at length to Forget and Neglect *the true Intereſt of* New-England. Wherefore I ſhall now Tranſcribe ſome of *them* from a Manuſcript, wherein they were then tendred unto Conſideration.

General Conſiderations for the Plantation of New-England.

'*Firſt*, It will be a Service unto the *Church* 'of great Conſequence, to carry the *Goſpel* into '*thoſe* Parts of the World, and Raiſe a *Bulwark* 'againſt the Kingdom of *Antichriſt*, which the '*Jeſuites* labour to Rear up in *all* Parts of the 'World.

'*Secondly*, All other Churches of *Europe* have 'been brought under *Deſolations*; and it may be 'feared that the like Judgments are coming up-'on *Us*; and who knows but God hath provided 'this place to be a *Refuge* for many, whom he 'means to ſave out of the *General Deſtruction*.

'*Thirdly*, The Land grows weary of her *In-'habitants*, inſomuch that *Man*, which is the 'moſt precious of all Creatures, is here more 'vile and baſe than the Earth he treads upon: '*Children*, *Neighbours* and *Friends*, eſpecially 'the *Poor*, are counted the greateſt *Burdens*, 'which if things were right, would be the 'chiefeſt Earthly *Bleſſings*.

'*Fourthly*, We are grown to that Intempe-'rance in all *Exceſs of Riot*, as no mean Eſtate 'almoſt will ſuffice a Man to keep Sail with 'his *Equals*, and he that fails in it, muſt live 'in Scorn and Contempt: Hence it comes to 'paſs, that all *Arts* and *Trades* are carried in 'that Deceitful Manner, and Unrighteous 'Courſe, as it is almoſt Impoſſible for a good 'upright Man to maintain his conſtant Charge, 'and live comfortably in them.

'*Fifthly*, The *Schools* of Learning and Reli-'gion are ſo corrupted, as (beſides the unſup-'portable Charge of Education) moſt Children, 'even the Beſt, Wittieſt, and of the Faireſt Hopes, 'are perverted, corrupted, and utterly overthrown, 'by the multitude of evil Examples and Licenti-'ous Behaviours in theſe *Seminaries*.

'*Sixthly*, The *whole Earth* is the *Lord's* '*Garden*, and he hath given it to the Sons of '*Adam*, to be Tilled and Improved by them: 'Why then ſhould we ſtand Starving here for 'Places of Habitation, and in the mean time 'ſuffer whole Countries, as profitable for the uſe 'of Man, to lye waſte without any Improve-'ment?

'*Seventhly*, What can be a better or nobler 'Work, and more worthy of a *Chriſtian*, than 'to erect and ſupport a *reformed particular* '*Church* in its Infancy, and unite our Forces 'with ſuch a Company of Faithful People, as 'by a timely Aſſiſtance may grow Stronger and 'Proſper; but for want of it, may be put to 'great Hazards, if not be wholly Ruined.

'*Eighthly*, If any ſuch as are known to be 'Godly, and live in Wealth and Proſperity 'here, ſhall forſake all this to join with this '*Reformed Church*, and with it run the Hazard 'of an hard and mean Condition, it will be an 'Example of great Uſe, both for the removing 'of *Scandal*, and to give more *Life* unto the '*Faith* of God's People in their Prayers for the 'Plantation, and alſo to encourage others to join 'the more willingly in it.

§. 6. Mr. *Higginſon*, and Mr. *Skelton*, and other good People that arrived at *Salem*, in the Year 1629. reſolved, like their Father *Abraham*, to begin their Plantation with *calling on the Name of the Lord*. The great Mr. *Hilderſham* had adviſed our firſt Planters to agree fully upon their Form of *Church Government*, before their coming into *New-England*; but they had indeed agreed little further than in this general Principle, *That the Reformation of the Church was to be endeavoured according to the written Word of God.* Accordingly ours, now arrived at *Salem*, conſulted with their Brethren at *Plymouth*, what Steps to take for the more exact Acquainting of themſelves *with*, and Conforming themſelves *to*, that *written Word:* And the *Plymotheans*, to their great Satisfaction, laid before them what *Warrant*, they judged, that they had in the *Laws* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for every Particular in their *Church Order*.

Whereupon having the Concurrence and Countenance of their Deputy Governour, the Worſhipful *John Endicot*, Eſq; and the approving Preſence of Meſſengers from the Church of *Plymouth*, they ſet apart the Sixth Day of *Auguſt*, after their Arrival, for *Faſting* and *Prayer*, for the ſettling of a *Church-State* among them, and for their making a *Confeſſion of their Faith*, and entering into an Holy *Covenant*, whereby that *Church-State* was formed.

Mr. *Higginſon* then became the Teacher, and Mr. *Skelton* the Paſtor, of the Church thus conſtituted at *Salem*; and they lived very *peaceably* in *Salem* together, till the Death of Mr. *Higginſon*, which was about a Twelvemonth after, and then of Mr. *Skelton*, who did not long ſurvive him. Now the *Covenant* whereto theſe *Chriſtians* engaged themſelves, which was about Seven Years after ſolemnly *renewed* among them, I ſhall here lay before all the *Churches* of God, as it was then expreſſed and inforced.

We Covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do Bind our ſelves in the preſence of God, to walk together in all his Ways, according as he is pleaſed to reveal himſelf unto us in his bleſſed Word of Truth; and do explicitely, in the Name and Fear of God, profeſs and proteſt to walk as followeth, thro' the Power and Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

We Avouch the Lord to be our God, and our ſelves to be his People, in the truth and ſimplicity of our Spirits.

We Give our ſelves to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Word of his Grace for the Teaching, Ruling and Sanctifying of us in Matters of Worſhip and Converſation, reſolving to cleave unto him alone for Life and Glory, and to reject all contrary Ways, Canons, and Conſtitutions of Men in his Worſhip.

We Promiſe to walk with our Brethren, with all Watchfulneſs and Tenderneſs, avoiding Jelouſies and Suſpicions, Back-Bitings, Cenſurings, Provokings, ſecret Riſings of Spirit againſt them; but in all Offences to follow the Rule of our Lord Jeſus, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as he hath taught us.

In Publick or Private, we will willingly Do nothing to the Offence of the Church; but will be willing to take Advice for our ſelves and ours, as occaſion ſhall be preſented.

We will not in the Congregation be forward either to ſhow our own Gifts and Parts in Speaking or Scrupling, or there diſcover the Weakneſs or Failings of our Brethren; but attend an orderly Call thereunto, knowing how much the Lord may be diſhonoured, and his Goſpel, and the Profeſſion of it, ſlighted by our Diſtempers and Weakneſſes in Publick.

We Bind our ſelves to ſtudy the Advancement of the Goſpel in all Truth and Peace; both in Regard of thoſe that are within or without; no way ſlighting our Siſter Churches, but uſing their Counſel, as need ſhall be; not laying a Stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whoſe good we deſire to promote; and ſo to converſe, as we may avoid the very appearance of Evil.

We do hereby promiſe to carry our ſelves in all lawful Obedience to thoſe that are over us, in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleaſing

ſing it will be to the Lord, that they ſhould have Encouragement in their Places, by our not grieving their Spirits thro' our Irregularities.

We Reſolve to approve our ſelves to the Lord in our particular Callings; ſhunning Idleneſs, as the Bane of any State; nor will we deal hardly or oppreſſingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's Stewards.

Promiſing alſo unto our beſt Ability to Teach our Children and Servants the Knowledge of God, and of His Will, that they may ſerve Him alſo; and all this not by any ſtrength of our own, but by the Lord Chriſt; whoſe Blood we deſire may ſprinkle this our Covenant made in His Name.

By this *Inſtrument* was the *Covenant of Grace* Explained, Received, and Recognized, by the *Firſt Church* in this Colony, and *applied* unto the Evangelical Deſigns of a *Church-Eſtate* before the Lord: This *Inſtrument* they afterwards often read over, and renewed the *Conſent* of their Souls unto every Article in it; eſpecially when their Days of *Humiliation* invited them to lay hold on particular Opportunities for doing ſo.

So you have ſeen the *Nativity* of the *Firſt Church* in the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony.

§. 7. As for the Circumſtances of *Admiſſion* into this Church, they left it very much unto the Diſcretion and Faithfulneſs of their Elders, together with the Condition of the Perſons to be admitted. Some were admitted by expreſſing their Conſent unto their *Confeſſion* and *Covenant*; ſome were admitted after their firſt Anſwering to *Queſtions* about *Religion*, propounded unto them; ſome were admitted, when they had preſented in *Writing* ſuch things, as might give *Satisfaction* unto the People of God concerning them; and ſome that were admitted, *Orally* addreſſed the People of God in ſuch Terms, as they thought proper to ask their *Communion* with; which *Diverſity* was perhaps more *Beautiful*, than would have been a more *Punctilious Uniformity*: But none were admitted without regard unto a Blameleſs and Holy *Converſation*. They did all agree with their Brethren of *Plymouth* in this Point, *That the Children of the Faithful were Church-Members, with their Parents; and that their Baptiſm was a Seal of their being ſo*; only before their admiſſion to Fellowſhip in a *Particular Church*, it was judged Neceſſary, that being free from Scandal, they ſhould be examined by the *Elders* of the Church, upon whoſe Approbation of their *Fitneſs*, they ſhould Publickly and Perſonally own the *Covenant*; ſo they were to be received unto the Table of the Lord: And accordingly the Eldeſt Son of Mr. *Higginſon*, being about Fifteen Years of Age, and laudably Anſwering all the Characters expected in a *Communicant*, was then ſo Received.

§. 8. It is to be Remembred, that ſome of the Paſſengers, who came over with thoſe of our firſt *Salemites*, obſerving that the Miniſters did not uſe the *Book of Common-Prayer* in their Adminiſtrations; that they Adminiſtred the *Baptiſm* and the *Supper* of the Lord, without any unſcriptural *Ceremonies*; that they reſolved upon uſing *Diſcipline* in the Congregation againſt Scandalous Offenders, according to the Word of God; and that ſome *Scandalous* Perſons had been denied *Admiſſion* into the Communion of the Church; they began (*Frankford*-Faſhion) to raiſe a deal of Trouble hereupon. *Herodiana Malitia, naſcentem perſequi Religionem!* Of theſe there were eſpecially *Two* Brothers; the one a Lawyer, the other a Merchant, *both* Men of Parts, Eſtate and Figure in the Place. Theſe gather'd a Company together, *ſeparate* from the publick Aſſembly; and *there* the *Common-Prayer-Worſhip* was after a ſort upheld among ſuch as would reſort unto them. The Governour perceiving a Diſturbance to ariſe among the People on this Occaſion, ſent for the *Brothers*; who accuſed the Miniſters, as *departing from the Orders of the Church of* England; adding, *That they were Separatiſts, and would be ſhortly Anabaptiſts*; but for themſelves, *They would hold unto the Orders of the Church of* England. The Anſwer of the Miniſters to theſe Accuſations, was, *That they were neither* Separatiſts *nor* Anabaptiſts; *that they did not ſeparate from the Church of* England, *nor from the Ordinances of God there, but only from the Corruptions and Diſorders of that Church: That they came away from the* Common-Prayer *and* Ceremonies, *and had ſuffered much for their Non-conformity in their Native Land; and therefore being in a place where they might have their Liberty, they neither could nor would uſe them; inaſmuch as they judged the Impoſition of theſe things to be a ſinful Violation of the Worſhip of God.* The Governour, the Council, the People, generally approved of the Anſwer thus given by the Miniſters; but theſe Perſons returned into *England* with very furious *Threatnings* againſt the Church thus Eſtabliſhed; however the *threatned Folks* have *lived ſo long*, that the *Church* has *out-lived* the grand *Climacterical* Year of Humane Age; it now Flouriſhing more than *Sixty-three* Years after its firſt Gathering under the Paſtoral Care of a moſt Reverend and Ancient Perſon, even Mr. *John Higginſon*, the *Son* of that excellent Man who laid the Foundations of that Society.

CHAP. V.

Peregrini Deo Curæ : *Or, The Progreſs of the* New-Colony ; *with* ſome *Account of the* Perſons, *the* Methods, *and the* Troubles, *by which it came to* Something.

§. 1. THE *Governour* and *Company* of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* then in *London*, did in the Year 1629. after exact and mature Debates, Conclude, that it was moſt Convenient for the *Government*, with the Charter of the Plantation, to be transferred into the Plantation it ſelf; and an *Order of Court* being drawn up for that End, there was then Choſen a New *Governour*, and a New *Deputy-Governour*, that were willing to remove themſelves with their Families thither on the firſt Occaſion. The Governour was *John Winthrop*, Eſq; a Gentleman of that Wiſdom and Virtue, and thoſe manifold Accompliſhments, that After-Generations muſt reckon him no leſs a *Glory*, than he was a *Patriot* of the Country. The Deputy-Governour was *Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; a Gentleman, whoſe *Natural* and *Acquired* Abilities, joined with his excellent *Moral* Qualities, Entitled him to all the great Reſpects with which his Country on all Opportunities treated him. Several moſt Worthy *Aſſiſtants* were at the ſame time choſen to be in this *Tranſportation*; moreover, ſeveral other *Gentlemen* of prime Note, and ſeveral famous *Miniſters* of the Goſpel, now likewiſe embarked themſelves with theſe Honourable *Adventurers*: Who Equipped a *Fleet*, conſiſting of Ten or Eleven Ships, whereof the Admiral was, *The Arabella* (ſo called in Honour of the Right Honourable the Lady *Arabella Johnſon*, at this time on Board) a Ship of Three Hundred and Fifty Tuns; and in ſome of the ſaid Ships there were Two Hundred Paſſengers; all of which Arrived before the middle of *July*, in the Year 1630. ſafe in the Harbours of *New-England*. There was a time when the *Britiſh Sea* was by *Clements*, and the other Ancients, called, Ὠκεανὸς ἀπέρατος, *The unpaſſable Ocean*. What then was to be thought of the vaſt *Atlantick Sea* on the Weſtward of *Britain?* But this *Ocean* muſt now be *paſſed!* An Heart of Stone muſt have diſſolved into *Tears* at the Affectionate *Farewel*, which the Governour and other Eminent Perſons took of their Friends, at a *Feaſt* which the Governour made for them, a little before their going off; however they were acted by Principles that could carry them thro' *Tears* and *Oceans*; yea, thro' *Oceans* of *Tears*: Principles that enabled them to leave, *Dulcia Limina, atq; amabilem Larem, quem & parentum memoria, atq; ipſius* (to uſe *Stupius* words) *Infamiæ Rudimenta Confirmant*. Some very late *Geographers* do aſſure us, that the Breadth of the *Atlantick Sea* is commonly over-reckoned by *Six*, by *Eight*, by *Ten* Degrees. But let that Sea be as narrow as they pleaſe, I can aſſure the Reader the paſſing of it was no little *Trial* unto thoſe worthy People that were now to paſs it.

§. 2. But the moſt notable Circumſtance in their *Farewel*, was their Compoſing and Publiſhing of what they called, *The humble requeſt of His Majeſties Loyal Subjects, the Governour and Company lately gone for* New-England, *to the reſt of their Brethren in and of the Church of* England; *for the obtaining of their Prayers, and the removal of Suſpicions and Miſconſtructions of their Intentions.* In this Addreſs of theirs, notwithſtanding the trouble they had undergone for deſiring to ſee the Church of *England Reformed* of ſeveral things, which they thought its *Deformities*, yet they now called the Church of *England* their *Dear Mother*; acknowledging that ſuch *Hope* and *Part* as they had obtained in the *Common Salvation* they had *ſucked from her Breaſts*; therewithal entreating their many *Reverend Fathers and Brethren* to recommend them unto the Mercies of God, in their conſtant Prayers, as a *Church* now ſpringing out of their own Bowels. *You are not Ignorant* (ſaid they) *that the Spirit of God ſtirred up the Apoſtle* Paul, *to make a continual mention of the Church at* Philippi, *which was a Colony from* Rome; *let the ſame Spirit, we beſeech you, put you in Mind, that are the Lord's Remembrancers, to pray for us without ceaſing, who are the weak* Colony *from your ſelves.* And after ſuch Prayers, they Concluded, *What Goodneſs you ſhall extend unto us, in this or any other Chriſtian Kindneſs, we your Brethren in Chriſt ſhall* Labour *to Repay, in what Duty we are or ſhall be able to perform; promiſing ſo far as God ſhall enable us, to give him no reſt on your Behalfs; wiſhing our Heads and Hearts may be Fountains of Tears for your everlaſting Welfare, when we ſhall be in our Poor Cottages in the Wilderneſs, overſhadowed with the Spirit of Supplication, thro' the manifold Neceſſities and* Tribulations, *which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably, befal us.*

§. 3. *Reader*, If ever the *Charity* of a Right Chriſtian, and Enlarged Soul, were exemplarily ſeen in its proper *Expanſions*, 'twas in the Addreſs which thou haſt now been Reading: But if it now puzzel the Reader to Reconcile theſe Paſſages with the *Principles* declared, the *Practices* followed, and the *Perſecutions* undergone, by theſe *American Reformers*, let him know, that there was more than one *Diſtinction*, whereof theſe excellent Perſons were not Ignorant. Firſt, They were able to Diſtinguiſh between the *Church of England*, as it *contained* the whole *Body of the Faithful*, ſcattered throughout the Kingdoms, tho' of different Perſwaſions about ſome *Rites* and *Modes* in Religion; many Thouſands of whom our *Nor-Angles* knew could comply with many things, to which *our Conſciences* otherwiſe enlightned and

and perſwaded could not yeild ſuch a Compliance: And the *Church of England*, as it was *confined* unto a certain Conſtitution by *Canons*, which pronounced *Ipſo Facto*, Excommunicate all thoſe who ſhould affirm that the *Worſhip* contained in the Book of *Common-Prayer*, and *Adminiſtrations of Sacraments*, is unlawful, or that any of the *Thirty Nine Articles* are Erroneous, or that any of the *Ceremonies* commanded by the Authority of the Church might not be Approved, Uſed and Subſcribed; and which will have to be *Accurſed* all thoſe, who maintain that there are in the Realm any other Meetings, Aſſemblies or Congregations of the King's Born Subjects, than ſuch as by the Laws of the Land are allowed, which may rightly Challenge to themſelves the Name of *True* and *Lawful Churches:* And by which, all thoſe that refuſe to *Kneel* at the Reception of the Sacrament, and to be preſent at Publick *Prayers*, according to the *Orders* of the Church, about which there are preſcribed many Formalities of *Reſponſes*, with Bowing at the *Name* of Jeſus, are to be denied the *Communion*; and all who dare not ſubmit their Children to be *Baptized* by the Undertaking of *God-Fathers*, and receive the *Croſs* as a dedicating Badge of *Chriſtianity*, muſt not have *Baptiſm* for their Children: Beſides an *Et-Cætera* of how many more *Impoſitions!* Again, they were able to diſtinguiſh between the *Church of England*, as it kept the true *Doctrine* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, with a Diſpoſition to purſue the *Reformation* begun in the former Century, among whom we may Reckon ſuch Men, as the famous *Aſſembly of Divines* at *Weſtminſter*, who all but *Eight* or *Nine*, and the *Scots*, had before then lived in *Conformity*; and *the Church of England*, as limiting that Name unto a certain *Faction*, who together with a *Diſcipline* very much *Unſcriptural*, vigorouſly proſecuted the *Tripartite Plot* of *Arminianiſm* and Conciliation with *Rome*, in the *Church*, and unbounded *Prerogative* in the *State*; who ſet themſelves to Cripple as faſt as they could the more Learned, Godly, Painful *Miniſters* of the Land, and Silence and Ruin ſuch as could not Read a *Book for Sports on the Lord's Days*; or did but uſe a *Prayer* of their own Conceiving, before or after Sermon; or did but Preach in an *Afternoon*, as well as in a Morning, or on a *Lecture*, or on a *Market*, or in aniwiſe diſcountenance *Old* Superſtitions, or *New* Extravagancies; and who at laſt threw the Nation into the lamentable Confuſions of a *Civil War*. By the Light of this *Diſtinction*, we may eaſily perceive what *Church of England* it was, that our *New-England* Exiles called, *Their Mother*; though their *Mother* had been ſo harſh to them, as to turn them out of Doors, yet they highly honoured Her; believing that it was not ſo much their *Mother*, but ſome of their angry *Brethren*, abuſing the Name of their *Mother*, who ſo harſhly treated them; and all the harm they wiſhed her, was to ſee her put off thoſe *Ill Trimmings*, which at her firſt coming out of the Popiſh *Babylon*, ſhe had not ſo fully laid aſide. If any of thoſe *envious Brethren* do now call theſe *Diſſenters*, as not very long ſince a great Prelate in a Sermon did, *The Baſtards of the Church of England*, I will not make the Return which was made upon it by a Perſon of Quality then preſent; but inſtead thereof humbly Demand, who are the *Truer Sons* to the Church of *England*; they that hold all the *Fundamentals of Chriſtianity* embraced by that Church, only Queſtioning and Forbearing a few *Diſciplinary Points*, which are confeſſed *Indifferent* by the greateſt Zealots for them; or they that have made *Britain* more unhabitable than the *Torrid Zone*? For the poor *Non-Conformiſts*, by their *hot* preſſing of thoſe *Indifferencies*, as if they had been the only *Neceſſaries*, in the mean time utterly ſubverting the *Faith* in the important Points of *Predeſtination*, *Free-will*, *Juſtification*, *Perſeverance*, and ſome other things, which that Church requires all her Children to give their *Aſſent* and *Conſent* unto? If the *Former*; *then*, ſay I, the Firſt Planters of *New England* were *Truer Sons* to the Church of *England*, than that part of the *Church*, which, then by their miſemploying their heavy *Church-keys*, baniſhed them into this Plantation. And indeed, the more Genuine among the moſt Conformable *Sons of the Church*, did then accordingly wiſh all Proſperity to their *New-Engliſh* Brethren; in the Number of whom I would particularly Reckon that faithful Man, Mr. *Edward Symons*, Miniſter of *Rayn* in *Eſſex*; who in a Diſcourſe printed *Anno* 1637, does thus Expreſs himſelf, *Many now promiſe to themſelves nothing but ſucceſſive Happineſs at* New-England; *which for a time, thro' God's Mercy, they may enjoy; and I pray God, they may a long time, but in this World there is no Happineſs perpetual.* Nor would I on this Occaſion leave unquoted ſome notable Words of the Learned, Witty, and Famous Dr. *Fuller*, in his Comment on *Ruth*, Page 16. *Concerning our Brethren which of late left this Kingdom, to advance a Plantation in* New-England, *I think the Counſel beſt, that* King Joaſh *preſcribed unto* Amaziah, Tarry at Home: *Yet as for theſe that are already gone, far be it from us to conceive them to be ſuch, to whom we may not ſay*, God ſpeed: *But let us Pity them, and Pray for them. I conclude of the two* Englands, *what our Saviour ſaith of the two Wines*, No Man having taſted of the Old, preſently deſireth the New; for he ſaith, The Old is better.

§. 4. Being happily arrived at *New-England*, our new Planters found the difficulties of a rough and hard *Wilderneſs* preſently aſſaulting them: Of which the worſt was the *Sickneſs* which many of them had contracted by their other difficulties. Of thoſe who ſoon dy'd after their firſt Arrival, not the leaſt conſiderable was the Lady *Arabella*, who left an Earthly *Paradice* in the Family of an *Earldom*, to Encounter the Sorrows of a *Wilderneſs*, for the Entertainments of a *pure Worſhip* in the *Houſe of God*; and then immediately left that *Wilderneſs*

neſs for the Heavenly *Paradiſe*, whereto the Compaſſionate *Jeſus*, of whom ſhe was a *Follower*, called her. We have Read concerning a Noble Woman of *Bohemia*, who forſook her Friends, her Plate, her Houſe and All; and becauſe the Gates of the City were Guarded, crept through the Common-Sewer, that ſhe might enjoy the *Inſtitutions* of our Lord at another Place where they might be had. The Spirit which acted that Noble Woman, we may ſuppoſe carried this Bleſſed Lady thus to and thro' the Hardſhips of an *American* Deſart. But as for her Virtuous Husband, *Iſaac Johnſon*, Eſq;

——————He try'd
To Live without her, lik'd it not, and Dy'd.

His *Mourning* for the Death of his Honourable Conſort was too bitter to be extended a *Year*; about a Month after *her* Death, *his* enſued, unto the extream loſs of the whole Plantation. But at the *End* of this *perfect and upright Man*, there was not only *Peace*, but *Joy*; and his *Joy* particularly expreſſed it ſelf, *That God had kept his Eyes open ſo long as to ſee* One Church *of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt gathered in theſe Ends of the Earth, before his own going away to Heaven.* The *Mortality* thus threatning of this New Plantation, ſo *enlivened* the Devotions of this good People, that they ſet themſelves by *Faſting* and *Prayer* to obtain from God the removal of it; and their Brethren at *Plymouth* alſo attended the like Duties on their Behalf: The Iſſue whereof was, that in a little time they not only had *Health* reſtored, but they likewiſe enjoyed the ſpecial Direction and Aſſiſtance of God in the further Proſecution of their Undertakings.

§. 5. But there were Two terrible Diſtreſſes more, beſides that of *Sickneſs*, whereto this People were expoſed in the beginning of their Settlement: Tho' a moſt ſeaſonable and almoſt unexpected *Mercy from Heaven* ſtill reſcued them out of thoſe Diſtreſſes. One thing that ſometimes extreamly exerciſed them, was a *Scarcity of Proviſions*; in which 'twas wonderful to ſee their *Dependance* upon God, and God's *Mindfulneſs* of them. When the parching Droughts of the *Summer* divers times threatned them with an utter and a total Conſumption to the Fruits of the Earth, it was their manner, with *Heart-melting*, and I may ſay, *Heaven-melting* Devotions, to *Faſt* and *Pray* before God; and on the very Days, when they *poured out the Water* of their *Tears* before him, he would *ſhower down the Water* of his *Rain* upon their Fields; *while they were yet ſpeaking, he would hear them*; inſomuch that the Salvages themſelves would on that Occaſion admire *the Engliſhman's God!* But the *Engliſhmen* themſelves would Celebrate their Days of *Thankſgiving* to him. When their *Stock* was likewiſe waſted ſo far, which divers times it was, that they were come *to the laſt Meal in the Barrel*, juſt then, unlook'd for, arrived ſeveral Ships from other Parts of the World loaden with Supplies, among which, One was by the *Lord Deputy of Ireland* ſent hither, altho' he did not know the *Neceſſities* of the Country, to which he ſent her; and if he had *known* them, would have been thought as unlikely as any Man living to have helpt them: In theſe Extremities, 'twas marvellous to ſee how *Helpful* theſe good People were to one another, following the Example of their moſt liberal Governour *Winthrop*, who made an *equal Diſtribution* of what he had in his own Stores among the Poor, *taking no thought for to Morrow!* And how *Content* they were; when an Honeſt Man, as I have heard, inviting his Friends to a Diſh of *Clams*, at the Table gave Thanks to Heaven, who *had given them to ſuck the abundance of the Seas*, *and of the Treaſures hid in the Sands!*

Another thing that gave them no little Exerciſe, was *the Fear of the Indians*, by whom they were ſometimes *Alarm'd*. But this Fear was wonderfully prevented, not only by *Inteſtine Wars* happening then to fall out among thoſe *Barbarians*, but chiefly by the *Small-Pox*, which prov'd a *great Plague* unto them, and particularly to one of the *Princes* in the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, who yet ſeemed hopefully to be *Chriſtianiz'd* before he Dy'd. This Diſtemper getting in, I know not how, among them, ſwept them away with a moſt prodigious Deſolation, inſomuch that altho' the *Engliſh* gave them all the aſſiſtances of *Humanity* in their Calamities, yet there was, it may be, not *One* in *Ten* among them left alive, of thoſe *few* that liv'd; many alſo *fled* from the Infection, leaving the Country a meer *Golgotha* of unburied Carcaſes; and as for the *reſt*, the *Engliſh* treated them with all the Civility imaginable; among the Inſtances of which Civility, let this be reckoned for *One*, that notwithſtanding the *Patent* which they had for the Country, they fairly *purchaſed* of the Natives the ſeveral *Tracts* of Land which they afterwards *poſſeſſed*.

§. 6. The People in the Fleet that arriv'd at *New-England*, in the Year 1630, left the Fleet almoſt, as the *Family* of *Noah* did the *Ark*, having a whole World before them to be peopled. *Salem* was already ſupplied with a competent Number of Inhabitants; and therefore the Governour, with moſt of the Gentlemen that Accompanied him in his Voyage, took their firſt Opportunity to proſecute further Settlements about the bottom of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*: But where-ever they ſat down, they were ſo mindful of their *Errand into the Wilderneſs*, that ſtill one of their *Firſt Works* was to gather a *Church* into the *Covenant* and *Order* of the Goſpel. Firſt, There was a Church thus gathered at *Charles-Town*, on the North ſide of *Charles's* River; where keeping a Solemn *Faſt* on *Auguſt* 27. 1630, to Implore the Conduct and Bleſſing of Heaven on their Eccleſiaſtical Proceedings, they choſe Mr. *Wilſon*, a moſt Holy and Zealous Man, formerly a Miniſter of *Sudbury*, in the County of *Suffolk*, to be their Teacher; and altho' he now ſubmitted unto an *Ordination*, with an *Impoſition of ſuch Hands*

as were by the Church invited ſo to pronounce the Benediction of Heaven upon him; yet it was done with a *Proteſtation* by all, that it ſhould be only as a ſign of his *Election* to the Charge of his *New Flock*, without any Intention that he ſhould thereby Renounce the Miniſtry he had received in *England*. After the gathering of the Church at *Charles-Town*, there quickly followed another at the Town of *Dorcheſter*.

And after *Dorcheſter* there followed another at the Town of *Boſton*, which Iſſued out of *Charles-Town*; one Mr. *James* took the Care of the Church at *Charles-Town*, and Mr. *Wilſon* went over to *Boſton*, where they that formerly belonged unto *Charles-Town*, with Univerſal Approbation became a *diſtinct Church* of themſelves. To *Boſton* ſoon ſucceeded a Church at *Roxbury*; to *Roxbury*, one at *Lyn*; to *Lyn*, one at *Watertown*; ſo that in one or two Years time there were to be ſeen *Seven Churches* in this Neighbourhood, all of them attending to what the *Spirit* in the *Scripture ſaid unto them*; all of them *Golden Candelſticks*, illuſtrated with a very ſenſible *Preſence* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt amoug them.

§. 7. It was for a matter of *Twelve Years* together, that Perſons of all Ranks, well affected unto *Church-Reformation*, kept ſometimes *Dropping*, and ſometimes *Flocking* into *New-England*, tho' ſome that were coming into *New-England* were not ſuffered ſo to do. The Perſecutors of thoſe *Puritans*, as they were called, who were now *Retiring* into that *Cold Country* from the *Heat* of their Perſecution, did all that was poſſible to hinder as many as was poſſible from enjoying of that *Retirement*. There were many *Countermands* given to the Paſſage of People that were now ſteering of this *Weſtern Courſe*; and there was a ſort of *Uproar* made among no ſmall part of the Nation, that this People ſhould not be *let go*. Among thoſe bound for *New-England*, that were ſo ſtopt, there were eſpecially Three Famous Perſons, whom I ſuppoſe their Adverſaries would not have ſo ſtudiouſly detained at Home, if they had *foreſeen* Events; thoſe were *Oliver Cromwel*, and Mr. *Hambden*, and Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*: Neverthelеſs, this is not the only Inſtance *of Perſecuting Church-mens* not having the *Spirit of Prophecy*. But many others were diverted from an intended Voyage hither by the pure *Providence* of God, which had *provided* other Improvements for them; and of this take one Inſtance inſtead of many: Before the woful Wars which broke forth in the *Three Kingdoms*, there were divers Gentlemen in *Scotland*, who being uneaſie under the *Eccleſiaſtical Burdens* of the Times, wrote unto *New-England* their Enquiries, Whether they might be there ſuffered freely to Exerciſe their *Presbyterian Church-Government?* And it was freely anſwered, *That they might*. Hereupon they ſent over an Agent, who pitched upon a Tract of Land near the Mouth of *Merimack River*, whither they intended then to Tranſplant themſelves: But altho' they had ſo far proceeded in their Voyage, as to be *Half-Seas* thorough; the manifold Croſſes they met withal, made them give over their Intentions; and the Providence of God ſo ordered it, that ſome of thoſe very Gentlemen were afterwards the *Revivers* of that well-known *Solemn League and Covenant*, which had ſo great an Influence upon the following Circumſtances of the Nations. However, the number of thoſe who did actually arrive at *New-England* before the Year 1640. have been computed about *Four Thouſand*; ſince which time far more have gone out of the Country than have come to it; and yet the God of Heaven ſo ſmiled upon the *Plantation*, while under an *eaſie* and *equal* Government, the Deſigns of Chriſtianity in well-formed *Churches* have been carried on, that no Hiſtory can *parallel* it. That ſaying of *Eutropius* about *Rome*, which hath been ſometimes applied unto the Church, is capable of ſome Application to this little part of the Church: *Nec Minor ab Exordio, nec major Incrementis ulla.* Never was any Plantation brought unto ſuch a Conſiderableneſs, in a ſpace of time ſo Inconſiderable! An *Howling Wilderneſs* in a few Years became a *Pleaſant Land*, accommodated with the *Neceſſaries*, yea, and the *Conveniencies* of *Humane Life*; the *Goſpel* has carried with it a *fulneſs of all other Bleſſings*; and (albeit, that Mankind generally, as far as we have any Means of enquiry, have increaſed, in one and the ſame given Proportion, and ſo no more than *doubled* themſelves in about Three-Hundred and Sixty Years, in all the paſt Ages of the World, ſince the fixing of the preſent Period of Humane Life) the Four-Thouſand *Firſt Planters*, in leſs than Fifty Years, notwithſtanding all *Tranſportations* and *Mortalities*, increaſed into, they ſay, more than an *Hundred Thouſand*.

CHAP. VI.

----Qui Tranſmare Currunt.---- *Or, The* Addition *of ſeveral other Colonies to the former; with ſome other Conſiderables in the* Condition *of theſe later Colonies.*

§. 1. IT was not long before the *Maſſachuſet* Colony was become like an *Hive*, overſtock'd with *Bees*; and many of the new Inhabitants entertained thoughts of *ſwarming* into Plantations extended further into the Country. The Colony might fetch its own Deſcription from the Diſpenſations of the Great God, unto his Ancient *Iſrael*, and ſay,

O God of Hoſts, Thou haſt brought a Vine out of England; *Thou haſt caſt out the Heathen and planted it; Thou preparedſt room before it, and didſt cauſe it to take deep root, and it filled the Land; the Hills were covered with the ſhadow of it, and the Boughs thereof were like the goodly Cedars; ſhe ſent out her Boughs unto the Sea.* But ſtill there was one ſtroak wanting for the compleat Accommodations of the Deſcription; to wit, *She ſent forth her Branches unto the River*; and this therefore is to be next attended. The Fame of *Connecticut* River, a Long, Freſh, Rich *River* (as indeed the Name *Connecticut* is Indian for *a long River*) had made a little *Nilus* of it, in the Expectations of the good People about the *Maſſachuſet-Bay:* Whereupon many of the Planters belonging eſpecially to the Towns of *Cambridge*, *Dorcheſter*, *Watertown* and *Roxbury*, took up Reſolutions to Travel an Hundred Miles *Weſtward* from thoſe Towns, for a further Settlement upon this Famous *River*. When the Learned *Fernandius* had been in the *Indies*, he did in his Preface to his Commentaries afterwards publiſhed, give this Account of it; *Deo ſic volente, prodii in remotiſſimos uſq; Indos, tam non avidus lucis & gloriæ, ut eam vere dixerim, ultro elegerim mei ipſius adhuc viventis veriſſimam Sepulturam.* Reader, come with me now to behold ſome Worthy, and Learned, and Genteel Perſons going to be *Buried Alive* on the Banks of *Connecticut*, having been firſt *Slain* by the Eccleſiaſtical Impoſitions and Perſecutions of *Europe*.

§. 2. It was in the Year 1635. that this Deſign was firſt formed; and the Diſpoſition of the Celebrated Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, with his People now in *Cambridge*, to engage in the Deſign, was that which gave moſt Life unto it. They then ſent their Agents to view the Country, who returned with ſo Advantageous a Report, that the next Year there was a great *Remove* of good People thither: On this Remove, they that went from *Cambridge* became a Church upon a Spot of Ground now called *Hartford*; they that went from *Dorcheſter* became a Church at *Windſor*; they that went from *Watertown* ſat down at *Wethersfield*; and they that left *Roxbury* were *In-Churched* higher up the River at *Springfield*, a place which was afterwards found within the Line of the *Maſſachuſet*-Charter. Indeed the *firſt* Winter after their going thither proved an *hard* one; and the grievous Diſappointments which befel them, thro' the unſeaſonable Freezing of the *River*, whereby their Veſſel of *Proviſions* was detained at the Mouth of the River, Threeſcore Miles below them, cauſed them to Encounter with very Diſaſtrous Difficulties. Divers of them were hereby obliged in the Depth of Winter to Travel back into the *Bay*; and ſome of them were frozen to Death in the Journey.

However, ſuch was their Courage, that they Proſecuted their *Plantation-Work* with ſpeedy and bleſſed Succeſſes; and when Bloody *Salvages* in their Neighbourhood, known by the Name of *Pequots*, had like to have nipt the Plantation in the Bud by a cruel War, within a Year or two after their Settlement, the marvellous Providence of God immediately extinguiſhed that *War*, by proſpering the *New-Engliſh* Arms, unto the utter ſubduing of the Quarrelſome Nation, and affrightning of all the other Natives.

§. 3. It was with the Countenance and Aſſiſtance of their Brethren in the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, that the Firſt Planters of *Connecticut* made their Eſſays thus to Diſcover and Cultivate the remoter Parts of this mighty Wilderneſs; and accordingly ſeveral Gentlemen went furniſhed with ſome kind of *Commiſſion* from the Government of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, for to maintain ſome kind of Government among the Inhabitants, till there could be a more orderly Settlement. But the Inhabitants quickly perceiving themſelves to be without the *Line* of the *Maſſachuſet-Charter*, entred into a Combination among themſelves, whereby with mutual Conſent they became a *Body-Politick*, and framed a Body of neceſſary *Laws* and *Orders*, to the Execution whereof they choſe all neceſſary *Officers*, very much, tho' not altogether after the form of the Colony from whence they Iſſued. So they jogg'd on for many Years; and whereas before the Year 1644. that Worthy Gentleman, *George Fenwick*, Eſq; did on the behalf of ſeveral Perſons of Quality begin a Plantation about the Mouth of the River, which was called *Say-Brook*, in Remembrance of thoſe Right Honourable Perſons, the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, who laid a Claim to the Land thereabouts, by Virtue of a Patent granted by the Earl of *Warwick*; the Inhabitants of *Connecticut* that Year purchaſed of Mr. *Fenwick* this Tract of Land. But the Confuſions then Embaraſſing the Affairs of the *Engliſh* Nation, hindered our *Connecticotians* from ſeeking of any further Settlement, until the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. when they made their Application to the King for a *Charter*, by the Agency of their Honourable Governour, *John Winthrop*, Eſq; the moſt accompliſhed Son of that Excellent Perſon, who had been ſo Conſiderable in the Foundations of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony. This Renowned *Virtuoſo* had juſtly been the Darling of *New-England*, if they had only conſidered his Eminent Qualities, as he was a *Chriſtian*, a *Gentleman*, and a *Philoſopher*, well worthy to be, as he was, a Member of the *Royal-Society*; but it muſt needs further endear his Memory to his Country, that God made him the Inſtrument of obtaining for them, as he did from the King of *England*, as amply priviledged a *Charter* as was ever enjoy'd perhaps by any People under the Cope of Heaven. Under the Protection and Encouragement of this *Charter* they flouriſhed many Years; and many Towns being ſucceſſively erected among them, their *Churches* had *Reſt, and walked in the Fear of God, and in the Comfort of the Holy Spirit.*

§. 4. The

§. 4. The *Church-Order* obſerved in the Churches of *Connecticut*, has been the ſame that is obſerved by their *Siſters* in the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*; and in this *Order* they lived exceeding peaceably all the Eleven Years that Mr. *Hooker* lived among them. Nevertheleſs there aroſe at length ſome unhappy Conteſts in one Town of the *Colony*, which grew into an Alienation that could not be cured without ſuch a Parting, and yet, indeed, hardly ſo kind a Parting, as that whereto once *Abraham* and *Lot* were driven. However, theſe Little, Idle, Angry *Controverſies*, proved Occaſions of *Enlargements* to the Church of God; for ſuch of the Inhabitants as choſe a *Cottage in a Wilderneſs*, before the moſt beautiful and furniſhed Edifice, overheated with the *Fire* of Contention, removed peaceably higher up the River, where a whole County of Holy *Churches* has been added unto the number of our Congregations.

§. 5. But there was one thing that made this Colony to become very conſiderable; which thing remains now to be conſidered. The well-known Mr. *Davenport*, and Mr. *Eaton*, and ſeveral Eminent Perſons that came over to the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, among ſome of the Firſt Planters, were ſtrongly urged, that they would have ſettled in this *Bay*; but hearing of another *Bay* to the South-Weſt of *Connecticut*, which might be more capable to entertain thoſe that were to follow them, they deſired that their Friends at *Connecticut* would purchaſe of the Native Proprietors for *them*, all the Land that lay between themſelves and *Hudſon*'s River, which was in part effected. Accordingly removing thither in the Year 1637. they ſeated themſelves in a pleaſant *Bay*, where they ſpread themſelves along the *Sea-Coaſts*; and one might have been ſuddenly, as it were ſurprized with the ſight of ſuch notable Towns, as firſt *New-Haven*; then *Guilford*; then *Milford*; then *Stamford*; and then *Brainford* where our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is Worſhipped in *Churches* of an Evangelical Conſtitution; and from thence, if the Enquirer make a Salley over to *Long Iſland*, he might there alſo have ſeen the Churches of our Lord beginning to take root in the Eaſtern Parts of that Iſland. All this while this *Fourth Colony* wanted the legal *Baſis* of a *Charter* to build upon; but they did by mutual Agreement form themſelves into a *Body-Politick*, as like as they judg'd fit unto the other Colonies in their Neighbourhood; and as for their *Church-Order*, it was generally, *Secundum Uſum Maſſachuſettenſem*.

§. 6. Behold, a Fourth Colony of *New-Engliſh* Chriſtians, in a manner *ſtoln* into the World, and a Colony, indeed, *conſtellated* with many Stars of the *Firſt Magnitude*. The Colony was under the Conduct of as Holy, and as Prudent, and as Genteel Perſons as moſt that ever viſited theſe Nooks of *America*; and yet *theſe* too were Try'd with very humbling Circumſtances.

Being *Londoners*, or Merchants, and Men of Traffick and Buſineſs, their Deſign was in a manner wholly to apply themſelves unto *Trade*; but the Deſign failing, they found their great Eſtates to ſink ſo faſt, that they muſt quickly *do ſomething*. Whereupon in the Year 1646. gathering together almoſt all the Strength which was left 'em, they Built one Ship more, which they fraighted for *England* with the beſt part of their Tradable Eſtates; and ſundry of their Eminent Perſons Embarked themſelves in her for the Voyage. But, alas, the Ship was never after heard of! She foundred in the Sea; and in her were loſt, not only the *Hopes* of their future Trade, but alſo the *Lives* of ſeveral Excellent Perſons, as well as divers *Manuſcripts* of ſome great Men in the Country, ſent over for the Service of the Church, which were now buried in the Ocean. The *fuller Story* of that *grievous Matter*, let the Reader with a juſt Aſtoniſhment accept from the Pen of the Reverend Perſon, who is now the Paſtor of *New-Haven*. I wrote unto him for it, and was thus Anſwered.

Reverend and Dear Sir,

'IN Compliance with your Deſires, I now 'give you the Relation of that *Apparition* 'of a *Ship in the Air*, which I have received 'from the moſt Credible, Judicious and Curi-'ous Surviving Obſervers of it.

'In the Year 1647. beſides much other La-'ding, a far more Rich Treaſure of Paſſengers, '(Five or Six of which were Perſons of chief 'Note and Worth in *New-Haven*) put them-'ſelves on Board a *New Ship*, built at *Rhode-'Iſland*, of about 150 Tuns; but ſo walty, 'that the Maſter, (*Lamberton*) often ſaid ſhe 'would prove their Grave. In the Month of '*January*, cutting their way thro' much Ice, on 'which they were accompanied with the Re-'verend Mr. *Davenport*, beſides many other 'Friends, with many Fears, as well as Prayers 'and Tears, they ſet Sail. Mr. *Davenport* in 'Prayer with an obſervable *Emphaſis* uſed theſe 'Words, *Lord, if it be thy pleaſure to bury 'theſe our Friends in the bottom of the Sea, 'they are thine; ſave them!* The Spring 'following no Tidings of theſe Friends arrived 'with the Ships from *England*: *New-Haven*'s 'Heart began to fail her: This put the Godly 'People on much *Prayer*, both Publick and 'Private, *That the Lord would (if it was his 'Pleaſure) let them hear what he had done 'with their dear Friends, and prepare them 'with a ſuitable Submiſſion to his Holy Will.* 'In *June* next enſuing, a great *Thunder-ſtorm* 'aroſe out of the *North-Weſt*; after which, '(the *Hemiſphere* being ſerene) about an Hour 'before Sun-ſet a SHIP of like Dimenſions 'with the aforeſaid, with her Canvas and 'Colours abroad (tho' the Wind Northernly) 'appeared in the Air coming up from our 'Harbour's Mouth, which lyes Southward from 'the Town, ſeemingly with her *Sails* filled 'under a freſh Gale, holding her Courſe North,

'and continuing under Obſervation, Sailing 'againſt the Wind for the ſpace of half an 'Hour. *Many* were drawn to behold this great 'Work of God ; yea, the very *Children* cry'd 'out, *There's a Brave Ship!* At length, crouding up as far as there is uſually *Water* ſufficient for ſuch a Veſſel, and ſo near ſome of 'the Spectators, as that they imagined a Man 'might hurl a Stone on Board her, her *Maintop* ſeem'd to be blown off, but left hanging 'in the Shrouds ; then her *Miſſen-top* ; then all 'her *Maſting* ſeemed blown away by the Board: 'Quickly after the *Hulk* brought unto a Careen, ſhe overſet, and ſo vaniſhed into a 'ſmoaky Cloud, which in ſome time diſſipated, 'leaving, as everywhere elſe, a clear Air. The 'admiring Spectators could diſtinguiſh the ſeveral Colours of each Part, the Principal Riging, and ſuch Proportions, as cauſed not only the generality of Perſons to ſay, *This was the Mould of their Ship, and thus was her Tragick End* : But Mr. *Davenport* alſo in publick declared to this Effect, *That God had condeſcended, for the quieting of their afflicted Spirits, this Extraordinary Account of his Soveraign Diſpoſal of thoſe for whom ſo many Fervent Prayers were made continually.* Thus I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

James Pierpont.

Reader, There being yet living ſo many Credible Gentlemen, that were Eye-Witneſſes of this *Wonderful* Thing, I venture to Publiſh it for a thing as *undoubted*, as 'tis *wonderful*.

But let us now proceed with our Story. Our *Colony* of *New Haven* apprehended themſelves Diſadvantageouſly ſeated for the Affairs of *Husbandry*; and therefore upon theſe Diſaſters they made many Attempts of *removing* into ſome other Parts of the World. One while they were invited unto *Delaware-Bay*, another while they were invited unto *Jamaica* ; they had offers made them from *Ireland* alſo, after the Wars there were over ; and they entred into ſome Treaties about the City of *Galloway*, which they were to have had as a ſmall *Province* to themſelves. But the God of Heaven ſtill ſtrangely diſappointed all theſe Attempts ; and whereas they were concerned how their *Poſterity* ſhould be able to live, if they muſt make *Husbandry* their main ſhift for their Living; that *Poſterity* of theirs by the good Providence of God, inſtead of coming to Beggary and Miſery, have thriven wonderfully : The Colony is improved with many Wealthy *Husbandmen*, and is become no ſmall part of the beſt *Granary* for all *New-England*. And the ſame good Providence has all along ſo preſerved them from annoyance by the *Indians*, that altho' at their firſt ſetting down there were few Towns but what wiſely perſwaded a Body of *Indians* to dwell near them ; whereby ſuch Kindneſſes paſſed between them, that they always dwelt peaceably together ; nevertheleſs there are few of thoſe Towns, but what have ſeen their Body of *Indians* utterly Extirpated by nothing but *Mortality* waſting them.

§. 7. But what is now become of *New-Haven* Colony ? I muſt Anſwer, *It is not* : And yet it has been growing ever ſince it firſt *was*. But when *Connecticut*-Colony Petitioned the Reſtored King for a **Charter,** they procured *New-Haven* Colony to be annexed unto them in the ſame *Charter* ; and this, not without having firſt the private Concurrence of ſome *Leading* Men in the Colony ; tho' the Minds of *others* were ſo uneaſie about the Coalition, that it coſt ſome time after the Arrival of the *Charter* for the Colony, like *Jephtah*'s Daughter, to bewail her Condition before it could be quietly complied withal. Nevertheleſs they have lived ever ſince, *One Colony*, very happily together, and the *God of Love and Peace* has remarkably dwelt among them : However, theſe Children of God have not been without their *Chaſtiſements*, eſpecially in the Malignant *Fevers* and *Agues*, which have often proved very Mortal in moſt or all of their Plantations.

§. 8. While the *South-Weſt* Parts of *New-England* were thus filled with New Colonies, the *North-Eaſt* Parts of the Country were not forgotten. There were ample Regions beyond the Line of the *Maſſachuſet-Patent*, where new Settlements were attempted, not only by ſuch as deſigned a *Fiſhing*-Trade at Sea, or a *Bever*-Trade on Shore ; nor only by ſome that were uneaſie under the *Maſſachuſet*-Government in a *Day of Temptation*, which came upon the Firſt Planters ; but alſo by ſome very ſerious Chriſtians, who propounded the Enlargement and Enjoyment of our Lord's Evangelical Intereſts in thoſe Territories. The Effect of theſe *Excurſions* were, That ſeveral well-conſtituted Churches were gathered in the Province of *Eaſt-Hampſhire*, beſides one or two in the Province of *Mam*, whereto were added a large number of other Congregations, wherein weekly *Prayers* and *Sermons* were made, altho' the Inhabitants belonging to thoſe Congregations, proceeded not ſo far as to all the Ordinances of a more compleat *Church-State* among them. That which contributed more than a little to the growth of *Chriſtianity* in thoſe Parts of *New-England*, was the Application, which the People being tired with many Quarrelſome Circumſtances about their Government, made unto the *General Court* of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, to be taken under their Protection ; which Petition of theirs being anſwered by that *General Court*, ſurely after a more Charitable and Accountable manner, than ſuch Authors as *Ogilby* in his *America* have repreſented it, [*Vos magis Hiſtoricis, Lectores, Credite veris!*] there followed many Succeſsful Endeavours to ſpread the good Effects and Orders of the *Goſpel* along that Coaſt.

But

But thus was the Settlement of *New-England* brought about; theſe were the *Beginnings*, theſe the *Foundations* of thoſe *Colonies*, which have not only enlarged the *Engliſh Empire* in ſome Regards more than any other Outgoings of our Nation, but alſo afforded a Singular Proſpect of Churches erected in an *American* Corner of the World, on purpoſe to expreſs and purſue the Proteſtant *Reformation*.

CHAP. VII.

Hecatompolis: *Or, A Field which the Lord hath Bleſſed.*

A *MAP* of the Country.

IT is proper that I ſhould now give the Reader an *Eccleſiaſtical Map* of the Country, thus Undertaken. Know then, that although for now more than Twenty Years, the *Blaſting Strokes* of Heaven upon the Secular Affairs of this Country have been ſuch, as rather to *Abate* than *Enlarge* the growth of it; yet there are to be ſeen in it at this preſent Year 1696, theſe *Colonies*, *Counties*, and *Congregations*.

¶ *The Numbers and Places of the Chriſtian Congregations, now Worſhipping our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the ſeveral Colonies of* New-England, *and the Names of the Miniſters at this time employed in the Service of thoſe Congregations.*

Notandum, Where the Name of any Miniſter hath *H. C.* added unto it in our Catalogue, it is to be underſtood that *Harvard-Colledge* was the *Mother*, in whoſe Arms that Miniſter was Educated.

I. IN Plymouth *Colony there are Three Counties; and the ſeveral Congregations therein are thus Accommodated.*

Plymouth County Miniſters.

Bridgewater, Mr. *James Keith.*
Duxbury, Mr. *Ichabod Wiſwul*, H. C.
Marſhfield, Mr. *Edward Thompſon*, H. C.
Middlebury, Mr.
Plymouth, Mr. *John Cotton*, H. C.
Scituate, which hath two Churches, Mr. *Jeremiah Cuſhing*, H. C. Mr. *Deodate Lawſon.*

Barnſtable County Miniſters.

Barnſtable, Mr. *Jonathan Ruſſel*, H. C.
Eaſtham, Mr. *Samuel Treat*, H. C.
Falmouth, *Harwich*, *Manamoyet*, Mr. *Nathanael Stone*, H. C.
Rocheſter, Mr. *Arnold.*
Sandwich, Mr. *Rowland Cotton*, H. C.
Yarmouth, Mr. *John Cotton*, H. C.

Briſtol County Miniſters.

Briſtol, Mr. *John Sparhawk*, H. C.
Dartmouth, *Periſhing without Viſion.*
Freetown,
Little-Compton, Mr. *Eliphelet Adams*, H. C.
Swanſy,
Tanton, Mr. *Samuel Danforth*, H. C.

Hereto an Eccleſiaſtical Reckoning may annex the Iſlands of

Martha's Vineyard, Mr. *Ralph Thacher*, Mr. *Denham*, beſides *Indian* Churches and Paſtors.
Nantucket, *Indian* Paſtors.
Newport in *Rode-Iſland*, Mr. *Nathanael Clap*, H. C.

II. IN Maſſachuſet *Colony are Four Counties, and the ſeveral Congregations in them are ſo ſupplied.*

The County of *Suffolk* Miniſters.

Boſton, Of the *Old* Church, Mr. *James Allen*, Mr. *Benj. Wadſworth*, H. C.
Of the *North* Church, Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, Preſident of the Colledge, and his Son *Cotton Mather*, H. C.
Of the *South* Church, Mr. *Samuel Wilward*, H. C.
Beſides theſe, there is in the Town a ſmall Congregation that Worſhip God with the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; ſerved generally by a Change of Perſons, occaſionally viſiting theſe Parts of the World.
And another ſmall Congregation of *Antipedo-Baptiſts*, wherein Mr. *Emblin* is the ſettled Miniſter.
And a *French* Congregation of Proteſtant *Refugees*, under the Paſtoral Cares of Monſieur *Daille.*
Braintree, Mr. *Moſes Fisk*, H. C.
Dedham, Mr. *Joſeph Belcher*, H. C.
Dorcheſter, Mr. *John Danforth*, H. C.
Hingham, Mr. *John Norton*, H. C.
Hull, Mr. *Zechariah Whitman*, H. C.
Medfield, Mr. *Joſeph Baxter*, H. C.
Mendon, Mr. *Grindal Rawſon*, H. C.
Milton, Mr. *Peter Thacher*, H. C.
Roxbury, Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, H. C.
Weymouth, Mr. *Samuel Torrey*, H. C.
Woodſtock, Mr. *Joſiah Dwight*, H. C.
Wrentham, Mr. *Samuel Man*, H. C.

The County of *Middleſex* Miniſters.

Billerica, Mr. *Samuel Whiteing*, H. C.
Cambridge, Mr. *William Brattle*, H. C.

Charles-Town, Mr. *Charles Morton*.
Chelmsford, Mr. *Thomas Clark*, H. C.
Concord, Mr. *Joſeph Eaſtabrook*, H. C.
Dunſtable, Mr. *Thomas Weld*, H. C.
Groton, Mr. *Gerſhom Hobart*, H. C.
Lancaſter, Mr. *John Whiteing*, H. C.
Malborough, Mr. *William Brinſmead*, H. C.
Malden, Mr. *Michael Wiggleſworth*, H. C.
Medford, Mr. *Simon Bradſtreet*, H. C.
Newtown, Mr. *Nehemiah Hobart*, H. C.
Oxford,
Reading, Mr. *Jonathan Pierpont*, H. C.
Sherborn, Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, H. C.
Stow, Mr.
Sudbury, Mr. *James Sherman*.
Watertown Eaſt, Mr. *Henry Gibs*, H. C.
Weſt, Mr. *Samuel Angier*. H. C.
Woburn, Mr. *Jabez Fox*, H. C.
Worceſter,

The County of *Eſſex* Miniſters.

Amesbury,
Andover, Mr. *Francis Dean*, and Mr. *Thomas Barnard*, H. C.
Beverly, Mr. *John Hale*, H. C.
Boxford,
Bradford, Mr. *Zechariah Symmes*, H. C.
Glouceſter, Mr. *John Emerſon*, H. C.
Haveril, Mr. *Benjamin Rolfe*, H. C.
Ipſwich, Mr. *William Hubbard*, H. C. and Mr. *John Rogers*, H. C.
And Village, Mr. *John Wiſe*, H. C.
Lyn, Mr. *Jeremiah Shepard*, H. C.
Mancheſter, Mr. *John Emerſon*. H. C.
Marblehead, Mr. *Samuel Cheever*, H. C.
Newbury, Eaſt, Mr. *Tappin*, H. C.
Weſt, Mr. *Samuel Belcher*, H. C.
Rowly, Mr. *Edward Payſon*, H. C.
Salem, Mr. *John Higginſon*, and Mr. *Nicholas Noyſe*, H. C.
And Village, Mr. *Samuel Paris*, H. C.
Salsbury, Mr. *Caleb Cuſhing*, H. C.
Topsfield, Mr. *Joſeph Capen*, H. C.
Wenham, Mr. *Joſeph Geriſh*, H. C.

The County of *Hampſhire* Miniſters.

Deerfield, Mr. *John Williams*, H. C.
Endfield, Mr.
Hatfield, Mr. *William Williams*, H. C.
Hadley, Mr.
Northampton, Mr. *Solomon Stoddard*, H. C.
Springfield, Mr. *Daniel Brewer*, H. C.
Southfield, Mr. *Benjamin Ruggles*, H. C.
Weſtfield, Mr. *Edward Taylor*, H. C.

To which, if we add the Congregations in *Piſcataqua*.

Dover, Mr. *John Pike*, H. C.
Exeter, Mr. *John Clark*, H. C.
Hampton, Mr. *John Cotton*, H. C.
Newcaſtle, Mr. *Samuel Moodey*, H. C.
Portſmouth, Mr. *Joſhua Moodey*, H. C

And in the Province of *Main*.

Iſle of *Sholes*, ———
Kittery,
Wells, *York*, Mr. *Hancock*, H. C.

III. IN Connecticut-*Colony there are* Four *Counties, and the ſeveral Congregations therein are illuminated by theſe Preachers of the Goſpel.*

Hartford County Miniſters.

Farmington, Mr. *Samuel Hooker*, H. C.
Glaſtenbury, Mr. *Timothy Stevens*, H. C.
Hadham, Mr. *Jeremiah Hobart*, H. C.
Hartford, Old Church, Mr. *Timothy Woodbridge*, H. C.
New Church, Mr. *Thomas Buckingham*, H. C.
Middletown, Mr. *Noadiah Ruſſel*, H. C.
Simsbury, Mr. *Dudly Woodbridge*, H. C.
Waterbury, Mr. *Jeremiah Peck*, H. C.
Wethersfield, Mr. *Steven Mix*, H. C.
Windſor, Mr. *Samuel Mather*, H. C.
And *Farme*, Mr. *Timothy Edwards*, H. C.
Windham, Mr. *Samuel Whiting*.

New-London-County Miniſters.

Killingworth, Mr. *Abraham Pierſon*, H. C.
Lebanon,
Linne, Mr. *Moſes Noyſe*, H. C.
New-London, Mr. *Gordon Saltonſtal*, H. C.
Norwich, Mr. *James Fitch*.
Peſcamſik, Mr. *Joſeph Mors*, H. C.
Preſton, Mr. *Samuel Tread*, H. C.
Saybrook, Mr. *Thomas Buckingham*.
Stonington, Mr. *James Noyſe*, H. C.

New-Haven County Miniſters.

Brainford, Mr. *Samuel Ruſſel*, H. C.
Derby, Mr. *John James*, H. C.
Guilford, Mr. *Thomas Ruggles*, H. C.
Milford, Mr. *Samuel Andrews*, H. C
New-Haven, Mr. *James Pierpoint*, H. C.
Wallingford, Mr. *Samuel Street*, H. C.

Fairfield-County Miniſters.

Danbury, Mr. *Seth Shove*, H. C.
Fairfield, Mr. *Joſeph Web*, H. C.
Fairfield Village, Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, H. C
Greenwich, Mr. *Joſeph Morgan*.
Norwalk, Mr. *Steven Buckingham*, H. C.
Rye, Mr. *Bowers*, H. C.
Stamford, Mr. *John Davenport*, H. C.
Stratford, Mr. *Iſrael Chauncey*, H. C.
Woodbury, Mr. *Zachariah Walker*, H. C.

RE-

REMARKS *upon the Catalogue of Plantations.*

§. 1. THere are few Towns to be now ſeen in our Liſt, but what were exiſting in this Land before the dreadful *Indian War*, which befel us Twenty Years ago; and there are few Towns broken up within the then *Maſſachuſet-Line* by that War, but what have revived out of their *Aſhes*. Nevertheleſs the many Calamities, which have ever ſince been waſting of the Country, have ſo nipt the *growth* of it, that its later Progreſs hath held no Proportion with what was *from the Beginning*; but yet with ſuch variety, that while the *Trained Companies* of ſome Towns are no bigger than they were Thirty or Forty Years ago, others are as big again.

§. 2. The Calamities that have carried off the Inhabitants of our ſeveral Towns have not been all of *one ſort*; nor have all our Towns had an equal ſhare in *any ſort*. Peſtilential *Sickneſſes* have made fearful Havock in divers Places, where the *Sound* perhaps have not been enough to tend the *Sick*; while others have not had one touch from that *Angel of Death*. And the *Sword* hath cut off *Scores* in ſundry Places, when others, it may be, have not loſt a Man by that *Avenger*.

§. 3. 'Tis no *unuſual*, though no *univerſal* Experiment among us, that while an excellent, laborious, illuminating *Miniſtry* has been continued in a Town, the place has thriven to admiration; but ever ſince *that Man's time*, they have gone down the Wind in all their Intereſts. The Goſpel has evidently been the *making* of our Towns, and the Bleſſings of the *Upper* have been accompanied with the Bleſſings of the *Nether-ſprings*. Memorable alſo is the Remark of *Slingsby Bethel*, Eſq; in his moſt Judicious Book of *The Intereſt of Europe*. *Were not the cold Climate of* New-England *ſupplied by good Laws and Diſcipline, the Barrenneſs of that Country would never have brought People to it, nor have advanced it in Conſideration and Formidableneſs above the other* Engliſh *Plantations, exceeding it much in Fertility, and other Inviting Qualities.*

§. 4. Well may New-England lay claim to the *Name* it wears, and to a *Room* in the tendereſt Affections of its Mother, the *Happy Iſland!* For as there are few of our Towns but what have their *Names-ſakes* in *England*, ſo the Reaſon why moſt of our Towns are called what they are, is becauſe the Chief of the Firſt Inhabitants would thus bear up the *Names* of the particular Places there from whence they came.

§. 5. I have heard an Aged *Saint* near his Death chearfully thus Expreſs himſelf; 'Well, 'I am going to Heaven, and I will there tell 'the Faithful, who are gone long ſince from '*New-England*, thither, that though they who 'gathered our Churches are all Dead and gone, 'yet the Churches are ſtill Alive, with as numerous Flocks of Chriſtians as ever were among them. Concerning the moſt of the *Churches* in our Catalogue, the Report thus carried unto *Heaven*, I muſt now alſo ſend through the *Earth*; but if with, *As Numerous*, we could in every Reſpect ſay, *As Gracious*, what Joy unto all the Saints, both in *Heaven* and on *Earth*, might be from thence occaſioned!

The

The BOSTONIAN EBENEZER.

SOME

Hiſtorical Remarks

On the State of

BOSTON,

The *Chief Town* of *New-England*, and of the *Engliſh* AMERICA.

With Some

Agreeable Methods

FOR

Preſerving and Promoting the *Good State* of THAT, as well as any *other Town* in the like Circumſtances.

Humbly Offered by a Native *of* BOSTON.

Ezek. 48. 35. *The Name of the City from that Day ſhall be*, THE LORD IS THERE.

Urbs Metropolis, ut ſit maximæ Auctoritatis, conſtituatur præcipuum pietatis Exemplum & Sacrarium. Aphor. Polit.

The Hiſtory of *BOSTON*, Related and Improved.

At Boſton *Lecture*, 7. d. 2. m. 1698.

Remarkable and Memorable was the Time, when an *Army* of Terrible *Deſtroyers* was coming againſt one of the *Chief Towns* in the Land of *Iſrael*. God reſcued the *Town* from the Irreſiſtible Fury and Approach of thoſe *Deſtroyers*, by an immediate Hand of Heaven upon them. Upon that Miraculous Reſcue of the *Town*, and of the whole Country, whoſe Fate was much enwrapped in it, there follow'd that Action of the Prophet *SAMUEL*, which is this Day to be, with ſome Imitation, Repeated in the midſt of thee, O *BOSTON*, *Thou Helped of the Lord*.

1 SAM.

1 SAM. VII. 12.

Then SAMUEL *took a Stone, and ſet it up,----- and called the Name of it,* **Ebenezer,** *ſaying, Hitherto the Lord hath Helped us.*

THE thankful Servants of God have uſed ſometimes to Erect Monuments of *Stone*, as durable Tokens of their *Thankfulneſs* to God for *Mercies* received in the places thus diſtinguiſhed. *Jacob* did ſo; *Joſhua* did ſo; and *Samuel* did ſo; but they ſo did it, as to keep clear of the Tranſgreſſion forbidden in *Lev.* 26. 1. *Ye ſhall not ſet up an Image of Stone in your Land, for to Bow down unto it.*

The *Stone* Erected by *Samuel*, with the Name of *Ebenezer*, which is as much as to ſay, *A Stone of Help*; I know not whether any thing might be *Writ* upon it, but I am ſure there is one thing to be now *Read* upon it, by our ſelves, in the Text where we find it: Namely, thus much,

That a People whom the God of Heaven hath remarkably helped in their Diſtreſſes, ought greatly and gratefully to acknowledge what **Help** *of Heaven they have received.*

Now 'tis not my Deſign to lay the Scene of my Diſcourſe as far off as *Bethcar*, the place where *Samuel* ſet up his *Ebenezer.* I am immediately to transfer it into the Heart of *Boſton*, a place where the *Remarkable Help received from Heaven* by the People, does loudly call for an *Ebenezer.* And I do not ask you to change the Name of the Town into that of **Help-Stone,** as there is a Town in *England* of that Name, which may ſeem the *Engliſh* of **Ebenezer**, but my *Sermon* ſhall be this Day, your *Ebenezer*, if you will with a Favourable and a Profitable Attention Entertain it. May the Lord Jeſus Chriſt accept me, and aſſiſt me now to *Glorifie him* in the *Town* where I drew my firſt ſinful Breath; a *Town* whereto I am under great Obligations for the precious Opportunities to *glorifie him*, which I have quietly and publickly enjoy'd therein for near Eighteen Years together. *O my Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and ſtrengthen me this once, to ſpeak from thee unto thy People!*

And now, Sirs, That I may ſet up an *EBENEZER* among you, there are theſe things to be Inculcated.

I. Let us *Thankfully*, and *Agreeably*, aud *Particularly* acknowledge *what* **Help** we have received from the God of Heaven, in the Years that have rouled over us. While the Bleſſed Apoſtle *Paul*, was, as it ſhould ſeem, yet ſhort of being *Threeſcore* Years Old, how affectionately did he ſet up an *Ebenezer*, with an acknowledgment in *Acts* 26. 22. *Having obtained help of God, I continue to this Day!* Our Town is now *Threeſcore and Eight* Years Old; and certainly 'tis time for us, with all poſſible Affection, to ſet up our *Ebenezer*, ſaying, *Having obtained help from God, the Town is continued until almoſt the Age of Man is paſſed over it!* The Town hath indeed *Three Elder Siſters* in this Colony, but it hath wonderfully *outgrown* them all; and her Mother, Old *Boſton*, in *England* alſo; yea, within a few Years after the firſt Settlement it *grew* to be. **The Metropolis of the whole Engliſh America.** Little was *this* expected by them that firſt ſettled the Town, when for a while **Boſton** was proverbially called, **Loſt Town,** for the mean and ſad Circumſtances of it. But, O *Boſton*, it is becauſe thou haſt *obtained help from God*, even from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who for the ſake of his *Goſpel*, Preached and once prized here, undertook thy Patronage. When the World and the Church of God had ſeen *Twenty-Six* Generations, a *Pſalm* was Compoſed, wherein that Note occurs with *Twenty-Six* Repetitions; *His Mercy endureth for ever.* Truly there has not one Year paſſed over this Town, *Ab Urbe Condita*, upon the Story whereof we might not make that Note, our *Ebenezer*; *His Mercy endureth for ever.* It has been a Town of great Experiences. There have been ſeveral Years wherein the *Terrible* **Famine** hath terribly ſtared the Town in the Face: We have been brought ſometimes unto the *laſt Meal* in the Barrel; we have cry'd out with the Diſciples, *We have not Loaves enough to feed a Tenth Part of us!* But the fear'd *Famine* has always been kept off; always we have had Seaſonable and Sufficient Supplies after a ſurprizing manner ſent in unto us: Let the *Three laſt Years* in this thing moſt eminently Proclaim the Goodneſs of our Heavenly *Shepherd* and *Feeder.* This has been the *help* of our God; *Becauſe his Mercy endureth for ever!* The *Angels of* **Death** have often Shot the *Arrows of* **Death** into the midſt of the Town; the *Small-Pox* has eſpecially **Four Times** been a *great Plague* upon us: How often have there been Bills deſiring Prayers for more than an Hundred Sick on one Day in one of our Aſſemblies? In *one Twelve-month*, about one *Thouſand* of our Neighbours have one way or other been carried unto their long Home: And yet we are after all, many more than *Seven Thouſand* Souls of us at this Hour living on the Spot. Why is not, a, *Lord, have Mercy upon us*, written on the Doors of our abandon'd Habitations? This hath been the *help* of our *God*, becauſe *his Mercy endureth for ever.* Never was any Town under the Cope of Heaven more liable to be laid in **Aſhes,** either through the *Careleſneſs*, or through the *Wickedneſs* of them that *Sleep* in it. That ſuch a *Combuſtible heap* of Contiguous Houſes yet ſtands, it may be called, A *Standing Miracle*; it is not becauſe *the Watchman*

keeps

keeps the City : Perhaps there may be too much cauſe of *Reflection* in that thing, and of *Inſpection too* ; no, *It is from thy watchful Protection, O thou keeper of* Boſton, *who neither Slumbers nor Sleeps.* **Ten Times** has the *Fire* made notable *Ruins* among us, and our *good Servant* been almoſt our *Maſter :* But the *Ruins* have moſtly and quickly been Rebuilt. I ſuppoſe, that many more than a *Thouſand Houſes* are to be ſeen on this little piece of Ground, all fill'd with the undeſerved Favours of God. Whence this Preſervation ? This hath been the *help* of our *God* ; becauſe *his Mercy endureth for ever !* But if ever this Town ſaw a *Year of Salvations*, tranſcendently ſuch was the **Laſt Year** unto us. A Formidable *French Squadron* hath not Shot one Bomb into the midſt of thee, O thou *Munition of Rocks* ; our Streets have not run with Blood and Gore, and horrible devouring Flames have not raged upon our Subſtance : Theſe are *Ignorant*, and *Unthinking*, and *Unthankful* Men, who do not own that we have narrowly eſcaped as dreadful things, as *Carthagena*, or *Newfoundland*, have ſuffered. I am ſure our more conſiderate Friends Beyond-Sea were very *Suſpicious*, and well nigh *Deſpairing*, that Victorious *Enemies* had ſwallowed up the Town. But *thy Soul is eſcaped, O* Boſton, *as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers.* Or if you will be Inſenſible of *this*, ye *vain Men*, yet be ſenſible, That an *Engliſh Squadron* hath not brought among us the tremendous *Peſtilence*, under which a Neighbouring *Plantation* hath undergone prodigious Deſolations. *Boſton*, 'tis a marvellous thing a *Plague* has not laid thee Deſolate ! Our Deliverance from our *Friends* has been as full of aſtoniſhing *Mercy*, as our Deliverance from our *Foes*. We read of a certain City in *Iſa.* 19. 18. called, *The City of Deſtruction.* Why ſo ? ſome ſay, Becauſe delivered from *Deſtruction*. If that be ſo, then haſt thou been a *City of Deſtruction :* Or I will rather ſay, *A City of Salvation :* And this by the *help* of God ; becauſe *his Mercy endureth for ever.* Shall I go on ? I will. We have not had the *Bread of Adverſity* and the *Water of Affliction*, like many other places. But yet all this while *Our Eyes have ſeen our Teachers.* Here are ſeveral *Golden Candleſticks* in the Town. *Shining and Burning Lights* have illuminated them. There are gone to ſhine in an *higher Orb* Seven Divines that were once the *Stars* of this Town, in the Paſtoral Charge of it ; beſides many others, that for ſome Years gave us tranſient Influences. *Churches* flouriſhing with much Love, and Peace, and many *Comforts of the Holy Spirit*, have hitherto been our greateſt *Glory.* I wiſh that ſome ſad *Eclipſe* do not come e're long upon this *Glory !* The Diſpenſations of the *Goſpel* were never enjoy'd by any Town with more *Liberty* and *Purity* for ſo long a while together. Our *Opportunities* to draw near unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his *Ordinances*, cannot be parallell'd. *Boſton*, thou haſt been *lifted up to Heaven* ; there is not a Town upon *Earth*, which, on ſome Accounts, has more to anſwer for. Such, O ſuch has been our *help* from our God, becauſe *his Mercy endureth for ever.*

II. Let us acknowledge **whoſe** *Help* it is that we have received, and not *Give the Glory of our God unto another.* Poorly *Helped* had we been, I may tell you, if we had none but *Humane Help* all this while to depend upon. The Favours of our Superiors we deny not ; we forget not the Inſtruments of our *Help.* Nevertheleſs, this little *outcaſt Zion*, ſhall, with my Conſent, Engrave the Name of no MAN upon her *Ebenezer !* It was well confeſs'd in *Pſal.* 108. 12. *Vain is the help of Man !* It was well counſell'd in *Pſal.* 146. 3. *Put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the Son of man, in whom there is no Help.*

Wherefore, *Firſt*, Let **God** in our Lord **Jeſus Chriſt**, have the *Glory* of *beſtowing* on us all the *help* that we have had. When the Spirit of God came upon a Servant of his, he cried out unto *David*, in 1 *Chron.* 12. 18. *Thy God helpeth thee.* This is the voice of God from Heaven to *Boſton* this Day, *Thy God hath helped thee : Thou haſt by thy Sin deſtroyed thy ſelf, but in thy God hath been thy help.* A Great Man once building an Edifice, cauſed an Inſcription of this Importance to be written on the Gates of it, *Such a place Planted me, ſuch a place Watered me, and* Cæſar *gave the Increaſe.* One that paſs'd by with a witty Sacarſm, wrote under it, *Hic Deus nihil fecit* ; i. e. *God, it ſeems, did nothing for this Man.* But the Inſcription upon our *Ebenezer*, owning what *help* this Town hath had, ſhall ſay, *Our God hath done all that is done !* Say then, O helped **Boſton**, ſay as in *Pſal.* 121. 2. *My help is from the Lord which made Heaven and Earth.* Say as in *Pſal.* 94. 17. *Unleſs the Lord had been my help, my Soul had quickly dwelt in ſilence.* And boldly ſay, *'Tis only becauſe the Lord has been my helper, that Earth and Hell have never done all that they would unto me.*

Let our Lord JESUS CHRIST be praiſed as our Bleſſed *Helper :* That *Stone* which the *Fooliſh Builders* have *refuſed*, Oh ! Set up that *Stone* ; even that *high Rock* ; ſet him on high in our Praiſes, and ſay, That *That is our Ebenezer.* 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who in his Infinite Compaſſions for the Town hath ſaid, as in *Iſa.* 63. 5. *I looked, and there was none to help* ; *therefore my own Arm hath brought Salvation* unto it It is foretold concerning the Idolatrous Roman Catholicks, That together with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they ſhall *Worſhip* other *Mauzzim* ; that is to ſay, other *Protectors.* Accordingly, all their Towns ordinarily have ſingled out their *Protectors* among the *Saints* of Heaven ; ſuch a *Saint* is Entituled unto the *Patronage* of ſuch a Town among them, and ſuch a *Saint* for another : Old **Boſton**, by Name, was but Saint **Botolph's Town.** Whereas Thou, O *Boſton*, that have but one *Protector* in Heaven, and that is our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Oh ! Rejoice in him alone, and ſay, *The Lord is my Fortreſs and my*

my Deliverer! There was a Song once made for a *Town*, which in its Diſtreſſes had been *helped* wondrouſly; and the Firſt Clauſe in that Song, [you have it in *Iſa.* 26. 1.] may be ſo rendred, *We have a ſtrong Town*; *Salvation* [or JESUS the Lord, whoſe Name hath *Salvation in it*] *will appoint Walls and Bulwarks.* Truly what *help* we have had we will Sing, *'Tis our JESUS that hath appointed them.* The Old Pagan Towns were ſometimes mightily Solicitous to conceal the Name of the particular God that they counted their *Protector*, *Ne ab hoſtibus Evocatus, alio commigraret.* But I ſhall be far from doing my Town any damage, by Publiſhing the Name of its *Protector*; no, let all Mankind know, that the Name of our *Protector* is JESUS CHRIST: For, *Among the Gods there is none like unto thee, O LORD: Nor is any help like unto thine: And there is no Rock like to our God.*

Yea, when we aſcribe the Name of *Helper* unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, let us alſo acknowledge that the Name is not ſufficiently Expreſſive, Emphatical and Significant. *Lactantius* of old blamed the Heathen for giving the higheſt of their Gods no higher a Title than that of *Jupiter*, or *Juvans Pater*, *i. e.* An *helping Father*; and he ſays, *Non intelligit Divina Beneficia, qui ſe a Deo tantummodo Juvari putat*: The *Kindneſſes* of God are not underſtood by that Man, who makes no more than an *Helper* of him. Such indeed is the penury of our Language, that we cannot Coin a more *Expreſſive Name.* Nevertheleſs, when we ſay, The Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been our *Helper*, let us intend more than we expreſs; *Lord, thou haſt been All unto us.*

Secondly, Let the **Sacrifice** of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt moſt Explicitely have the *Glory* of *Purchaſing* for us all our *Help.* What was it that procured an *Ebenezer* for the People of God? We read in 2 *Sam.* 7. 9. Samuel *took a Sucking Lamb, and offered it a Burnt-Offering wholly unto the Lord; and* Samuel *cried unto the Lord for* Iſrael, *and the Lord heard him.* Shall I tell you? Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is that *Lamb of God*; and he has been a *Lamb ſlain as a Sacrifice*; and he is a *Sacrifice* pleadable not only for *Perſons*, but alſo for *Peoples* that belong unto him. To teach us this Evangelical and Comfortable *Myſtery*, there was *a Sacrifice for the whole Congregation* preſcribed in the *Moſaic* Pædagogy. 'Tis notorious that the *Sins* of this Town have been many Sins, and mighty Sins; the *Cry* thereof hath *gone up to Heaven.* If the Almighty God ſhould from Heaven Rain down upon the Town an *horrible Tempeſt* of Thunderbolts, as he did upon the Cities *which he overthrew in his Anger, and repented not*, it would be no more than our unrepented Sins deſerve. How comes it then to paſs that we have had ſo much *help* from Heaven after all? Truly the *Sacrifice* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has been pleaded for *Boſton*, and *therefore* ſay, *Therefore* it is that the Town is not made a *Sacrifice* to the Vengeance of God. God ſent *help* to the Town that was the very *Heart* and *Life* of the Land that he had a pity for: But why ſo? He ſaid in *Iſa.* 37. 35. *I will defend this Town, to ſave it for my Servant* David's *ſake.* Has this Town been *Defended?* It has been for the ſake of the *Beloved* JESUS; therefore has the Daughter of *Boſton* ſhaken *her Head* at you, O ye Calamities that have been Impending over *her Head.* O *helped* and happy Town! Thou haſt had thoſe Believers in the midſt of thee, that have pleaded this with the great God; *Ah! Lord, Thou haſt been more Honoured by the Sufferings of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, than thou couldſt be Honoured by overwhelming this Town with all the Plagues of thy Juſt Indignation. If thou wilt Spare, and Feed, and Keep, and Help this poor Town, the Sufferings of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall be own'd as the Prize of all our help.* 'Tis *this* that hath procured us all our *Help*: 'Tis *this* that muſt have all our *Praiſe.*

Thirdly, Let the Lord be in a ſpecial manner *Glorified* for the Miniſtry of his good **Angels**, in that *help* that has been Miniſtred unto us. A *Jacob* lying on a *Stone*, ſaw the *Angels* of God *helping* him. We are ſetting up an *Ebenezer*; but when we lay our Heads and our Thoughts upon the *Stone*, let us then ſee, *The Angels of God have helped us.* When *Macedonia* was to have ſome *help* from God, an *Angel*, whom the Apoſtle in *Acts* 16. 9. ſaw Habited like a *Man of* Macedonia, was a Mean of its being brought unto them. There is abundant Cauſe to think, That every Town in which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is Worſhipped, hath an *Angel* to watch over it. The Primitive Chriſtians were perſwaded from the Scriptures of Truth to make no doubt of this, *Quod per Civitates diſtributæ ſunt Angelorum præfecturæ.* When the Capital Town of *Judea* was reſcued from an Invaſion, we read in 2 Kings 19. 35. *The Angel of the Lord WENT OUT, and ſmote the Camp of the* Aſſyrians. It ſhould ſeem there was an *Angel* which did Reſide in, and Preſide over the Town, who *went out* for that amazing Exploit. And is it not likely, that *the Angel of the Lord WENT OUT for to ſmite the Fleet of the* Aſſyrians with a Sickneſs, which the laſt Summer hindred their Invading of this Town? *The Angel of* BOSTON was concerned for it! Why have not the *Deſtroyers* broke in upon us, to Prey upon us with ſore *Deſtruction?* 'Tis becauſe we have had *a Wall of Fire* about us; that is to ſay, a Guard of *Angels*, thoſe *Flames* of *Fire* have been as a *Wall* unto us. It was an *Angel* that *help'd* a *Daniel* when the *Lions* would elſe have ſwallowed him up. It was an *Angel* that *help'd* a *Lot* out of the Fires that were coming to conſume his Habitation. It was an *Angel* that *help'd* an *Elias* to *Meat* when he wanted it. They were *Angels* that *help'd* the whole People of God in

the Wilderneſs to their *Daily Bread :* Their *Manna* was *Angel's Food :* And is it nothing that ſuch *Angels* have done for this Town, think you? Oh! Think not ſo. Indeed if we ſhould go to thank the *Angels* for doing theſe things, they would zealouſly ſay, *See thou do it not !* But if we thank their Lord and ours for his employing them to do theſe things, it will exceedingly gratifie them. Wherefore, *Bleſs ye the Lord, ye his Angels* ; *and Bleſs the Lord*, O my Town, for thoſe *his Angels.*

III. Let the *help* which we have *hitherto* had from our God, encourage us to *hope* in him for More Help hereafter, *as the Matter may require.* The *help* that God had given to his People of Old was Commemorated, as with *Monumental Pillars*, conveying down the Remembrance of it unto their Children. And what for? We are told in *Pſal.* 78. 7. *That they might ſet their hope in God, and not forget the Works of God.* I am not willing to ſay how much this Town may be threatned, even with an *Utter Extirpation.* But this I will ſay, The *Motto* upon all our *Ebenezers*, is, Hope in God ! Hope in God ! The *Uſe* of the *former help* that we have had from God, ſhould be an *hope* for *future help* from him, that is *a preſent help in the time of Trouble.* As in the Three Firſt Verſes of the *Eighty-fifth* Pſalm Six times over there occurrs, *Thou haſt, Thou haſt :* All to uſher in this ; *Therefore thou W I L T ſtill do ſo.* O let our *Faith* proceed in that way of Arguing in 2 *Cor.* 1. 10. *The Lord hath delivered, and he doth deliver, and in him we truſt that he will ſtill deliver.* We are to Day Writing, *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us* ; let us Write under it, *And we hope the Lord has more help for us in the time of need!* It may be ſome are purpoſing ſuddenly and haſtily to *leave* the Town through their Fears of the Straits that may come upon it. But I would not have you be too ſudden and haſty in your Purpoſes, as too many have been unto their *After-Sorrow.* There was a time when People were ſo Diſcouraged about a *Subſiſtence* in the Principal Town of the *Jews*, that they talk'd of plucking up Stakes and flying away ; but the Miniſter of God came to them, [and ſo do I to you this Day !] Saying, in *Iſa.* 30. 7. *I cried concerning this, their ſtrength is to ſit ſtill ! Boſton* was no ſooner come to ſome *Conſiſtence* Threeſcore Years ago, but the People found themſelves plunged into a ſad *Non plus* what way to take for a *Subſiſtence.* God then immediately put them into a way, and *hitherto the Lord has helped us !* The Town is at this Day full of *Widows* and *Orphans*, and a multitude of them are very *helpleſs* Creatures. I am aſtoniſh'd how they live! In that Church whereof I am the Servant, I have counted the *Widows* make about a *Sixth Part* of our Communicants, and no doubt in the whole Town the proportion differs not very much. Now ſtand ſtill, my Friends, and behold the *help* of God! Were any of theſe ever *ſtarved* yet? No, theſe *Widows* are every one in ſome ſort provided for. And let me tell you, ye Handmaids of the Lord, you ſhall be *ſtill* provided for! The Lord, whoſe *Family* you belong unto, will conveniently and wonderfully provide for you; if you ſay, and Oh! Say of him, *The Lord is my Helper, I will not fear !*

What ſhall I ſay? When *Moſes* was ready to faint in his *Prayers* for his People, we read in *Exod.* 17. 12. *They took a Stone, and put it under him.* Chriſtians, there are ſome of you who abound in *Prayers*, that the *help* of God may be granted unto the Town; the Town is much upheld by thoſe *Prayers* of yours. Now that you may not faint in your *Prayers*, I bring you a *Stone :* The *Stone*, 'tis our *Ebenezer* ; or, The Relation of the *help* that *hitherto* the Lord hath given us.

IV. Let all that bear Publick Office in the Town contribute all the *help* they can, that may continue the *help* of God unto us. *Auſtin* in his *Confeſſions* gives thanks to God, that when he was an *helpleſs Infant*, he had a *Nurſe* to *help* him, and one that was both able and willing to *help* him. Infant-*Boſton*, thou haſt thoſe whom the *Bible* calls *Nurſing-Fathers.* Oh be not *froward*, as thou art in thy Treating of thy *Nurſes* ; but give thanks to God for them. I forget my ſelf; 'tis with the *Fathers* themſelves that I am concerned.

When it was demanded of *Demoſthenes*, what it was that ſo long preſerved *Athens* in a flouriſhing State, he made this Anſwer, *The Orators are Men of Learning and Wiſdom, the Magiſtrates do Juſtice, the Citizens love Quiet, and the Laws are kept among them all.* May *Boſton* flouriſh in ſuch happy Order!

And firſt, You may aſſure your ſelves that the Miniſters of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt among you will be *Joyful* to approve themſelves, as the Book of God has called them, *The Helpers of your Joy.* O our dear *Flocks*, we owe you our *All*; all our *Love*, all our *Strength*, all our *Time* ; we *watch for you as thoſe that muſt give an account :* And I am very much miſtaken if we are not willing to *Die* for you too, if called unto it. If our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhould ſay to us, *My Servant, if you'll Die to Night, you ſhall have this Reward* ; *The People that you Preach to ſhall be all Converted unto me!* I think we ſhould with Triumphing Souls reply, *Ah! Lord, Then I'll Die with all my Heart.* Sirs, we ſhould go away *Rejoycing with Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory.* I am ſatisfied, that the moſt Furious and Foul-mouth'd Reviler that God may give any of us to be *Buffeted* withal, if he will but come to ſober Thoughts, he will ſay, That there is not any *One Man* in the Town, but the *Miniſters* wiſh that Man as well as they do their own Souls, and would gladly ſerve that Man by Day or by Night,

in

in any thing that it were poſſible to do for him. Wherefore, O our beloved People, I beſeech you leave off, leave off to throw *Stones* at your *Ebenezers*. Inſtead of *that pray for us*, and *ſtrive together with us in your Prayers to God for us*. Then with the *help* of Chriſt we'll promiſe you, we will ſet our ſelves to obſerve what *Special Truths* may be moſt needful to be Inculcated upon you, and we will Inculcate them. We will ſet our ſelves to obſerve the *Temptations* that beſet you, the *Aſflictions* that aſſault you, and the *Duties* that are incumbent on you; and we will accommodate our ſelves unto them. We will ſet our ſelves to obſerve what Souls among you do call for our more *particular Addreſſes*, and we will Addreſs them faithfully, and even *Travel in Birth* for them. Nor will we give over *Praying*, and *Faſting*, and *Crying* to our great LORD for you until we Die. Whatever other *Helpers* the Town enjoys, they ſhall have that Convenience in *Ezra* 5. 2. *With them were the Prophets of God, helping them.* Well then, let the reſt of our Worthy *Helpers* lend an *helping* Hand for the promoting of thoſe things wherein the Weal of the Town is wrapped up! When the *Jews* thought that a *Defiling* thing was breaking in among them, in *Acts* 21. 28. *They cried out, Men of* Iſrael, *help*. Truly there is Cauſe to make that Cry, *Men of* Boſton, *help!* For Ignorance, and Prophaneneſs, and Bad Living, and the worſt things in World, are breaking in upon us.

And now will the JUSTICES of the Town ſet themſelves to conſider, *How they may help to ſuppreſs all growing Vices among us?*

Will the CONSTABLES of the Town ſet themſelves to conſider, *How they may help to prevent all Evil Orders among us?*

There are ſome who have the Eye of the *Town* ſo much upon them, that the very Name of TOWNS-MEN is that by which they are diſtinguiſhed. Sirs, Will *you* alſo conſider *how to help the Affairs of the Town, ſo as that all things may go well among us?*

Moreover, may not SCHOOL-MASTERS do much to inſtil Principles of *Religion* and *Civility*, as well as other Points of good Education into the Children of the *Town?* Only let the *Town* well Encourage its well deſerving *School-Maſters*.

There are ſome other *Officers*; but concerning *all*, there are theſe Two things to be deſired. Firſt, It is to be deſired, That ſuch *Officers* as are *Choſen* among us, may be choſen in the *Fear of God*. May none but *Pious* and *Prudent* Men, and ſuch as *Love* the Town, be choſen to ſerve it. And, Secondly, It is to be deſired, That *Officers* of ſeveral ſorts would often come together for *Conſultation*. Each of the ſorts by themſelves, may they often come together to conſult, *What ſhall we do to ſerve the Town in thoſe Intereſts which are committed unto our Charge?* Oh! What a Deplorable thing will it be for Perſons to be entruſted with *Talents*, [your Opportunities to ſerve the *Town* are ſo many *Talents!*] and they never ſeriouſly conſider, *What good ſhall I do with my Talents in the place where God hath Station'd me?*

And will the REPRESENTATIVES of the Town be conſidered among the reſt, as entruſted with ſome ſingular Advantages for our *help!* The *Lord give you Underſtanding in all things*.

V. God *help* the Town to manifeſt all that **Piety**, which a Town ſo *helped* of him is obliged unto! When the People of God had been carried by his *help* through their Difficulties, they ſet up *Stones* to keep in mind how he had *helped* them: And ſomething was Written on the *Stones:* But what was Written! See *Joſh.* 8. 32. *Joſhua wrote upon the Stones a Copy of the Law.* Truly upon thoſe *Ebenezers* which we ſet up, we ſhould Write the *Law* of our God, and Recognize the Obligations which the *help* of our God has laid upon us to keep it.

We are a very Unpardonable Town, if after all the *help* which our God has given us, we do not ingenuouſly enquire, *What ſhall we render to the Lord for all his Benefits?* Render! Oh! Let us our ſelves thus anſwer the Enquiry; *Lord, we will render all Poſſible and Filial Obedience unto thee, becauſe hitherto thou haſt helped us: Only do thou alſo help us to render that Obedience!* Mark what I ſay; if there be ſo much as one *Prayerleſs Houſe* in ſuch a *Town* as this, 'tis Inexcuſable! How Inexcuſable then will be all *Flagitious Outrages?* There was a Town, ['twas the Town of *Sodom!*] that had been wonderfully ſaved out of the Hands of their Enemies. But after the *help* that God ſent unto them, the Town went on to Sin againſt God in very prodigious Inſtances. At laſt a provoked God ſent a *Fire* upon the Town that made it an Eternal Deſolation. Ah, *Boſton*, beware, beware, leſt the Sins of *Sodom* get footing in thee! And what were the Sins of *Sodom?* We find in Ezek. 16. 49. *Behold, this was the Iniquity of* Sodom; *Pride, Fulneſs of Bread, and Abundance of Idleneſs was in her; neither did ſhe ſtrengthen the Hand of the Poor and the Needy*; there was much Oppreſſion there. If you know of any *Scandalous Diſorders* in the Town, do all you can to ſuppreſs them, and redreſs them: And let not thoſe that ſend their Sons hither from other Parts of the World, for to be improved in *Virtue*, have cauſe to complain, *That after they came to* Boſton *they loſt what little Virtue was before Budding in them: That in* Boſton *they grew more Debauched and more Malignant than ever they were before!* It was noted concerning the Famous Town of *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, which you know was t'other Day ſwallow'd up in a Stupendous *Earthquake*, that juſt before the *Earthquake* the People were violently and ſcandalouſly ſet upon going to *Fortune-Tellers* upon all

Occaſions: much notice was taken of this *Impiety* generally prevailing among the People: But none of thoſe wretched *Fortune-Tellers* could foreſee, or foreſtal the direful *Cataſtrophe.* I have heard that there are *Fortune-Tellers* in this Town ſometimes conſulted by ſome of the ſinful Inhabitants. I wiſh the Town could be made too Hot for theſe *Dangerous Tranſgreſſors.* I am ſure the preſervation of the Town from horrendous *Earthquakes*, is one thing that beſpeaks our *Ebenezers*; 'tis from the Merciful *help* of our God unto us. But beware, I beſeech you, of thoſe *provoking Evils* that may expoſe us to a Plague, exceeding all that are in the Catalogue of the *Twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy.* Let me go on to ſay, What, ſhall there be any *Bawdy-Houſes* in ſuch a Town as this! It may be the Neighbours, that could Smoke 'em, and Rout 'em, if they would, are loth to Stir, for fear of being reputed *Ill Neighbours.* But I ſay unto you, that you are *Ill Neighbours* becauſe you do it not: All the Neighbours are like to have their Children and Servants Poiſoned, and their Dwellings laid in Aſhes, becauſe you do it not. And Oh! That the **Drinking-Houſes** in the Town might once come under a laudable *Regulation.* The Town has an *Enormous Number* of them; will the *Haunters* of thoſe *Houſes* hear the Counſels of Heaven? For *You* that are the *Town-Dwellers*, to be oft, or long in your *Viſits* of the *Ordinary*, 'twill certainly expoſe you to Miſchiefs more than ordinary. I have ſeen certain *Taverns*, where the Pictures of horrible *Devourers* were hang'd out for the *Signs*; and, thought I, 'twere well if ſuch *Signs* were not ſometimes too too *Significant:* Alas, Men have their Eſtates *devoured*, their Names *devoured*, they Hours *devoured*, and their very Souls *devoured*, when they are ſo beſotted, that they are not in their Element, except they be Tipling at ſuch Houſes. When once a Man is bewitched with the *Ordinary*, what uſually becomes of him? He is a *gone Man*; and when he comes to Die, he'll cry out as many have done, *Ale-Houſes are Hell-Houſes! Ale-Houſes are Hell-Houſes!* But let the *Owners* of thoſe *Houſes* alſo now hear our Counſels. *Oh! Hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another Day!* It is an *Honeſt*, and a *Lawful*, tho' it be not a very *Deſireable* Employment, that you have undertaken: You may *Glorifie* the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in your Employment if you will, and benefit the Town conſiderably. There was a very godly Man that was an *Innkeeper*, and a great Miniſter of God could ſay to that Man, in 3 *John* 2. *Thy Soul proſpereth.* O let it not be ſaid of you, ſince you are fallen into this Employment, *Thy Soul withereth!* It is thus with too many: Eſpecially, when they that get a *Licenſe* perhaps to Sell Drink out of Doors, do ſtretch their *Licenſe* to Sell within Doors. Thoſe *Private Houſes*, when once a Profeſſor of the Goſpel comes to *Steal* a Living out of them, it commonly precipitates them into abundance of wretchedneſs and confuſion. But I pray God aſſiſt you that keep *Ordinaries*, to keep the *Commandments* of God in them. There was an *Inn* at *Bethlehem* where the Lord JESUS CHRIST was to be met withal. Can *Boſton* boaſt of many ſuch? Alas, too ordinarily it may be ſaid, *There is no Room for him in the Inn!* My Friends, let me beg it of you, baniſh *the unfruitful works of Darkneſs* from your *Houſes*, and then the *Sun of Righteouſneſs* will ſhine upon them. Don't countenance *Drunkenneſs*, *Revelling*, and *Miſ-ſpending* of precious Time in your Houſes: Let none have the *Snares of Death* laid for them in your Houſes. You'll ſay, *I ſhall Starve then!* I ſay, *better Starve than Sin:* But you *ſhall not.* It is the Word of the Moſt High, *Truſt in the Lord, and do Good, and verily thou ſhalt be Fed.* And is not *Peace of Conſcience*, with a *Little*, better than thoſe *Riches*, that will ſhortly melt away, and then run like Scalding Metal down the very Bowels of thy Soul?

What ſhall I ſay more? There is one Article of *Piety* more to be Recommended unto us all; and it is an Article which all *Piety* does exceedingly turn upon, that is, **The Sanctification of the Lord's Day.** Some very Judicious Perſons have obſerved, that as *they Sanctified the Lord's Day, Remiſly or Carefully, juſt ſo their Affairs uſually proſpered all the enſuing Week.* Sirs, you cannot more conſult the Proſperity of the Town, in all its Affairs, than by Endeavouring that the *Lord's Day* may be exemplarily *Sanctified.* When People about *Jeruſalem* took too much Liberty on the *Sabbath*, the Ruler of the Town *Contended* with them, and ſaid, *Ye bring wrath upon* Iſrael, *by prophaning the Sabbath.* I fear, I fear there are many among us, to whom it may be ſaid, *Ye bring wrath upon* Boſton, *by prophaning the Sabbath.* And what *Wrath? Ah, Lord, prevent it!* But there is an awful Sentence in *Jer.* 17. 27. *If ye will not hearken unto me, to ſanctifie the Sabbath Day, then will I kindle a Fire* on the Town, *and it ſhall Devour, and ſhall not be Quenched.*

Finally, Let the *Piety* of the Town manifeſt it ſelf in a due Regard unto the **Inſtitutions** of him whoſe *help* has *hitherto* been a *Shield* unto us. Let the *Ark* be in the Town, and God will *Bleſs* the Town! I believe it may be found, that in the *Mortal Scourges* of Heaven, which this Town has felt, there has been a *diſcernable Diſtinction* of thoſe that have come up to attend all the *Ordinances* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Communion of his *Churches.* Though theſe have had, as 'tis fit they ſhould, a Share in the *Common Deaths*, yet the *Deſtroying Angel* has not had ſo great a proportion of theſe in his Commiſſion, as he has had of others. Whether *this* be ſo, or no, to uphold, and ſupport, and attend the *Ordinances* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in *Reforming Churches*, this will Entitle the Town to the *help* of Heaven; for, *Upon the Glory there ſhall be a defence!* There were the Victorious Forces of

of *Alexander*, that in going backward and forward, paſs'd by *Jeruſalem* without Hurting it. Why ſo? Said the Lord in *Zech.* 9. 8. *I will encamp about my Houſe, becauſe of the Army.* If our God have an *Houſe* here, he'll Encamp about it. *Nazianzen*, a famous Miniſter of the Goſpel, taking his farewel of *Conſtantinople*, an old Man that had ſat under his Miniſtry, cried out, *Oh! My Father, Don't you dare to go away, you'll carry the whole Trinity with you!* How much more may it be cried out, *If we loſe or ſlight the Ordinances of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we forego the help of all the Trinity with them!*

VI. Extraordinary **Equity** and **Charity**, as well as *Piety*, well becomes a Town that hath been by the *help* of God ſo Extraordinarily ſignalized. A Town marvellouſly *helped* by God, has this foretold concerning it, in *Iſa.* 1. 26. *Afterward thou ſhalt be called, the City of Righteouſneſs, the faithful City.* May the *Ebenezers* of this Town render it *a Town of Equity*, and *a Town of Charity!* Oh! There ſhould be none but *fair Dealings* in a Town wherewith Heaven has dealt ſo favourably. Let us *Deal fairly* in *Bargains*; *Deal fairly* in *Taxes*; *Deal fairly* in paying Reſpects to ſuch as have been *Benefactors* unto the Town. 'Tis but *Equity*, that they who have been *old Standers* in the Town, and both with *Perſon* and *Eſtate* ſerved the Town unto the utmoſt for many Years together, ſhould on all proper Occaſions be conſidered. For *Charity*, I may indeed ſpeak it without Flattery, this Town has not many Equals on the Face of the Earth. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt from Heaven wrote unto the good People of a Town in the leſſer *Aſia*, [*Rev.* 2. 19.] *I know thy Works and Charity.* From that Bleſſed Lord I may venture to bring that Meſſage unto the good People of this Town; *the glorious Lord of Heaven knows thy works*, O Boſton, *and all thy Charity.* This is a *poor* Town, and yet it may be ſaid of the *Boſtonians*, as it was of the *Macedonians, their deep Poverty hath abounded unto the Riches of their Liberality.* O ye bountiful People of God, all your *daily Bounties* to the Needy, all your *Subſcriptions* to ſend the *Bread of Life* abroad unto places that are periſhing in Wickedneſs, all your *Collections* in your Aſſemblies as often as they are called for; *all theſe Alms are come up for a Memorial before God!* The Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Heaven hath beheld your *helpfulneſs*, and *readineſs to every good Work*; and he hath requited it with his *helpful Ebenezers*. It was ſaid, in *Iſa.* 32. 8. *The Liberal deviſeth Liberal things, and by Liberal things he ſhall ſtand.* There are ſome in this Town that are always *deviſing Liberal things*, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt lets the Town *ſtand* for the ſake of thoſe! Inſtead of *exhorting* you to *Augment* your *Charity*, I will rather utter an *Exhortation*, or at leaſt a *Supplication*, that you may not *abuſe* your *Charity* by miſapplying of it. I remember I have Read, that an Inhabitant of the City *Piſa* being asked why their Town ſo went, as it then did, unto decay? He fetched a deep ſigh, and ſaid, *Our young Men are too Prodigal, our old Men are too Affectionate, and we have no Puniſhment for thoſe that ſpend their Years in Idleneſs.* Ah! the laſt ſtroak of that complaint I muſt here ſigh it over again. *Idleneſs*, alas! *Idleneſs* increaſes in the Town exceedingly: *Idleneſs*, of which there never came any *Goodneſs*; *Idleneſs*, which is a *reproach to any People.* We work hard all Summer, and the *Drones* count themſelves wrong'd if they have it not in the Winter divided among them. The *Poor* that can't *Work*, are Objects for your *Liberality.* But the *Poor* that can *Work* and won't, the beſt *Liberality* to them is to *make* them. I beſeech you, Sirs, find out a Method quickly, that the *Idle Perſons* in the Town may earn their *Bread*; it were the beſt piece of *Charity* that could be ſhown unto them, and *Equity* unto us all. Our *Beggars* do ſhamefully grow upon us, and ſuch *Beggars* too as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf hath expreſly forbidden us to Countenance. I have Read a Printed Sermon which was Preached before *Both Houſes of Parliament*, the *Lord Mayor and Aldermen* of *London*, and the *Aſſembly of Divines*; the greateſt Audience then in the World: And in that Sermon the Preacher had this paſſage; *I have lived in a Country where in Seven Years I never ſaw a Beggar, nor heard an Oath, nor looked upon a Drunkard.* Shall I tell you where that *Utopia* was? 'Twas *NEW-ENGLAND!* But they that go from hence muſt now tell another Story.

VII. May the **Changes**, and eſpecially the **Judgments** that have come upon the Town, direct us what *help* to petition from the *God of our Salvations.* The *Iſraelites* had formerly ſeen *Diſmal Things*, where they now ſet up their *Ebenezer:* The *Philiſtines* had no leſs than Twice beaten them there, and there taken from them the *Ark* of God. Now we are ſetting up our *Ebenezer*, let us a little call to mind ſome *Diſmal Things* that we have ſeen; the *Ebenezer* will go up the better for it.

We read in 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. concerning *the Great Stone of Abel.* Some ſay, That *Adam* erected that *Stone*, as a *Grave-ſtone* for his *Abel*, and wrote that Epitaph upon it, *Here was poured out the Blood of the Righteous* ABEL. I know nothing of *This*; the Names, I know, differ in the Original; but as we may erect many a *Stone* for an *Ebenezer*, ſo we may erect many a *Great Stone of* ABEL, that is to ſay, we may write MOURNING and SORROW, upon the Condition of the Town in various Examples. Now from the *Stones* of *Abel*, we will a little gather what we ſhould wiſh to write upon the *Stones* of our *Ebenezer.*

What *Changes* have we ſeen in point of **Religion?** It was noted by *Luther*, *He could never ſee good Order in the Church laſt more than Fifteen Years together in the Purity of it.* Bleſſed be God, *Religion* hath here flouriſhed in the *Purity* of it for more than *Fifteen Years together.*

together. But certainly the *Power of Godlineſs* is now grievouſly decay'd among us. As the Prophet of old Exclaimed in *Joel* 1. 2. *Hear this, ye old Men, and give Ear, ye Inhabitants; has this been in your Days?* Thus may I ſay, *Hear this, ye old Men, that are the Inhabitants of the Town:* Can't you Remember that *in your Days*, a Prayerful, a Watchful, a Fruitful Chriſtian, and a well Governed Family, was a more common Sight, than it is now in *our Days?* Can't you Remember that *in your Days* thoſe abominable Things did not *ſhow their Heads*, that are now *Bare-faced* among us? Here then is a Petition to be made unto our God; *Lord, help us to Remember whence we are fallen, and to Repent, and to do the firſt Works.*

Again, What *Changes* have we ſeen in Point of **Mortality**? By *Mortality* almoſt all the *Old Race* of our *Firſt Planters* here are carried off; the *Old Stock* is in a manner expired. We ſee the fulfilment of that Word in *Eccl.* 1. 4. *One Generation paſſeth away, and another Generation cometh.* It would be no unprofitable thing for you to paſs over the ſeveral Streets, and call to mind, *Who lived here ſo many Years ago?* Why? In *that place* lived ſuch an one; and in *that place* lived ſuch an one. But, *Where are they Now?* Oh! They are *Gone*; they are *Gone* into that Eternal World, whither *we* muſt quickly follow them. Here is another Petition to be made unto our God; *Lord, help us to Number our Days, and Apply our Hearts unto Wiſdom, that when the places that now know us, do know us no more, we may be gone into the City of God.*

Furthermore, What *Changes* have we ſeen in point of **Poſſeſſions**? If ſome that are now *Rich*, were once *Low* in the World, 'tis poſſible, more that were once *Rich*, are now brought very *Low*. Ah! *Boſton*, Thou haſt ſeen the *Vanity* of all *Worldly Poſſeſſions*. One fatal Morning, which laid Fourſcore of thy *Dwelling-houſes*, and Seventy of thy *Ware-houſes*, in a Ruinous Heap, not Nineteen Years ago, gave thee to Read it in Fiery Characters. And an huge *Fleet* of thy Veſſels, which they would make if they were all together, that have miſcarried in the late War, has given thee to Read more of it. Here is one Petition more to be made unto our God *Lord, help us to enſure a better and a laſting Subſtance in Heaven, and the good part that cannot be taken away.*

In fine, How dreadfully have the *Young People* of *Boſton* periſhed under the *Judgments* of God! A renowned Writer among the *Pagans* could make this Remark; There was a Town ſo Irreligious and Atheiſtical, that they did not pay their *Firſt-fruits* unto God: (which the *Light of Nature* taught the Pagans to do!) and, ſays he, they were by a ſudden Deſolation ſo ſtrangely deſtroy'd, that there were no Remainders either of the *Perſons*, or of the *Houſes*, to be ſeen any more. Ah, *my Young Folks*, there are few *Firſt-fruits* paid unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt among you. From hence it comes to paſs, that the conſuming Wrath of God is every Day upon you. *New-England* has been like a *Tott'ring Houſe*, the very *Foundations* of it have been ſhaking: But the Houſe thus over-ſetting by the *Whirlwinds* of the Wrath of God, hath been like *Job's* Houſe; *It falls upon the Young Men, and they are Dead!* The Diſaſters on our *Young Folks* have been ſo multiplied, that there are few Parents among us, but what will go with *Wounded Hearts* down unto their Graves: Their daily Moans are, *Ah, my Son cut off in his Youth! My Son, my Son!* Behold then the *help* that we are to ask of our God; and why do we, with no more Days of *Prayer* with *Faſting*, ask it? *Lord, help the young People of* Boſton *to Remember thee in the Days of their Youth, and ſanctifie unto the Survivers the terrible things that have come upon ſo many of that Generation.*

And now as *Joſhua* having reaſoned with his People, a little before he Died, in *Joſh.* 24. 26, 27. *Took a Great* STONE, *and ſet it up, and ſaid unto all the People, Behold, this Stone ſhall be a witneſs unto you, leſt ye deny your God.* Thus we have been this Day ſetting up a STONE, even an *Ebenezer* among you; and I conclude, earneſtly teſtifying unto you, *Behold this Stone ſhall be a witneſs unto you, that the Lord* JESUS CHRIST *has been a good Lord unto you; and if you ſeek him, he will be ſtill found of you; but if you forſake him, he will caſt you off for ever.*

The End of the Firſt Book.

Eccleſiarum Clypei.

The Second BOOK

OF THE

New Engliſh Hiſtory:

CONTAINING THE

LIVES

OF THE

GOVERNOURS, and the *Names* of the MAGISTRATES, that have been SHIELDS unto the CHURCHES of *NEW-ENGLAND*, (until the Year 1686.)

Perpetuated by the Eſſay of COTTON MATHER.

Priſcaq; ne Veteris vaneſcat Gloria Sæcli,
Vivida defenſant, quæ Monumenta damur.

Qui Aliis præſunt, tanto privatis Hominibus Meliores eſſe Oportet,
Quanto Honoribus & Liguitate antecellunt. Panorinitan.

Nondum hæc, quæ nunc tenet Sæculum, Negligentia
Dei Venerat. Liv. l. 3.

Optimus quiſq; Nobiliſſimus. Plato.

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide*. 1702.

INTRODUCTION.

'TWERE *to be wiſh'd that there might never be any* Engliſh Tranſlation *of that* Wicked Poſition *in* Machiavel, Non requiri in Principe veram pietatem, ſed ſufficere illius quandam umbram, & ſimulationem Externam. *It may be there never was any Region under Heaven happier than poor* New-England *hath been in* Magiſtrates, *whoſe* True Piety *was worthy to be made the* Example *of* After-Ages.

Happy haſt thou been, O Land! *in* Magiſtrates, *whoſe Diſpoſition to ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom they ſtill conſidered themſelves accountable, anſwered the good Rule of* Agapetus, Quo quis in Republica Majorem Dignitatis gradum adeptus eſt, eo Deum Colat Submiſſius: Magiſtrates, *whoſe Diſpoſition to ſerve the People that choſe them to Rule over them, argued them ſenſible of that great Stroak in* Cicero, Nulla Re propius Homines ad Deum Accedunt, quam ſalute Hominibus danda: Magiſtrates, *acted in their Adminiſtrations by the Spirit of a* Joſhua. *When the* Wiſe Man *obſerves unto us,* That Oppreſſions makes a Wiſe Man Mad, *it may be worth conſidering, whether the* Oppreſſor *is not intended rather than the* Oppreſſed *in the Obſervation. 'Tis very certain that a* Diſpoſition *to* Oppreſs *other Men, does often make thoſe that are otherwiſe very* Wiſe *Men, to forget the Rules of* Reaſon, *and commit moſt* Unreaſonable *Exorbitancies.* Rehoboam *in ſome things* acted wiſely; *but this Admonition of his Inſpired Father could not reſtrain him from* acting madly, *when the Spirit of* Oppreſſion *was upon him. The Rulers of* New-England *have been* Wiſe Men, *whom that* Spirit of Oppreſſion *betray'd not into this* Madneſs.

The Father of Themiſtocles *diſſwading him from Government, ſhow'd him the* Old Oars *which the Marriners had now thrown away upon the* Sea-ſhores *with Neglect and Contempt; and ſaid,* That People would certainly treat their Old Rulers with the ſame Contempt. *But, Reader, let us now take up our* Old Oars *with all poſſible Reſpect, and ſee whether we can't ſtill make uſe of them to ſerve our little Veſſel. But this the rather, becauſe we may with an eaſie turn change the Name into that of* Pilots.

The Word GOVERNMENT, *properly ſignifies the* Guidance of a Ship: Tully *uſes it for that purpoſe; and in* Plutarch, *the Art of* Steering a Ship, *is,* Τεχνη κυβερνητικη. New-England *is a little* Ship, *which hath Weathered many a Terrible* Storm; *and it is but reaſonable that they who have ſat at the* Helm *of the* Ship, *ſhould be remembred in the* Hiſtory *of its Deliverances.*

Prudentius *calls* Judges, The Great Lights of the Sphere; Symmachus *calls* Judges, The better part of Mankind. *Reader, Thou art now to be entertained with the* Lives *of* Judges *which have deſerved that Character. And the* Lives *of thoſe who have been called,* Speaking Laws, *will excuſe our Hiſtory from coming under the Obſervation made about the Work of* Homer, *That the Word,* LAW, *is never ſo much as once occurring in them. They are not written like the* Cyrus *of* Xenophon, *like the* Alexander *of* Curtius, *like* Virgil's Æneas, *and like* Pliny's Trajan: *But the Reader hath in every one of them a Real and a Faithful Hiſtory. And I pleaſe my ſelf with hopes, that there will yet be found among the Sons of* New-England, *thoſe Young Gentlemen by whom the Copies given in this Hiſtory will be written after; and that ſaying of Old* Chaucer *be remembred,* To do the Genteel Deeds, that makes the Gentleman.

Eccleſiarum Clypei.

The Second BOOK OF THE New Engliſh Hiſtory.

CHAP. I.

Galeacius Secundus. *The* LIFE *of* WILLIAM BRADFORD, *Eſq;* *Governour of* PLYMOUTH *COLONY.*

Omnium Somnos, illius vigilantia defendit, omnium otium illius Labor, omnium Delitias illius Induſtria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio.

§. 1. IT has been a Matter of ſome Obſervation, that although *Yorkſhire* be one of the largeſt Shires in *England*, yet, for all the *Fires* of Martyrdom which were kindled in the Days of Queen *Mary*, it afforded no more *Fuel* than one poor *Leaf*; namely, *John Leaf*, an Apprentice, who ſuffered for the *Doctrine* of the *Reformation* at the ſame Time and Stake with the Famous *John Bradford*. But when the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* would not admit the *Reformation* of *Worſhip* to proceed unto thoſe Degrees, which were propoſed and purſued by no ſmall number of the Faithful in thoſe Days, *Yorkſhire* was not the leaſt of the Shires in *England* that afforded Suffering *Witneſſes* thereunto. The *Churches* there *gathered* were quickly moleſted with ſuch a raging *Perſecution*, that if the Spirit of *Separation* in them did carry them unto a further *Extream* than it ſhould have done, one blameable Cauſe thereof will be found in the *Extremity* of that *Perſecution*. Their *Troubles* made that *Cold* Country too *Hot* for them, ſo that they were under a neceſſity to *ſeek* a Retreat in the *Low Countries*; and yet the watchful Malice and Fury of their Adverſaries rendred it almoſt impoſſible for them to *find* what they ſought. For them to leave their *Native Soil*, their *Lands* and their *Friends*, and go into a *Strange Place*, where they muſt hear *Forreign Language*, and live *meanly* and *hardly*, and in other Imployments than that of *Husbandry*, wherein they had been Educated, *theſe* muſt needs have been ſuch *Diſcouragements* as could have been Conquered by none, ſave thoſe who *ſought firſt the Kingdom of God, and the Righteouſneſs thereof*. But that which would have made theſe Diſcouragements the more Unconquerable unto an ordinary Faith, was the terrible Zeal of their Enemies to Guard all *Ports*, and Search all *Ships*, that none of them ſhould be carried off. I will not relate the *ſad things* of this kind, then *ſeen* and *felt* by this People of God; but only exemplifie thoſe *Trials* with one ſhort Story. Divers of this People having Hired a *Dutchman* then lying at *Hull*, to carry them over to *Holland*, he promiſed faithfully to take them in between *Grimſly* and *Hull*; but *they* coming to the Place a Day or Two too ſoon, the appearance of ſuch a Multitude alarmed the *Officers* of the Town adjoining, who came with a great Body of *Soldiers* to ſeize upon them. Now it happened that one Boat full of *Men* had been carried Aboard, while the *Women* were yet in a *Bark* that lay Aground in a Creek at Low-Water. The *Dutchman* perceiving the *Storm* that was thus beginning *Aſhore*, ſwore by the *Sacrament* that he would ſtay no longer for any of them; and ſo taking the Advantage of a Fair Wind then Blowing, he put out to *Sea* for *Zealand*. The Women thus left near *Grimſly-Common*, bereaved of their Husbands, who had been hurried from them, and forſaken of their Neighbours, of whom none durſt in this Fright ſtay with

with them, were a very rueful Spectacle; ſome crying for *Fear*, ſome ſhaking for *Cold*, all dragg'd by Troops of *Armed* and *Angry* Men from one Juſtice to another, till not knowing what to do with them, they e'en diſmiſs'd them to ſhift as well as they could for themſelves. But by their ſingular *Afflictions*, and by their Chriſtian *Behaviours*, the *Cauſe* for which they expoſed themſelves did gain conſiderably. In the mean time, the Men at Sea found Reaſon to be glad that their Families were not with them, for they were ſurprized with an *horrible Tempeſt*, which held them for Fourteen Days together, in Seven whereof they ſaw not *Sun*, *Moon* or *Star*, but were driven upon the Coaſt of *Norway*. The *Mariners* often deſpaired of Life, and once with doleful ſhrieks gave over all, as thinking the Veſſel was Foundred: But the Veſſel roſe again, and when the *Mariners* with ſunk Hearts often cried out, *We Sink! We Sink!* The Paſſengers without ſuch Diſtraction of Mind, even while the Water was running into their Mouths and Ears, would chearfully Shout, *Yet, Lord, thou canſt ſave! Yet Lord, thou canſt ſave!* And the Lord accordingly brought them at laſt ſafe unto their *Deſired Haven*: And not long after helped their Diſtreſſed Relations thither after them, where indeed they found upon almoſt all Accounts *a new World*, but a World in which they found that they muſt live like *Strangers* and *Pilgrims*.

§. 2. Among thoſe Devout People was our *William Bradford*, who was Born *Anno* 1588. in an obſcure Village call'd *Anſterfield*, where the People were as unacquainted with the *Bible*, as the *Jews* do ſeem to have been with *part* of it in the Days of *Joſiah*; a moſt Ignorant and Licentious *People*, and *like unto their Prieſt*. Here, and in ſome other Places, he had a Comfortable *Inheritance* left him of his Honeſt Parents, who died while he was yet a Child, and caſt him on the Education, firſt of his *Grand Parents*, and then of his *Uncles*, who devoted him, like his Anceſtors, unto the Affairs of *Husbandry*. Soon and long Sickneſs kept him, as he would afterwards thankfully ſay, from the *Vanities of Youth*, and made him the fitter for what he was afterwards to undergo. When he was about a Dozen Years Old, the Reading of the *Scriptures* began to cauſe great Impreſſions upon him; and thoſe Impreſſions were much aſſiſted and improved, when he came to enjoy Mr. *Richard Cliſton*'s Illuminating Miniſtry, not far from his Abode; he was then alſo further befriended, by being brought into the Company and Fellowſhip of ſuch as were then called *Profeſſors*; though the Young Man that brought him into it, did after become a Prophane and Wicked *Apoſtate*. Nor could the *Wrath* of his *Uncles*, nor the *Scoff* of his *Neighbours* now turn'd upon him, as one of the *Puritans*, divert him from his Pious Inclinations.

§. 3. At laſt beholding how fearfully the Evangelical and Apoſtolical *Church-Form*, whereinto the Churches of the *Primitive Times* were caſt by the good Spirit of God, had been *Deformed* by the *Apoſtacy* of the *Succeeding Times*; and what little Progreſs the *Reformation* had yet made in many Parts of *Chriſtendom* towards its Recovery, he ſet himſelf by Reading, by Diſcourſe, by Prayer, to learn whether it was not his Duty to *withdraw* from the Communion of the *Pariſh-Aſſemblies*, and *engage* with ſome *Society* of the Faithful, that ſhould keep cloſe unto the *Written Word* of God, as the *Rule* of their *Worſhip*. And after many Diſtreſſes of Mind concerning it, he took up a very Deliberate and Underſtanding *Reſolution* of doing ſo; which *Reſolution* he chearfully Proſecuted, although the provoked *Rage* of his Friends tried all the ways imaginable to reclaim him from it, unto all whom his Anſwer was, *Were I like to endanger my Life, or conſume my Eſtate by any ungodly Courſes, your Counſels to me were very ſeaſonable: But you know that I have been Diligent and Provident in my Calling, and not only deſirous to augment what I have, but alſo to enjoy it in your Company; to part from which will be as great a Croſs as can befal me. Nevertheleſs, to keep a good Conſcience, and walk in ſuch a Way as God has preſcribed in his Word, is a thing which I muſt prefer before you all, and above Life it ſelf. Wherefore, ſince 'tis for a good Cauſe that I am like to ſuffer the Diſaſters which you lay before me, you have no Cauſe to be either angry with me, or ſorry for me; yea, I am not only willing to part with every thing that is dear to me in this World for this Cauſe, but I am alſo thankful that God has given me an Heart ſo to do, and will accept me ſo to ſuffer for him.* *Some* lamented him, *ſome* derided him, *all* diſſwaded him: Nevertheleſs the more they did it, the more fixed he was in his Purpoſe to ſeek the Ordinances of the Goſpel, where they ſhould be diſpenſed with moſt of the *Commanded Purity*; and the *ſudden Deaths* of the chief Relations which thus lay at him, quickly after convinced him what a Folly it had been to have quitted his *Profeſſion*, in Expectation of any Satisfaction from them. So to *Holland* he attempted a removal.

§. 4. Having with a great Company of Chriſtians Hired a Ship to Tranſport them for *Holland*, the Maſter perfidiouſly betrayed them into the Hands of thoſe *Perſecutors*, who Rifled and Ranſack'd their Goods, and clapp'd their Perſons into Priſon at *Boſton*, where they lay for a Month together. But Mr. *Bradford* being a Young Man of about *Eighteen*, was diſmiſſed ſooner than the reſt, ſo that within a while he had Opportunity with ſome others to get over to *Zealand*, through *Perils* both by *Land* and *Sea* not inconſiderable; where he was not long Aſhore e're a *Viper* ſeized on his Hand, that is, an Officer, who carried him unto the Magiſtrates, unto whom an envious Paſſenger had accuſed him as having *fled* out of *England*. When the Magiſtrates un-

derſtood the True Cauſe of his coming thither, they were well ſatisfied with him; and ſo he repaired joyfully unto his Brethren at *Amſterdam*, where the Difficulties to which he afterwards ſtooped in Learning and Serving of a *Frenchman* at the Working of *Silks*, were abundantly Compenſated by the *Delight* wherewith he ſat under the *Shadow* of our Lord in his purely diſpenſed Ordinances. At the end of Two Years, he did, being of Age to do it, convert his Eſtate in *England* into Money; but Setting up for himſelf, he found ſome of his Deſigns by the *Providence* of God frowned upon, which he judged a *Correction* beſtowed by God upon him for certain Decays of *Internal Piety*, whereinto he had fallen; the *Conſumption* of his *Eſtate* he thought came to prevent a *Conſumption* in his *Virtue*. But after he had reſided in *Holland* about half a Score Years, he was one of thoſe who bore a part in that Hazardous and Generous Enterprize of removing into *New-England*, with part of the *Engliſh* Church at *Leyden*, where at their firſt Landing, his deareſt Conſort accidentally falling Overboard, was drowned in the *Harbour*; and the reſt of his Days were ſpent in the Services, and the Temptations, of that *American Wilderneſs*.

§. 5. Here was Mr. *Bradford* in the Year 1621. Unanimouſly choſen the *Governour* of the Plantation: The Difficulties whereof were ſuch, that if he had not been a Perſon of more than Ordinary Piety, Wiſdom and Courage, he muſt have ſunk under them. He had with a Laudable Induſtry been laying up a Treaſure of *Experiences*, and he had now occaſion to uſe it: Indeed nothing but an *Experienced* Man could have been ſuitable to the Neceſſities of the People. The Potent Nations of the *Indians*, into whoſe Country they were come, would have cut them off, if the Bleſſing of God upon *his* Conduct had not quell'd them; and if his Prudence, Juſtice and Moderation had not over-ruled them, they had been ruined by their own *Diſtempers*. One *Specimen* of his Demeanour is to this Day particularly ſpoken of. A Company of Young Fellows that were newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the Governour's Order for *Working* abroad on the Publick Account; and therefore on *Chriſtmaſs-Day*, when he had called upon them, they excuſed themſelves, with a pretence that it was againſt their *Conſcience* to *Work* ſuch a Day. The Governour gave them no Anſwer, only that he would ſpare them till they were better informed; but by and by he found them all at *Play* in the Street, ſporting themſelves with various Diverſions; whereupon Commanding the Inſtruments of their Games to be taken from them, he effectually gave them to underſtand, *That it was againſt his Conſcience that they ſhould play whilſt others were at Work; and that if they had any Devotion to the Day, they ſhould ſhow it at Home in the Exerciſes of Religion, and not in the Streets with Paſtime and Frolicks*; and this gentle Reproof put a final ſtop to all ſuch Diſorders for the future.

§. 6. For Two Years together after the beginning of the Colony, whereof he was now Governour, the poor People had a great Experiment of *Man's not living by Bread alone*; for when they were left all together without one Morſel of *Bread* for many Months one after another, ſtill the good Providence of God relieved them, and ſupplied them, and this for the moſt part out of the *Sea*. In this low Condition of Affairs, there was no little Exerciſe for the *Prudence* and *Patience* of the Governour, who chearfully bore his part in all: And that *Induſtry* might not flag, he quickly ſet himſelf to ſettle *Propriety* among the New-Planters; foreſeeing that while the whole Country labour'd upon a *Common Stock*, the *Husbandry* and *Buſineſs* of the Plantation could not *flouriſh*, as *Plato* and others long ſince dream'd that it would, if a *Community* were eſtabliſhed. Certainly, if the Spirit which dwelt in the *Old Puritans*, had not inſpired theſe *New-Planters*, they had ſunk under the Burden of theſe Difficulties; but our *Bradford* had a *double Portion* of that Spirit.

§. 7. The Plantation was quickly thrown into a *Storm* that almoſt overwhelmed it, by the unhappy Actions of a Miniſter ſent over from *England* by the *Adventurers* concerned for the Plantation; but by the Bleſſing of Heaven on the Conduct of the Governour, they Weathered out that *Storm*. Only the *Adventurers* hereupon breaking to pieces, threw up all their Concernments with the *Infant Colony*; whereof they gave this as one Reaſon, *That the Planters diſſembled with His Majeſty, and their Friends in their Petition, wherein they declared for a Church-Diſcipline, agreeing with the* French *and others of the Reforming Churches in* Europe. Whereas 'twas now urged, that they had admitted into their Communion a Perſon, who at his Admiſſion utterly *renounced* the Churches of *England*, (which Perſon by the way, was *that* very Man who had made the Complaints againſt them) and therefore though they denied the *Name* of *Browniſts*, yet they were the *Thing*. In Anſwer hereunto, the very Words written by the Governour were theſe; *Whereas you Tax us with diſſembling about the* French Diſcipline, *you do us wrong, for we both hold and practice the* Diſcipline *of the* French *and other* Reformed *Churches (as they have publiſhed the ſame in the* Harmony *of* Confeſſions) *according to our Means, in Effect and Subſtance. But whereas you would tie us up to the* French Diſcipline *in every Circumſtance, you derogate from the* Liberty *we have in Chriſt Jeſus. The Apoſtle* Paul *would have none to* follow him *in any thing, but wherein he* follows Chriſt; *much leſs ought any Chriſtian or Church in the World to do it.* The French *may err, we may err, and other Churches may err, and doubtleſs do in many* Circumſtances. *That Honour therefore belongs only*

only to the Infallible Word of God, *and* pure Teſtament of Chriſt, *to be propounded and followed as the* only *Rule and Pattern for Direction herein to all Churches and Chriſtians. And it is too great Arrogancy for any Men or Church to think, that he or they have ſo ſounded the Word of God unto the bottom, as preciſely to ſet down the Churches Diſcipline without Error in Subſtance or Circumſtance, that no other without blame may digreſs or differ in any thing from the ſame. And it is not difficult to ſhew that the* Reformed Churches *differ in many* Circumſtances *among themſelves.* By which Words it appears how far he was free from that *Rigid Spirit* of *Separation*, which broke to pieces the *Separatiſts* themſelves in the *Low Countries*, unto the great Scandal of the *Reforming Churches.* He was indeed a Perſon of a *well-temper'd Spirit*, or elſe it had been ſcarce poſſible for him to have kept the Affairs of *Plymouth* in ſo good a *Temper* for *Thirty Seven* Years together; in every one of which he was choſen their Governour, except the *Three Years*, wherein Mr. *Winſlow*, and the *Two Years*, wherein Mr. *Prince*, at the choice of the People, took a *turn* with him.

§. 8. The *Leader* of a People in a *Wilderneſs* had need be a *Moſes*; and if a *Moſes* had not led the People of *Plymouth Colony*, when this Worthy Perſon was their Governour, the People had never with ſo much Unanimity and Importunity ſtill called *him* to lead them. Among many Inſtances thereof, let this one piece of *Self-denial be told for a Memorial of him, wherеſoever this Hiſtory ſhall be conſidered.* The Patent of the Colony was taken in *his* Name, running in theſe Terms, *To* William Bradford, *his Heirs, Aſſociates and Aſſigns:* But when the number of the *Freemen* was much Increaſed, and many New *Townſhips* Erected, the *General Court* there deſired of Mr. *Bradford*, that he would make a Surrender of the ſame into *their Hands*, which *he* willingly and preſently aſſented unto, and confirmed it according to their Deſire by his *Hand* and *Seal*, reſerving no more for himſelf than was his *Proportion*, with others, by *Agreement.* But as he found the Providence of Heaven many ways *Recompencing* his many Acts of *Self-denial*, ſo he gave this Teſtimony to the Faithfulneſs of the Divine Promiſes; *That he had forſaken Friends, Houſes and Lands for the ſake of the Goſpel, and the Lord gave them him again. Here* he proſpered in his *Eſtate*; and beſides a Worthy *Son* which he had by a former Wife, he had alſo Two Sons and a Daughter by another, whom he Married in this Land.

§. 9. He was a Perſon for *Study* as well as *Action*; and hence, notwithſtanding the Difficulties through which he paſſed in his Youth, he attained unto a notable Skill in *Languages*; the *Dutch* Tongue was become almoſt as Vernacular to him as the *Engliſh*; the *French* Tongue he could alſo manage; the *Latin* and the *Greek* he had Maſtered; but the *Hebrew* he moſt of all ſtudied, *Becauſe*, he ſaid, *he would ſee with his own Eyes the Ancient Oracles of God in their Native Beauty.* He was alſo well skill'd in *Hiſtory*, in *Antiquity*, and in *Philoſophy*; and for *Theology* he became ſo verſed in it, that he was an *Irrefragable Diſputant* againſt the *Errors*, eſpecially thoſe of *Anabaptiſm*, which with Trouble he ſaw riſing in his Colony; wherefore he wrote ſome Significant things for the Confutation of thoſe Errors. But the *Crown* of all was his Holy, Prayerful, Watchful and Fruitful *Walk with God*, wherein he was very Exemplary

§. 10. At length he fell into an Indiſpoſition of Body, which rendred him unhealthy for a whole *Winter*; and as the *Spring* advanced, his Health yet more declined; yet he felt himſelf not what he counted *Sick*, till one *Day*; in the *Night* after which, the God of Heaven ſo fill'd his Mind with *Ineffable Conſolations*, that he ſeemed little ſhort of *Paul*, rapt up unto the *Unutterable* Entertainments of *Paradiſe.* The next Morning he told his Friends, *That the good Spirit of God had given him a Pledge of his Happineſs in another World, and the Firſt-fruits of his Eternal Glory:* And on the Day following he died, *May* 9. 1657. in the 69th Year of his Age. Lamented by all the Colonies of *New-England*, as a Common Bleſſing and Father to them all.

O mihi ſi Similis Contingat Clauſula Vitæ!

Plato's brief Deſcription of a *Governour*, is all that I will now leave as his Character, in an

EPITAPH.

Νομεὺς Τροφὸς ἀγέλης ἀνθρωπίνης.

MEN are but FLOCKS: BRADFORD *beheld their Need,*
And long did them at once both Rule *and* Feed.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

SUCCESSORS.

Inter Omnia quæ Rempublicam, ejuſq; fœlicitatem conſervant, quid utilius, quid præſtantius, quam Viros ad Magiſtratus gerendos Eligere, ſumma prudentia & Virtute preditos, quiq; ad Honores obtinendos, non Ambitione, non Largitionibus, ſed Virtute & Modeſtia ſibi parent adytum!

§. 1. THE Merits of Mr. *Edward Winſlow*, the Son of *Edward Winſlow*, Eſq; of *Draughtwich*, in the Country of *Worceſter*, obliged the Votes of the *Plymouthean* Colony (whereto he arrived in the Year 1624. after his Prudent and Faithful Diſpatch of an Agency in *England*, on the behalf of that infant Colony) to chuſe him for many Years a Magiſtrate, and for Two or Three their *Governour*. Travelling into the *Low-Countries*, he fell into Acquaintance with the *Engliſh Church* at *Leyden*, and joining himſelf to them, he Shipped himſelf with that part of them which firſt came over into *America*; from which time he was continually engaged in ſuch extraordinary Actions, as the aſſiſtance of that People to encounter their more than ordinary Difficulties, called for. But their Publick Affairs then requiring an *Agency* of as wiſe a Man as the Country could find at *Whitehall* for them, he was again prevail'd withal in the Year 1635. to appear for them at the *Council-board*; and his appearance there proved as *Effectual*, as it was very *Seaſonable*, not only for the Colony of *Plymouth*, but for the *Maſſachuſets* alſo, on very important Accounts. It was by the Bleſſing of God upon his wary and proper Applications, that the Attempts of many Adverſaries to overthrow the whole Settlement of *New-England*, were themſelves wholly overthrown; and as a ſmall Acknowledgment for his great Service therein, they did, upon his return again, chuſe him their *Governour*. But in the Year 1646. the place of *Governour* being reaſſumed by Mr. *Bradford*, the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony Addreſſed themſelves unto Mr. *Winſlow* to take another Voyage for *England*, that he might there procure their Deliverance from the Deſigns of many Troubleſome Adverſaries that were Petitioning unto the *Parliament* againſt them; and this *Hercules* having been from his very early Days accuſtomed unto the cruſhing of that ſort of *Serpents*, generouſly undertook another *Agency*, wherein how many good Services he did for *New-England*, and with what Fidelity, Diſcretion, Vigour and Succeſs he purſued the Intereſts of that Happy People, it would make a large Hiſtory to relate, an *Hiſtory* that may not now be expected until the *Reſurrection of the Juſt*. After this he returned no more unto *New-England*; but being in great Favour with the greateſt Perſons then in the Nation, he fell into thoſe Imployments wherein the whole Nation fared the better for him. At length he was imployed as one of the *Grand Commiſſioners* in the Expedition againſt *Hiſpaniola*, where a *Diſeaſe* (rendred yet more *uneaſie* by his Diſſatisfaction at the ſtrange miſcarriage of that Expedition) arreſting him, he died between *Domingo* and *Jamaica*, on *May* 8. 1655. in the Sixty-firſt Year of his Life, and had his Body Honourably committed unto the *Sea*.

§. 2. Sometimes during the *Life*, but always after the *Death* of Governour *Bradford*, even until his own, Mr. *Thomas Prince* was choſen **Governour** of *Plymouth*. He was a Gentleman whoſe *Natural Parts* exceeded his *Acquired*; but the want and worth of *Acquired Parts* was a thing ſo ſenſible unto him, that *Plymouth* perhaps never had a greater *Mecænas* of *Learning* in it: It was he that in ſpite of much Contradiction, procured Revenues for the Support of *Grammar-Schools* in that Colony. About the time of Governour *Bradford*'s Death, *Religion* it ſelf had like to have *died* in that Colony, through a *Libertine* and *Browniſtick* Spirit then prevailing among the People, and a ſtrange Diſpoſition to Diſcountenance the *Goſpel-Miniſtry*, by ſetting up the *Gifts of Private Brethren* in Oppoſition thereunto. The good People being in extream Diſtreſs from the Proſpect which this matter gave to them, ſaw no way ſo likely and ready to ſave the Churches from Ruin, as by the *Election* of Mr. *Prince* to the place of *Governour*; and this Point being by the Gracious and Marvellous Providence of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt gained at the next *Election*; the *Adverſe Party* from that very time ſunk into Confuſion. He had Sojourned for a while at *Eaſtham*, where a Church was by his means gathered; but after this time he returned unto his former Scituation at *Plymouth*, where he reſided until he died, which was *March* 29. 1673. when he was about *Seventy-Three* Years of Age: Among the many Excellent Qualities which adorned him as *Governour* of the Colony, there was much notice taken of that *Integrity*, wherewith indeed he was moſt *exemplarily* qualified: Whence it was that as he ever would refuſe any thing that look'd like a *Bribe*; ſo if any Perſon having a Caſe to be heard at Court, had ſent a Preſent unto his Family in his abſence, he would preſently ſend back the value thereof in Money unto the Perſon. But had he been only a private *Chriſtian*, there would yet have been ſeen upon him thoſe Ornaments of *Prayerfulneſs*, and *Peaceableneſs*, and profound Reſignation to

the Conduct of the *Word* of God, and a ſtrict *Walk* with God, which might juſtly have been made an *Example* to a whole Colony.

§. 3. Reader, If thou would'ſt have ſeen the true Picture of *Wiſdom*, *Courage* and *Generoſity*, the Succeſſor of Mr. *Thomas Prince* in the Government of *Plymouth* would have repreſented it. It was the truly Honourable *Joſiah Winſlow*, Eſq; the firſt Governour that was Born in *New-England*, and one well worthy to be an Example to all that ſhould come after him: A True *Engliſh Gentleman*, and (that I may ſay all at once) the *True Son* of that Gentleman whom we parted withal no more than Two Paragraphs ago. His Education and his Diſpoſition was that of a *Gentleman*; and his many Services to his Country in the *Field*, as well as on the *Bench*, ought never to be Buried in *Oblivion*. All that *Homer* deſired in a *Ruler*, was in the Life of this Gentleman expreſſed unto the Life; to be, *Fortes in Hoſtes*, and, *Bonus in Cives*. Though he hath left an *Off-ſpring*, yet I muſt ask for *One Daughter* to be remembred above the reſt. As of Old, *Epaminondas* being upbraided with want of Iſſue, boaſted that he left behind him one Daughter, namely, the Battel of *Leuctra*, which would render him Immortal; ſo our General *Winſlow* hath left behind him his Battel at the Fort of the *Narraganſets*, to Immortalize him: *There* did he with his own *Sword* make and ſhape a *Pen* to Write his Hiſtory. But ſo large a *Field* of Merit is now before me, that I dare not give my ſelf the liberty to Range in it leſt I loſe my ſelf. He died on *Dec.* 18. 1680.

Jam Cinis eſt, & de tam magus reſtat Achille,
Neſcio quid; parvam quod non bene compleat Urnam.

§. 4. And what *Succeſſor* had *he*? Methinks of the Two laſt Words in the wonderful Prediction of the *Succeſſion*, Oracled unto King *Henry* VII. *LEO, NULLUS*, the Firſt would have well ſuited the Valiant *Winſlow* of *Plymouth*; and the laſt were to have been wiſh'd for him that followed.

CHAP. III.

Patres Conſcripti: *Or, ASSISTENTS.*

THE GOVERNOURS of *New-England* have ſtill had *Righteouſneſs the Girdle of their Loins, and Faithfulneſs the Girdle of their Reins*, that is to ſay, *Righteous* and *Faithful* Men about them, in the *Aſſiſtance* of ſuch *Magiſtrates* as were called by the *Votes* of the *Freemen* unto the Adminiſtration of the Government, (according to their *Charters*) and made the *Judges of the Land*. Theſe Perſons have been ſuch *Members* of the *Churches*, and ſuch *Patrons* to the *Churches*, and generally been ſuch Examples of Courage, Wiſdom, Juſtice, Goodneſs and Religion, that it is fit our *Church-Hiſtory* ſhould remember them. The Bleſſed *Apollonius*, who in a ſet Oration Generouſly and Eloquently Pleaded the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity* before the *Roman Senate*, was not only a Learned Perſon, but alſo (if *Jerom* ſay right) a *Senator of* Rome. The *Senators* of *New-England* alſo have pleaded the Cauſe of *Chriſtianity*, not ſo much by *Orations*, as by *Practiſing* of it, and by *Suffering* for it. Neverthleſs, as the *Sicyonians* would have no other Epitaphs written on the Tombs of their *Kings*, but only their *Names*, that they might have no Honour, but what the Remembrance of their Actions and Merits in the Minds of the People ſhould procure for them; ſo I ſhall content my ſelf with only reciting the *Names* of theſe Worthy Perſons, and the *Times* when I find them firſt choſen unto their Magiſtracy.

MAGISTRATES in the Colony of New-Plymouth.

THE good People, ſoon after their firſt coming over, choſe Mr. *William Bradford* for their Governour, and added Five *Aſſiſtents*, whoſe Names, I ſuppoſe, will be found in the Catalogue of them, whom I find ſitting on the *Seat of Judgment* among them, in the Year 1633.

Edward Winſlow, Gov.
William Bradford.
Miles Standiſh.
John Howland.
John Alden.
John Done.
Stephen Hopkins.
William Gilſon.

Afterwards at ſeveral times were added,

Thomas Prince.	1634.
William Collier.	1634.
Timothy Hatherly.	1636.
John Brown.	1636.
John Jenny.	1637.
John Atwood.	1638.
Edmund Freeman.	1640.
William Thomas.	1642.
Thomas Willet.	1651.
Thomas Southworth.	1652.
James Cudworth.	1656.
Joſiah Winſlow.	1657.
William Bradford. F.	1658.

Thomas

Thomas Hinkley.	1658.
James Brown.	1665.
John Freeman.	1666.
Nathanael Bacon.	1667.

Thus far we find in a Book Entituled, *New-England's Memorial*, which was Publiſhed by Mr. *Nathanael Morton*, the Secretary of *Plymouth* Colony, in the Year 1669. Since then there have been added at ſeveral times,

Conſtant Southworth.	1670.
Daniel Smith.	1674.
Barnabas Lothrop.	1681.
John Thatcher.	
John Walley.	

CHAP. IV.

Nehemias Americanus. *The* LIFE *of* JOHN WINTHROP, *Eſq*; *Governour of the* MASSACHUSET *COLONY.*

Quicunq; Venti erunt, Ars noſtra certe non aberit. Cicer.

§. 1. LET *Greece* boaſt of her patient *Lycurgus*, the *Lawgiver*, by whom *Diligence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude* and *Wit* were made the *Faſhions* of a therefore Long-laſting and Renowned Commonwealth: Let *Rome* tell of her Devout *Numa*, the *Lawgiver*, by whom the moſt Famous Commonwealth ſaw *Peace* Triumphing over extinguiſhed *War*, and cruel *Plunders*, and *Murders* giving place to the more mollifying Exerciſes of his *Religion*. Our *New-England* ſhall tell and boaſt of her **Winthrop**, a *Lawgiver*, as patient as *Lycurgus*, but not admitting any of *his* Criminal Diſorders; as Devout as *Numa*, but not liable to any of *his* Heatheniſh Madneſſes; a *Governour* in whom the Excellencies of *Chriſtianity* made a moſt improving Addition unto the *Virtues*, wherein even without *thoſe* he would have made a *Parallel* for the Great Men of *Greece*, or of *Rome*, which the Pen of a *Plutarch* has Eternized.

§. 2. A ſtock of *Heroes* by right ſhould afford nothing but what is *Heroical*; and nothing but an extream Degeneracy would make any thing leſs to be expected from a Stock of *Winthrops*. Mr. *Adam Winthrop*, the Son of a Worthy Gentleman wearing the ſame Name, was himſelf a Worthy, a Diſcreet, and a Learned Gentleman, particularly Eminent for *Skill* in the *Law*, nor without Remark for *Love* to the *Goſpel*, under the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. And Brother to a Memorable *Favourer* of the *Reformed Religion* in the Days of Queen *Mary*, into whoſe Hands the Famous Martyr *Philpot* committed his *Papers*, which afterwards made no Inconſiderable part of our *Martyr-Books*. This Mr. *Adam Winthrop* had a Son of the ſame Name alſo, and of the ſame Endowments and Imployments with his Father; and this Third *Adam Winthrop* was the Father of that Renowned *John Winthrop*, who was the Father of *New-England*, and the Founder *of a Colony*, which upon many Accounts, like *him* that Founded it, may challenge the *Firſt Place* among the *Engliſh* Glories of *America*. Our **John Winthrop** thus Born at the Manſion-Houſe of his Anceſtors, at *Groton* in *Suffolk*, on *June* 12. 1587. enjoyed afterwards an agreeable Education. But though he would rather have Devoted himſelf unto the Study of Mr. *John Calvin*, than of Sir *Edward Cook*; nevertheleſs, the Accompliſhments of a *Lawyer*, were thoſe wherewith Heaven made his chief Opportunities to be Serviceable.

§. 3. Being made, at the unuſually early Age of *Eighteen*, a *Juſtice of Peace*, his Virtues began to fall under a more general Obſervation; and he not only ſo *Bound himſelf to the Behaviour* of a *Chriſtian*, as to become Exemplary for a Conformity to the *Laws* of *Chriſtianity* in his own Converſation, but alſo diſcovered a more than ordinary Meaſure of thoſe Qualities, which adorn an *Officer* of *Humane Society*. His *Juſtice* was Impartial, and uſed the *Ballance* to weigh not the *Caſh*, but the *Caſe* of thoſe who were before him: *Proſopolatria*, he reckoned as bad as *Idololatria*: His *Wiſdom* did exquiſitely Temper things according to the *Art of Governing*, which is a Buſineſs of more Contrivance than the *Seven Arts* of the *Schools*: *Oyer* ſtill went before *Terminer* in all his Adminiſtrations: His *Courage* made him *Dare to do right*, and fitted him to ſtand among the *Lions*, that have ſometimes been the *Supporters* of the Throne: All which Virtues he rendred the more Illuſtrious, by *Emblazoning* them with the Conſtant *Liberality* and *Hoſpitality* of a *Gentleman*. This made him the *Terror* of the Wicked, and the *Delight* of the Sober, the *Envy* of the many, but the *Hope* of thoſe who had any *Hopeful Deſign* in Hand for the Common Good of the Nation, and the Intereſts of Religion.

§. 4. Accordingly when the *Noble Deſign* of carrying a Colony of *Choſen People* into an *American* Wilderneſs, was by *ſome* Eminent Perſons undertaken, *This* Eminent Perſon was, by the Conſent of all, *Choſen* for the *Moſes*, who muſt be the Leader of ſo great an Undertaking: And indeed nothing but a *Moſaic Spirit* could have carried him through the *Temptations*, to which either his *Farewel* to his *own Land*, or his *Travel* in a *Strange Land*, muſt needs expoſe a Gentleman of

his *Education.* Wherefore having Sold a fair Eſtate of Six or Seven Hundred a Year, he Tranſported himſelf with the Effects of it into *New-England* in the Year 1630. where he ſpent it upon the Service of a famous Plantation founded and formed for the Seat of the moſt *Reformed Chriſtianity:* And continued there, conflicting with *Temptations* of all ſorts, as many Years as the *Nodes* of the *Moon* take to diſpatch a Revolution. Thoſe Perſons were never concerned in a *New-Plantation*, who know not that the unavoidable Difficulties of ſuch a thing, will call for all the *Prudence* and *Patience* of a Mortal Man to Encounter therewithal; and they muſt be very inſenſible of the Influence, which the *Juſt Wrath* of Heaven has permitted the *Devils* to have upon *this World*, if they do not think that the Difficulties of a *New-Plantation*, devoted unto the *Evangelical Worſhip* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, muſt be yet more than Ordinary. How *Prudently*, how *Patiently*, and with how much Reſignation to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our brave *Winthrop* waded through theſe *Difficulties*, let Poſterity Conſider with Admiration. And know, that as the *Picture* of this their *Governour*, was, after his *Death*, hung up with Honour in the *State-Houſe* of his Country, ſo the *Wiſdom*, *Courage*, and Holy *Zeal* of his *Life*, were an Example well-worthy to be Copied by all that ſhall ſucceed in *Government*.

§. 5. Were he now to be conſider'd only as a *Chriſtian*, we might therein propoſe him as greatly Imitable. He was a very *Religious* Man; and as he ſtrictly kept his *Heart*, ſo he kept his *Houſe*, under the Laws of *Piety*; *there* he was every Day conſtant in Holy Duties, both Morning and Evening, and on the *Lord's Days*, and *Lectures*; though he *wrote* not after the Preacher, yet ſuch was his *Attention*, and ſuch his *Retention* in *Hearing*, that he repeated unto his *Family* the *Sermons* which he had heard in the Congregation. But it is chiefly as a *Governour* that he is now to be conſider'd. Being the *Governour* over the conſiderableſt Part of *New-England*, he maintain'd the Figure and Honour of his Place with the Spirit of a true *Gentleman*; but yet with ſuch obliging *Condeſcention* to the Circumſtances of the Colony, that when a certain troubleſome and malicious Calumniator, well known in thoſe Times, printed his Libellous *Nick-Names* upon the chief Perſons here, the worſt *Nick-Name* he could find for the Governour, was *John Temper-well*; and when the Calumnies of that ill Man cauſed the Arch-Biſhop to Summon one Mr. *Cleaves* before the King, in hopes to get ſome Accuſation from him againſt the Country, Mr. *Cleaves* gave ſuch an Account of the Governour's laudable Carriage in all Reſpects, and the ſerious Devotion wherewith Prayers were both publickly and privately made for His Majeſty, that the King expreſſed himſelf moſt highly *Pleaſed* therewithal, only *Sorry* that ſo Worthy a Perſon ſhould be no better Accommodated than with the Hardſhips of *America*. He was, indeed, a *Governour*, who had moſt exactly ſtudied that Book, which pretending to Teach *Politicks*, did only contain *Three Leaves*, and but *One Word* in each of thoſe Leaves, which Word was, **Moderation.** Hence, though he were a Zealous Enemy to all *Vice*, yet his *Practice* was according to his *Judgment* thus expreſſed; *In the Infancy of Plantations, Juſtice ſhould be adminiſtred with more Lenity than in a ſettled State; becauſe People are more apt then to Tranſgreſs; partly out of Ignorance of new Laws and Orders, partly out of Oppreſſion of Buſineſs, and other Straits.* [**Lento Gradu,**] *was the old Rule; and if the Strings of a new Inſtrument be wound up unto their heighth, they will quickly crack.* But when ſome Leading and Learned Men took Offence at his Conduct in this Matter, and upon a *Conference* gave it in as their Opinion, *That a ſtricter Diſcipline was to be uſed in the beginning of a Plantation, than after its being with more Age eſtabliſhed and confirmed*, the Governour being readier to ſee *his own* Errors than *other Mens*, profeſſed his Purpoſe to endeavour their Satiſfaction with leſs of *Lenity* in his Adminiſtrations. At that *Conference* there were drawn up ſeveral other *Articles* to be obſerved between the Governour and the reſt of the Magiſtrates, which were of this Import: *That* the *Magiſtrates*, as far as might be, ſhould aforehand ripen their *Conſultations*, to produce that *Unanimity* in their *Publick Votes*, which might make them liker to the *Voice of God*; *that* if *Differences* fell out among them in their Publick Meetings, they ſhould ſpeak only to the *Caſe*, without any Reflection, with all due *Modeſty*, and but by way of *Queſtion*; or Deſire the deferring of the *Cauſe* to further time; and after *Sentence* to imitate privately no *Diſlike*; *that* they ſhould be more *Familiar*, Friendly and Open unto each other, and more frequent in their *Viſitations*, and not any way expoſe each other's *Infirmities*, but ſeek the *Honour* of each other, and all the Court; *that* One Magiſtrate ſhall not *croſs* the Proceedings of another, without firſt adviſing with him; and *that* they ſhould in all their Appearances abroad, be ſo circumſtanced as to prevent all Contempt of Authority; and *that* they ſhould Support and Strengthen all *Under Officers*. All of which *Articles* were obſerved by no Man more than by the *Governour* himſelf.

§. 6. But whilſt he thus did as our *New-Engliſh Nehemiah*, the part of a *Ruler* in Managing the Publick Affairs of our *American Jeruſalem*, when there were *Tobijahs* and *Sanballats* enough to vex him, and give him the Experiment of *Luther*'s Obſervation, *Omnis qui regit, eſt tanquam ſignum, in quod omnia Jacula, Satan & Mundus dirigunt*; he made himſelf ſtill an exacter *Parallel* unto that Governour of *Iſrael*, by doing the part of a *Neighbour* among the diſtreſſed People of the *New-Plantation*. To teach them the *Frugality* neceſſary for thoſe times, he abridged himſelf of a Thouſand comfortable things, which he had al-

allow'd himſelf elſewhere: His *Habit* was not that *ſoft Raiment*, which would have been diſagreeable to a *Wilderneſs*; his *Table* was not covered with the *Superfluities* that would have invited unto *Senſualities* : *Water* was commonly his *own Drink*, though he gave Wine to *others*. But at the ſame time his *Liberality* unto the Needy was even beyond meaſure Generous; and therein he was continually cauſing *The Bleſſing of him that was ready to Periſh to come upon him, and the Heart of the Widow and the Orphan to ſing for Joy* : But none more than thoſe of Deceas'd *Miniſters*, whom he always treated with a very ſingular Compaſſion; among the Inſtances whereof we ſtill enjoy with us the Worthy and now Aged Son of that Reverend *Higginſon*, whoſe Death left his Family in a wide World ſoon after his arrival here, publickly acknowledging the Charitable *Winthrop* for his *Foſter-Father*. It was oftentimes no ſmall Trial unto his *Faith*, to think, *How a Table for the People ſhould be furniſhed when they firſt came into the Wilderneſs!* And for very many of the People, his *own good Works* were needful, and accordingly employed for the anſwering of his *Faith*. Indeed, for a while the Governour was the *Joſeph*, unto whom the whole Body of the People repaired when their *Corn* failed them: And he continued Relieving of them with his *open-handed Bounties*, as long as he had any Stock to do it with; and a lively *Faith* to *ſee* the return of the *Bread after many Days*, and not *Starve* in the Days that were to paſs till that *return* ſhould be *ſeen*, carried him chearfully through thoſe Expences. Once it was obſervable, that on *Feb.* 5. 1630. when he was diſtributing the laſt Handful of *the Meal in the Barrel* unto a Poor Man diſtreſſed by the Wolf *at the Door*, at that Inſtant they ſpied a Ship arrived at the Harbour's Mouth Laden with *Proviſions* for them all. Yea, the Governour ſometimes made his own *private Purſe* to be the *Publick*; not by *ſucking* into it, but by *ſqueezing* out of it; for when the *Publick Treaſure* had nothing in it, he did himſelf defray the Charges of the *Publick*. And having learned that Leſſon of our Lord, *That it is better to Give, than to Receive*, he did, at the General Court when he was a Third time choſen Governour, made a Speech unto this purpoſe, *That he had received Gratuities from divers Towns, which he accepted with much Comfort and Content; and he had likewiſe received Civilities from particular Perſons, which he could not refuſe without Incivility in himſelf: Nevertheleſs, he took them with a trembling Heart, in regard of God's Word, and the Conſcience of his own Infirmities; and therefore he deſired them that they would not hereafter take it Ill if he refuſed ſuch Preſents for the time to come.* 'Twas his Cuſtom alſo to ſend ſome of his Family upon Errands, unto the Houſes of the Poor about their *Meal time*, on purpoſe to *ſpy* whether they *wanted*; and if it were found that they *wanted*, he would make *that* the Opportunity of ſending Supplies unto them. And there was one Paſſage of his *Charity* that was perhaps a little *unuſual* : In an hard and long Winter, when *Wood* was very ſcarce at *Boſton*, a Man gave him a private *Information*, that a needy Perſon in the Neighbourhood ſtole *Wood* ſometimes from *his* Pile; whereupon the Governour in a ſeeming Anger did reply, *Does he ſo? I'll take a Courſe with him; go, call that Man to me, I'll warrant you I'll cure him of Stealing!* When the Man came, the Governour conſidering that if he had *Stoln*, it was more out of *Neceſſity* than *Diſpoſition*, ſaid unto him, *Friend, It is a ſevere Winter, and I doubt you are but meanly provided for Wood; wherefore I would have you ſupply your ſelf at my Wood-Pile till this cold Seaſon be over.* And he then Merrily asked his Friends, *Whether he had not effectually cured this Man of Stealing his Wood?*

§. 7. One would have imagined that ſo *good* a Man could have had no *Enemies*; if we had not had a daily and woful Experience to Convince us, that *Goodneſs* it ſelf will *make* Enemies. It is a wonderful Speech of *Plato*, (in one of his Books, *De Republica*) *For the trial of true Vertue, 'tis neceſſary that a good Man* μηδὲν ἀδικῶν, δόξαν ἔχει τὴν μεγίστην ἀδικίας· *Tho' he do no unjuſt thing, ſhould ſuffer the Infamy of the greateſt Injuſtice.* The Governour had by his unſpotted *Integrity*, procured himſelf a great Repntation among the *People*; and then the Crime of *Popularity* was laid unto his Charge by ſuch, who were willing to deliver him from the Danger of having *all Men ſpeak well of him*. Yea, there were Perſons eminent both for Figure and for Number, unto whom it was almoſt *Eſſential* to *diſlike* every thing that came from *him*; and yet *he* always maintained an Amicable Correſpondence with them; as believing that they acted according to their Judgment and Conſcience, or that their Eyes were held by ſome *Temptation* in the worſt of all their Oppoſitions. Indeed, his *right Works* were ſo many, that they expoſed him unto the *Envy* of his Neighbours; and of ſuch *Power* was that *Envy*, that ſometimes he could not *ſtand before it*; but it was by *not ſtanding* that he moſt effectually *withſtood* it all. Great Attempts were ſometimes made among the *Freemen*, to get him left out from his Place in the *Government* upon little Pretences, leſt by the too *frequent Choice* of One Man, the *Government* ſhould ceaſe to be by *Choice*; and with a particular aim at *him*, Sermons were Preached at the Anniverſary Court of *Election*, to diſſwade the *Freemen* from chuſing *One Man* Twice together. This was the Reward of his *extraordinary Serviceableneſs!* But when theſe Attempts *did* ſucceed, as they ſometimes *did*, his Profound *Humility* appeared in that *Equality of Mind*, wherewith he applied himſelf cheerfully to ſerve the Country in whatever Station their *Votes* had allotted for him. And one Year when the *Votes* came to be Numbered, there were found Six leſs for Mr. *Winthrop*, than for another Gentleman who then ſtood in Competition: But ſeveral other

other Perſons regularly Tendring their *Votes* before the *Election* was publiſhed, were, upon a very frivolous Objection, refuſed by ſome of the Magiſtrates, that were afraid leſt the *Election* ſhould at laſt fall upon Mr. *Winthrop*: Which though it was well perceived, yet ſuch was the *Self-denial* of this *Patriot*, that he would not permit any Notice to be taken of the Injury. But theſe *Trials* were nothing in Compariſon of thoſe harſher and harder *Treats*, which he ſometimes had from the *Frowardneſs* of not a few in the Days of their *Paroxiſms*; and from the *Faction* of ſome againſt him, not much unlike that of the *Piazzi* in *Florence* againſt the Family of the *Medices*: All of which he at laſt Conquered by Conforming to the Famous *Judges* Motto, *Prudens qui Patiens*. The Oracles of God have ſaid, *Envy is rottenneſs to the Bones*; and *Gulielmus Pariſienſis* applies it unto Rulers, who are as it were the *Bones* of the Societies which they belong unto: *Envy*, ſays he, *is often found among them, and it is rottenneſs unto them.* Our *Winthrop* Encountred this *Envy* from others, but Conquered it, by being free from it himſelf.

§. 8. Were it not for the ſake of introducing the Exemplary Skill of this Wiſe Man, *at giving ſoft Anſwers*, one would not chuſe to Relate thoſe Inſtances of *Wrath*, which he had ſometimes to Encounter with; but he was for his *Gentleneſs*, his *Forbearance*, and his *Longanimity*, a Pattern ſo worthy to be Written *after*, that ſomething muſt here be Written *of* it. He ſeemed indeed never to ſpeak any other Language than that of *Theodoſius*, *If any Man ſpeak evil of the Governour, if it be thro' Lightneſs, 'tis to be contemned; if it be thro' Madneſs, 'tis to be pitied; if it thro' Injury, 'tis to be remitted.* Behold, Reader, the *Meekneſs of Wiſdom* notably exemplified! There was a time when he received a very ſharp Letter from a Gentleman, who was a Member of the Court, but he delivered back the Letter unto the Meſſengers that brought it with ſuch a Chriſtian Speech as this, *I am not willing to keep ſuch a matter of Provocation by me!* Afterwards the ſame Gentleman was compelled by the ſcarcity of Proviſions to ſend unto him that he would Sell him ſome of his Cattel; whereupon the Governour prayed him to accept what he had ſent for as a *Token* of his Good Will; but the Gentleman returned him this Anſwer, *Sir, your overcoming of your ſelf hath overcome me*; and afterwards gave Demonſtration of it. The *French* have a ſaying, That *Un Honeſte Homme, eſt un Homme meſle!* A *good* Man is a *mixt* Man; and there hardly ever was a more ſenſible *Mixture* of thoſe Two things, *Reſolution* and *Condeſcention*, than in this good Man. There was a time when the Court of *Election*, being for fear of Tumult, held at *Cambridge*, *May* 17. 1637. The Sectarian part of the Country, who had the Year before gotten a *Governour* more unto their Mind, had a Project now to have confounded the *Election*, by demanding that the *Court* would conſider a *Petition* then tendered before their Proceeding thereunto. Mr. *Winthrop* ſaw that this was only a Trick to throw all into Confuſion, by putting off the *Choice* of the *Governour* and *Aſſiſtents* until the *Day* ſhould be over; and therefore he did, with a ſtrenuous *Reſolution*, procure a diſappointment unto that miſchievous and ruinous Contrivance. Nevertheleſs, Mr. *Winthrop* himſelf being by the Voice of the Freemen in this Exigence choſen the *Governour*, and all of the other Party left out, that ill-affected Party diſcovered the *Dirt* and *Mire*, which remained with them, after the *Storm* was over; particularly the *Serjeants*, whoſe Office 'twas to attend the *Governour*, laid down their *Halberts*; but ſuch was the *Condeſcention* of this Governour, as to take no preſent Notice of this Anger and Contempt, but only Order ſome of his own Servants to take the *Halberts*: And when the Country manifeſted their deep Reſentments of the Affront thus offered him, *he* prayed them to *overlook* it. But it was not long before a Compenſation was made for theſe things by the *doubled Reſpects* which were from all Parts paid unto him. Again, there was a time when the Suppreſſion of an *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical* Faction, which extreamly threatned the Ruin of the Country, was generally thought much owing unto this Renowned Man; and therefore when the Friends of that Faction could not wreak their Diſpleaſure on him with any *Politick* Vexations, they ſet themſelves to do it by *Eccleſiſtical* ones. Accordingly when a Sentence of *Baniſhment* was paſſed on the Ringleaders of thoſe Diſturbances, who

—Maria & Terras, Cœlumq; profundum,
Quippe ferant, Rapidi, ſecum, vertantq; per Auras;

many at the Church of *Boſton*, who were then that way too much inclined, moſt earneſtly ſolicited the Elders of that Church, whereof the Governour was a *Member*, to call him forth as an *Offender* for paſſing of that Sentence. The *Elders* were unwilling to do any ſuch thing; but the Governour underſtanding the *Ferment* among the *People*, took that occaſion to make a Speech in the Congregation to this Effect. '*Brethren*, Underſtanding that ſome of you 'have deſired that I ſhould Anſwer for an *Offence* lately taken among you; had I been called upon ſo to do, I would, *Firſt*, Have adviſed with the Miniſters of the Country, whether the *Church* had Power to call in Queſtion the *Civil Court*; and I would, *Secondly*, 'Have adviſed with the reſt of the *Court*, whether I might diſcover their Counſels unto the '*Church*. But though I know that the Reverend '*Elders* of this Church, and ſome others, do very 'well apprehend that the *Church* cannot enquire 'into the Proceedings of the *Court*; yet for the 'Satisfaction of the weaker who do not apprehend it, I will declare my Mind concerning 'it. If the *Church* have any ſuch Power, they 'have it from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but the

'Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath diſclaimed it, not only 'by *Practice*, but alſo by *Precept*, which we 'have in his Goſpel, *Mat.* 20. 25, 26. It is 'true indeed, that *Magiſtrates*, as they are '*Church-Members*, are accountable unto the '*Church* for their Failings; but that is when 'they are out of their Calling. When *Uzziah* 'would go offer Incenſe in the *Temple*, the 'Officers of the *Church* called him to an ac-'count, and withſtood him; but when *Aſa* put 'the Prophet in Priſon, the Officers of the '*Church* did not call *him* to an account for *that*. 'If the *Magiſtrate* ſhall in a *private way* 'wrong any Man, the *Church* may call him to 'an Account for it; but if he be in Purſuance of 'a Courſe of *Juſtice*, though the thing that he 'does be *unjuſt*, yet he is not accountable for it 'before the *Church*. As for my ſelf I did nothing 'in the Cauſes of any of the *Brethren*, but by 'the Advice of the *Elders* of the *Church*. More-'over, in the *Oath* which I have taken there 'is this Clauſe, *In all Cauſes wherein you are to 'give your Vote, you ſhall do as in your Judg-'ment and Conſcience you ſhall ſee to be Juſt, 'and for the publick Good*. And I am ſatisfied, 'it is moſt for the Glory of God, and the *pub-'lick Good*, that there has been ſuch a *Sentence* 'paſſed; yea, thoſe *Brethren* are ſo divided 'from the *reſt* of the Country in their Opinions 'and Practices, that it cannot ſtand with the '*publick Peace* for them to continue with us; '*Abraham* ſaw that *Hagar* and *Iſhmael* muſt be 'ſent away. By ſuch a Speech he marvel-louſly convinced, ſatisfied and mollified the *uneaſie Brethren* of the Church; *Sic cunctus Pelagi cecidit Fragor*—. And after a little pati-ent waiting, the *differences* all ſo wore away, that the Church, meerly as a Token of Reſpect unto the Governour, when he had newly met with ſome *Loſſes* in his Eſtate, ſent him a Pre-ſent of ſeveral *Hundreds* of Pounds. Once more there was a time, when ſome active Spi-rits among the *Deputies* of the Colony, by their endeavours not only to make themſelves a *Court of Judicature*, but alſo to take away the *Negative* by which the *Magiſtrates* might check their *Votes*, had like by over-driving to have run the whole Government into ſomething too *Demo-cratical*. And if there were a Town in *Spain* undermined by *Coneys*, another Town in *Thrace* deſtroyed by *Moles*, a Third in *Greece* ranverſed by *Frogs*, a Fourth in *Germany* ſubverted by *Rats*; I muſt on this Occaſion add, that there was a Country in *America* like to be confound-ed by a *Swine*. A certain *ſtray Sow* being found, was claimed by Two ſeveral Perſons with a Claim ſo equally maintained on both ſides, that after Six or Seven Years *Hunting* the Buſi-neſs, from one Court unto another, it was brought at laſt into the *General Court*, where the final Determination was, *that it was im-poſſible to proceed unto any Judgment in the Caſe*. However in the debate of this Matter, the *Negative* of the *Upper-Houſe* upon the *Lower* in that Court was brought upon the Stage; and agitated with ſo hot a Zeal, that a *little more and all had been in the Fire*. In theſe Agitations the Governour was informed that an offence had been taken by ſome eminent Perſons, at certain Paſſages in a Diſcourſe by him written thereabout; whereupon with his uſual *Condeſcendency*, when he next came into the General Court, he made a Speech of this Import. 'I underſtand, that ſome have *taken* 'Offence at ſomething that I have lately written; 'which *Offence* I deſire to remove now, and be-'gin this Year in a reconciled State with you all. 'As for the *Matter* of my Writing, I had the 'Concurrence of my *Brethren*; it is a Point of '*Judgment* which is not at my own diſpoſing. 'I have examined it over and over again, by 'ſuch *Light* as God has given me, from the 'Rules of *Religion*, *Reaſon* and *Cuſtom*; and I 'ſee no cauſe to Retract any thing of it: Where-'fore I muſt enjoy my *Liberty* in *that*, as *you* 'do your ſelves. But for the *Manner*, *this*, and 'all that was blame-worthy in it, was wholly '*my own*; and whatſoever I might alledge for 'my own Juſtification therein before *Men*, I 'wave it, as now ſetting my ſelf before another '*Judgment-Seat*. However, what I wrote was 'upon *great Provocation*, and to vindicate my 'ſelf and others from great Aſperſion; yet that 'was no ſufficient Warrant for me to allow any '*Diſtemper of Spirit* in my ſelf; and I doubt 'I have been too prodigal of my *Brethren*'s *Re-'putation*; I might have maintained my Cauſe 'without caſting any Blemiſh upon others, 'when I made that my Concluſion, *And now 'let Religion and ſound Reaſon give Judgment in 'the Caſe*; it look'd as if I arrogated too much 'unto *my ſelf*, and too little to *others*. And 'when I made that Profeſſion, *That I would 'maintain what I wrote before all the World*, 'though ſuch Words might modeſtly be ſpoken, 'yet I perceive an unbeſeeming *Pride* of my 'own Heart breathing in them. For theſe Fail-'ings I aſk Pardon both of God and Man.

Sic ait, & dicto citius Tumida Æquora placat,
Collectaſq; fugat Nubes, Solemq; reducit.

This *acknowledging Diſpoſition* in the Gover-nour, made them all *acknowledge*, that he was truly *a Man of an excellent Spirit*. In fine, the *Victories* of an *Alexander*, an *Hannibal*, or a *Cæſar* over *other Men*, were not ſo Glorious, as the *Victories* of this great Man over *himſelf*, which alſo at laſt prov'd *Victories* over *other Men*.

§. 9. But the ſtormieſt of all the *Trials* that ever befel this Gentleman, was in the Year 1645. when he was in *Title* no more than *De-puty-Governour* of the Colony. If the famous *Cato* were Forty-four times call'd into Judg-ment, but as often acquitted; let it not be won-dred, and if our Famous *Winthrop* were one time ſo. There hapning certain Seditious and Mutinous Practices in the Town of *Hingham*, the *Deputy-Governour* as legally as prudently interpoſed his *Authority* for the checking of them: Whereupon there followed ſuch an *En-*

chantment

chantment upon the minds of the *Deputies* in the General Court, that upon a ſcandalous Petition of the Delinquents unto *them*, wherein a pretended Invaſion made upon the *Liberties* of the *People* was complained of the *Deputy-Governour*, was moſt Irregularly call'd forth unto an Ignominous *Hearing* before them in a vaſt Aſſembly; whereto with a *Sagacious Humilitude* he *conſented*, although he ſhew'd them how he might have *Refuſed* it. The reſult of that *Hearing* was, That notwithſtanding the touchy *Jealouſie* of the *People* about their *Liberties* lay at the bottom of all this Proſecution, yet Mr. *Winthrop* was publickly Acquitted, and the Offenders were ſeverally Fined and Cenſured. But Mr. *Winthrop* then reſuming the Place of *Deputy-Governour* on the Bench, ſaw cauſe to ſpeak unto the *Root of the Matter* after this manner. 'I ſhall not now ſpeak any 'thing about the paſt *Proceedings* of this Court, 'or the *Perſons* therein concerned. Only I 'bleſs God that I ſee an Iſſue of this trouble'ſome Affair. I am well ſatisfied that I was 'publickly *Accuſed*, and that I am now pub'lickly *Acquitted.* But though I am juſtified 'before *Men*, yet it may be the *Lord* hath ſeen 'ſo much amiſs in my Adminiſtrations, as calls 'me to be *humbled*; and indeed for me to have 'been thus charged by *Men*, is it ſelf a Matter 'of *Humiliation*, whereof I deſire to make a 'right uſe before the *Lord.* If *Miriam*'s Fa'ther ſpit in her Face, ſhe is to be *Aſhamed.* 'But give me leave before you go, to ſay ſome'thing that may rectifie the *Opinions* of many '*People*, from whence the *Diſtempers* have 'riſen that have lately prevailed upon the *Bo*'*dy* of *this* People. The Queſtions that have 'troubled the Country have been about the *Au*'*thority of the Magiſtracy*, and the *Liberty of* '*the People.* It is *You* who have called *us* un'to this Office; but being thus *called*, we have 'our *Authority* from *God*; it is the *Ordinance* 'of *God*, and it hath the *Image* of *God* ſtamp'ed upon it; and the contempt of it has been 'vindicated by *God* with terrible Examples of 'his Vengeance. I intreat you to conſider, That 'when you chuſe *Magiſtrates*, you take them 'from among your ſelves, *Men ſubject unto* '*like Paſſions with your ſelves.* If you ſee *our* 'Infirmities, reflect on *your own*, and you will 'not be ſo ſevere Cenſurers of *Ours.* We 'count him a *good Servant* who *breaks not his* '*Covenant :* The *Covenant* between *Us* and *You*, 'is the *Oath* you have taken of *us*, which is to 'this Purpoſe, *That we ſhall govern you, and* '*judge your Cauſes, according to God's Laws,* '*and our own, according to our beſt Skill.* As 'for our *Skill*, you muſt run the hazard of it; 'and if there be an Error, not in the *Will*, but 'only in the *Skill*, it becomes *you* to bear it. 'Nor would I have you to miſtake in the 'Point of your own *Liberty.* There is a *Li*'*berty* of corrupt Nature, which is affected 'both by *Men* and *Beaſts*, to do what they liſt; 'and this *Liberty* is inconſiſtent with *Authority*, 'impatient of all Reſtraint; by this *Liberty*, '*Sumus Omnes Deteriores :* 'Tis the Grand Ene'my of *Truth* and *Peace*, and all the *Ordinan*'*ces* of God are bent againſt it. But there is a 'Civil, a Moral, a Federal *Liberty*, which is 'the proper End and Object of *Authority*; it is 'a *Liberty* for that only which is *juſt* and *good*; 'for this *Liberty* you are to ſtand with the 'hazard of your very *Lives*; and whatſoever 'Croſſes it, is not *Authority*, but a *Diſtemper* 'thereof. This *Liberty* is maintained in a way 'of *Subjection* to *Authority*; and the *Autho*'*rity* ſet over you, will in all Adminiſtrations 'for your good be quietly ſubmitted unto, by 'all but ſuch as have a Diſpoſition to *ſhake off* '*the Yoke*, and loſe their true *Liberty*, by their 'murmuring at the Honour and Power of *Au*'*thority.*

The *Spell* that was upon the Eyes of the People being thus diſſolved, their *diſtorted* and *enraged* notions of things all vaniſhed; and the People would not afterwards entruſt the Helm of the *Weather-beaten* Bark in any other Hands, but Mr. *Winthrop*'s, until he Died.

§. 10. Indeed ſuch was the *Mixture* of *diſtant Qualities* in him, as to make a moſt admirable *Temper*; and his having a certain *Greatneſs of Soul*, which rendered him Grave, Generous, Courageous, Reſolved, Well-applied, and every way a *Gentleman* in his Deameanour, did not hinder him from taking ſometimes the old *Romans* way to avoid Confuſions, namely, *Cedendo*; or from diſcouraging ſome things which are agreeable enough to moſt that wear the Name of *Gentlemen.* Hereof I will give no Inſtances, but only *oppoſe* two Paſſages of his Life.

In the Year 1632. the Governour, with his Paſtor Mr. *Wilſon*, and ſome other Gentlemen, to ſettle a good underſtanding between the Two Colonies, travelled as far as *Plymouth*, more than Forty Miles, through an Howling Wilderneſs, no better accommodated in thoſe early Days, than the *Princes* that in *Solomon*'s time ſaw *Servants on Horſeback*, or than *Genus* and *Species* in the old Epigram, *going on Foot.* The difficulty of the *Walk*, was abundantly compenſated by the Honourable, *firſt* Reception, and *then* Diſmiſſion, which they found from the Rulers of *Plymouth*; and by the good Correſpondence thus eſtabliſhed between the New Colonies, who were like the floating Bottels wearing this Motto, *Si Collidimur, Frangimur.* But there were at this time in *Plymouth* two Miniſters, leavened ſo far with the Humours of the *Rigid Separation*, that they inſiſted vehemently upon the Unlawfulneſs of calling any *unregenerate* Man by the Name of *Good-man ſuch an One*, until by their indiſcreet urging of this Whimſey, the place began to be diſquieted. The wiſer People being troubled at theſe Trifles, they took the opportunity of Governour *Winthrop*'s being *there*, to have the thing publickly propounded in the Congregation; who in anſwer thereunto, diſtinguiſhed between a *Theological* and a *Moral Goodneſs*; adding, that when *Juries* were firſt uſed in *England*,

land, it was uſual for the *Crier*, after the Names of Perſons fit for that Service were called over, to bid them all, *Attend*, *Good Men, and True*; whence it grew to be a *Civil Cuſtom* in the *Engliſh Nation*, for Neighbours living by one another, to call one another *Good-man ſuch an One*: And it was pity now to make a ſtir about a *Civil Cuſtom*, ſo innocently introduced. And that Speech of Mr. *Winthrop's* put a laſting ſtop to the Little, Idle, Whimſical *Conceits*, then beginning to grow Obſtreperous. Nevertheleſs there was one *Civil Cuſtom* uſed *in* (and in few *but*) the *Engliſh Nation*, which this Gentleman did endeavour to aboliſh in *this Country*; and that was, *The uſage of Drinking to one another*. For although by *Drinking to one another*, no more is meant than an act of *Courteſie*, when one going to *Drink*, does Invite another to do ſo too, for the ſame Ends with himſelf; nevertheleſs the Governour (not altogether unlike to *Cleomenes*, of whom 'tis reported by *Plutarch*, ἄκοντι οὐδεὶς ποτήριον προσέφερε, *Nolenti poculum nunquam prœbuit*,) conſidered the *Impertinency* and *Inſignificancy* of this Uſage, as to any of *thoſe Ends* that are uſually pretended for it; and that indeed it ordinarily ſerved for *no Ends* at all, but only to provoke Perſons unto *unſeaſonable*, and perhaps *unreaſonable* Drinking, and at laſt produce that abominable *Health-Drinking*, which the *Fathers* of old ſo ſeverely rebuked in the *Pagans*, and which the *Papiſts* themſelves do Condemn, when their Caſuiſts pronounce it, *Peccatum mortale, provocare ad Æquales Calices, & Nefas Reſpondere*. Wherefore in his own moſt Hoſpitable Houſe he left it off; not out of any ſilly or ſtingy *Fancy*, but meerly that by his *Example* a greater *Temperance*, with *Liberty* of *Drinking*, might be Recommended, and ſundry *Inconveniences* in Drinking avoided; and his *Example* accordingly began to be much followed by the ſober People in *this Country*, as it now alſo begins to be among Perſons of the *Higheſt* Rank in the *Engliſh Nation* it ſelf; until an *Order of Court* came to be made againſt that *Ceremony* in Drinking, and then the *old Wont* violently returned, with a *Nitimur in Vetitum*.

§. 11. *Many were the Afflictions of this Righteous Man!* He loſt much of his Eſtate in a Ship, and in an *Houſe*, quickly after his coming to *New-England*, beſides the Prodigious Expence of it in the Difficulties of his firſt coming hither. Afterwards his aſſiduous Application unto the Publick *Affairs*, (wherein *Ipſe ſe non habuit, poſtquam Reſpublica eum Gubernatorem habere cœpit*) made him ſo much to neglect his own *private Intereſts*, that an *unjuſt Steward* ran him 2500 *l.* in Debt before he was aware; for the Payment whereof he was forced, many Years before his Deceaſe, to ſell the moſt of what he had left unto him in the Country. Albeit, by the obſervable Bleſſing of God upon the *Poſterity* of this *Liberal Man*, his Children all of them came to fair Eſtates, and lived in good Faſhion and Credit. Moreover, he ſucceſſively Buried Three *Wives*: the Firſt of which was the Daughter and Heireſs of Mr. *Forth*, of *Much Stambridge* in *Eſſex*, by whom he had *Wiſdom with an Inheritance*; and an excellent Son. The Second was the Daughter of Mr. *William Clopton*, of *London*, who Died with her Child, within a very little while. The Third was the Daughter of the truly Worſhipful Sir *John Tyndal*, who made it her whole Care to pleaſe, Firſt *God*, and then her *Husband*; and by whom he had Four Sons, which Survived and Honoured their Father. And unto all theſe, the Addition of the *Diſtempers*, ever now and then raiſed in the *Country*, procured unto him a very ſingular ſhare of Trouble; yea, ſo hard was the Meaſure which he found even among Pious Men, in the Temptations of a *Wilderneſs*, that when the *Thunder* and *Lightning* had ſmitten a *Wind-mill*, whereof he was Owner, ſome had *ſuch things in their Heads*, as publickly to Reproach this *Charitableſt* of Men, as if the *Voice of the Almighty* had rebuked, I know not what *Oppreſſion*, which they *judged* him Guilty of: Which things I would not have mentioned, but that the Inſtances may fortifie the Expectations of my *beſt Readers* for ſuch Afflictions.

§. 12. He that had been for his Attainments, as they ſaid of the bleſſed *Macarius*, a Παιδαριογέρων, *An old Man, while a young One*, and that had in his *young Days* met with many of thoſe *Ill Days*, whereof he could ſay, he had *little Pleaſure in them*; now found *old Age* in its Infirmities advancing *Earlier* upon him, than it came upon his much longer lived Progenitors. While he was yet Seven Years off of that which we call *the grand Climacterical*, he felt the Approaches of his *Diſſolution*; and finding he could ſay,

> *Non Habitus, non ipſe Color non Greſſus Euntis,*
> *Non Species Eadem, quæ fuit ante, manet.*

he then wrote this account of himſelf, *Age now comes upon me, and Infirmities therewithal, which makes me apprehend, that the time of my departure out of this World is not far off. However our times are all in the Lord's Hand, ſo as we need not trouble our Thoughts how long or ſhort they may be, but how we may be found Faithful when we are called for.* But at laſt when *that Year* came, he took a *Cold* which turned into a *Feaver*, whereof he lay *Sick* about a Month, and in that *Sickneſs*, as it hath been obſerved, that there was allowed unto the *Serpent* the *bruiſing of the Heel*; and accordingly at the *Heel* or the *Cloſe* of our Lives the *old Serpent* will be Nibbling more than ever in our Lives before; and when the Devil ſees that we ſhall ſhortly be, *where the wicked ceaſe from troubling*, that *wicked One* will *trouble* us more than ever; ſo this eminent Saint now underwent ſharp Conflicts with the *Tempter*, whoſe *Wrath* grew *Great*, as the *Time* to exert it grew *Short*; and he was Buffetted with the

the Diſconſolate Thoughts of Black and Sore *Deſertions*, wherein he could uſe that ſad Repreſentation of his own Condition.

Nuper Eram Judex; *Jam Judicor*; *Ante Tribunat,*
Subſiſtens paveo, Judicor ipſe modo.

But it was not long before thoſe *Clouds* were Diſpelled, and he enjoyed in his Holy Soul the *Great Conſolations of God!* While he thus lay *Ripening* for Heaven, he did out of Obedience unto the *Ordinance* of our Lord, ſend for the *Elders of the Church* to *Pray* with him; yea, they and the whole Church *Faſted* as well as *Prayed* for him; and in that *Faſt* the venerable *Cotton* Preached on *Pſal.* 35. 13, 14. *When they were Sick, I humbled my ſelf with Faſting; I behaved my ſelf as though he had been my Friend or Brother; I bowed down heavily, as one that Mourned for his Mother:* From whence I find him raiſing that Obſervation, *The Sickneſs of one that is to us as a Friend, a Brother, a Mother, is a juſt occaſion of deep humbling our Souls with Faſting and Prayer*; and making this Application, ‘Upon this Occaſion we are now to attend this Duty for a ‘*Governour*, who has been to us as a *Friend* in ‘his *Counſel* for all things, and *Help* for our ‘*Bodies* by *Phyſick*, for our *Eſtates* by *Law*, ‘and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an *Enemy*, like the *Friends* of *David*: ‘A *Governour* who has been unto us as a *Brother*; not uſurping *Authority* over the Church; ‘often ſpeaking his *Advice*, and often contradicted, even by Young Men, and ſome of ‘low degree; yet not replying, but offering Satisfaction alſo when any ſuppoſed Offences ‘have ariſen; a *Governour* who has been unto us as a *Mother*, Parent-like diſtributing ‘his *Goods* to Brethren and Neighbours at his ‘firſt coming; and *gently* bearing our *Infirmities* without taking notice of them.

Such a Governour after he had been more than *Ten* ſeveral times by the People choſen their *Governour*, was *New-England* now to loſe; who having, like *Jacob*, firſt left his *Council* and *Bleſſing* with his Children gathered about his Bed-ſide; and, like *David*, *ſerved his Generation by the Will of God*, he *gave up the Ghoſt*, and *fell aſleep* on *March* 26. 1649. Having, like the dying Emperour *Valentinian*, this above all his other *Victories* for his Triumphs, *His overcoming of himſelf.*

The Words of *Joſephus* about *Nehemiah*, the Governour of *Iſrael*, we will now uſe upon this Governour of *New-England*, as his

EPITAPH.

Ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο χρηςὸς τὴν φύσιν, ϗ δίκαιος,
Καὶ περὶ τὰς ὁμοεθνεῖς φιλοτιμότατ☉:
Μνημεῖον αἰώνιον αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν τὰ τῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων τείχη·

VIR FUIT INDOLE BONUS, AC JUSTUS:
ET POPULARIUM GLORIÆ AMANTISSIMUS:
QUIBUS ETERNUM RELIQUIT MONUMENTUM,
Novanglorum MOENIA.

CHAP. V.

SUCCESSORS.

§. 1. ONE as well acquainted with the Matter, as *Iſocrates*, informs us, That among the *Judges* of *Areopagus* none were admitted, πλὴν οἱ καλῶς γέγονότες, ϗ πολλὴν ἀρετὴν ϗ σωφροσύνην ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐνδεδειγμένοι, *unleſs they were Nobly Born, and Eminently Exemplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life.* The Report may be truly made concerning the *Judges* of *New-England*, tho' they were not *Nobly Born*, yet they were generally *Well Born*; and by being *Eminently Exemplary for a Virtuous and a Sober Life*, gave Demonſtration that they were *New-born.* Some Account of them is now more particularly to be Endeavoured.

We read concerning *Saul*, [1 Sam. 15. 12.] *He ſet up himſelf a place.* The Hebrew Word, יָד there uſed, ſignifies *A Monumental Pillar.* It is accordingly promiſed unto them who *pleaſe God*, [Iſa. 56. 5.] *That they ſhall have a Place and a Name in the Houſe of God*; that is to ſay, a *Pillar* Erected for *Fame* in the Church of God. And it ſhall be fulfilled in what ſhall now be done for our *Governours* in this our *Church-Hiſtory.* Even while the *Maſſachuſettenſians* had a *Winthrop* for their *Governour*, they could not reſtrain the Channel of their *Affections* from running towards another Gentleman in their *Elections* for the Year 1634. particularly, when they choſe unto the Place of *Governour Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; one whom after the Death of the Gentleman abovementioned, they again and again Voted into the Chief Place of Government. He was Born at the Town of *Northampton*, in the Year 1574. the only Son of Captain *Roger Dudley*, who being Slain in the Wars, left this our *Thomas*, with his only Siſter, for the *Father of the Orphans*, to *take them up.* In the Family of the Earl of *Northampton* he had opportunity perfectly to learn the Points of *Good Behaviour*; and here having fitted himſelf to do many other Benefits unto the World, he next became a *Clerk* unto Judge *Nichols*, who being his Kinſman by the Mother's Side, therefore took the more ſpecial notice of him. From his Relation to this *Judge*, he had and uſed an Advantage to attain ſuch a Skill in

the

the *Law*, as was of great Advantage to him in the future changes of his Life; and the *Judge* would have preferred him unto the higher Imployments, whereto his prompt *Wit* not a little recommended him, if he had not been by Death prevented. But before he could appear to do much at the *Pen*, for which he was very well Accompliſhed, he was called upon to do ſomething at the *Sword*; for being a Young Gentlemen well-known for his Ingenuity, Courage and Conduct, when there were Soldiers to be raiſed by Order from Queen *Elizabeth* for the *French* Service, in the time of King *Henry* the Fourth, the Young Sparks about *Northampton* were none of them willing to enter into the Service, until a *Commiſſion* was given unto our Young *Dudley* to be their *Captain*; and then preſently there were *Fourſcore* that Liſted under him. At the Head of theſe he went over into the Low Countries, which was then an *Academy* of *Arms*, as well as *Arts*; and thus he came to furniſh himſelf with Endowments for the *Field*, as well as for the *Bench*. The Poſt aſſigned unto him with his Company, was after at the Siege of *Amiens*, before which the *King* himſelf was now Encamped; but the Providence of God ſo Ordered it, that when both Parties were drawn forth in Order to Battel, a Treaty of *Peace* was vigorouſly ſet on Foot, which diverted the Battel that was expected. Captain *Dudley* hereupon returned into *England*, and ſettling himſelf about *Northampton*, he Married a Gentlewoman whoſe Extract and Eſtate were Conſiderable; and the Scituation of his Habitation after this helped him to enjoy the Miniſtry of Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Cleaver*, Mr. *Winſton*, and Mr. *Hilderſham*, all of them Excellent and Renowned Men; which *Puritan Miniſtry* ſo ſeaſoned his Heart with a Senſe of Religion, that he was a Devout and Serious Chriſtian, and a Follower of the Miniſters that moſt effectually Preached *Real Chriſtianity* all the reſt of his Days. The Spirit of *Real Chriſtianity* in him now alſo diſpoſed him unto *Sober Non-Conformity*; and from this time, although none more hated the *Fanaticiſms* and *Enthuſiaſms* of Wild *Opinioniſts*, he became a *Judicious Diſſenter* from the *Unſcriptural Ceremonies* retained in the Church of *England*. It was not long after this that the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Compton*, and other Perſons of Quality, made ſuch Obſervations of him, as to commend him unto the Service of the Earl of *Lincoln*, who was then a Young Man, and newly come unto the Poſſeſſion of his *Earldom*, and of what belonged thereunto. The Grandfather of this Noble Perſon had left his Heirs under vaſt Entanglements, out of which his Father was never able to Extricate himſelf; ſo that the Difficulties and Incumbrances were now devolved upon this *Theophilus*, which cauſed him to apply himſelf unto this our *Dudley* for his Aſſiſtances, who proved ſo Able, and Careful, and Faithful a *Steward* unto him, that within a little while the *Debts* of near Twenty Thouſand Pounds, whereinto the *Young Earl* found himſelf deſperately Ingulphed, were happily waded through; and by his Means alſo a *Match* was procured between the *Young Earl* and the Daughter of the Lord *Say*, who proved a moſt Virtuous Lady, and a great Bleſſing to the whole Family. But the Earl finding Mr. *Dudley* to be a Perſon of more than ordinary Diſcretion, he would rarely, if ever, do any Matter of any Moment without his Advice; but ſome into whoſe Hands there fell ſome of his Manuſcripts after his leaving of the Earl's Family, found a Paſſage to this purpoſe. *The Eſtate of the Earl of* Lincoln, *I found ſo, and ſo, much in Debt, which I have diſcharged, and have raiſed the Rents unto ſo many Hundreds* Per Annum; *God will, I truſt, bleſs me and mine in ſuch a manner. I can, as ſometimes* Nehemiah *did, appeal unto God, who knows the Hearts of all Men, that I have with Integrity diſcharged the Duty of my Place before him.*

I had prepared and intended a more *particular Account* of this Gentleman; but not having any opportunity to commit it unto the *Peruſal* of any Deſcended from him, (unto whom I am told it will be unacceptable for me to Publiſh any thing of this kind, by *them* not *Peruſed*) I have laid it aſide, and ſummed all up in this more *General Account.*

It was about Nine or Ten Years, that Mr. *Dudley* continued a *Steward* unto the Earl of *Lincoln*; but then growing deſirous of a more private Life, he retired unto *Boſton*, where the Acquaintance and Miniſtry of Mr. *Cotton* became no little Satisfaction unto him. Nevertheleſs the Earl of *Lincoln* found that he could be no more without Mr. *Dudley*, than *Pharaoh* without his *Joſeph*, and prevailed with him to reſume his former Employment, until the Storm of Perſecution upon the *Non-Conformiſts* cauſed many Men of great Worth to Tranſport themſelves into *New-England.* Mr. *Dudley* was not the leaſt of the Worthy Men that bore a part in this Tranſportation, in hopes that in an *American* Wilderneſs they might peaceably attend and enjoy the pure Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. When the firſt Undertakers for that Plantation came to know him, they ſoon ſaw *that* in him, that cauſed them to chuſe him their *Deputy-Governour*, in which Capacity he arrived unto theſe Coaſts in the Year 1630. and had no ſmall ſhare in the Diſtreſſes of that Young Plantation, whereof an account by him written to the Counteſs of *Lincoln* has been ſince Publiſhed unto the World. Here his *Wiſdom* in managing the moſt weighty and thorny Affairs was often ſignalized: His *Juſtice* was a perpetual Terror to Evil Doers: His *Courage* procured his being the firſt *Major-General* of the Colony, when they began to put themſelves into a *Military Figure.* His *Orthodox Piety* had no little Influence into the Deliverance of the Country, from the Contagion of the *Famaliſtical Errors*, which had like to have overturned all. He dwelt firſt at *Cambridge*:

bridge; but upon Mr. *Hooker*'s removal to *Hartford*, he removed to *Ipſwich*; nevertheleſs, upon the Importunity and Neceſſity of the Government for his coming to dwell nearer the Center of the whole, he fixed his Habitation at *Roxbury*, Two Miles out of *Boſton*, where he was always at Hand upon the Publick Exigencies. Here he died, *July* 31. 1653. in the Seventy-Seventh Year of his Age; and there were found after his Death, in his Pocket, theſe Lines of his own Compoſing, which may ſerve to make up what may be wanting in the Character already given him.

Dim Eyes, Deaf Ears, Cold Stomach, ſhew
My Diſſolution is in View.
Eleven times Seven near liv'd have I,
And now God calls, I willing Die.
My Shuttle's ſhot, my Race is run,
My Sun is ſet, my Day is done.
My Span is meaſur'd, Tale is told,
My Flower is faded, and grown old.
My Dream is vaniſh'd, Shadow's fled,
My Soul with Chriſt, my Body Dead.
Farewel Dear Wife, Children and Friends,
Hate Hereſie, make Bleſſed Ends.
Bear Poverty, live with good Men;
So ſhall we live with Joy agen.
Let Men of God in Courts and Churches watch
O're ſuch as do a Toleration *hatch,*
Leſt that Ill Egg bring forth a Cockatrice,
To poiſon all with Hereſie and Vice.
If Men be left, and otherwiſe Combine,
My Epitaph'*s*, **I Dy'd no Libertine.**

But when I mention the *Poetry* of this Gentleman as one of his Accompliſhments, I muſt not leave unmentioned the Fame with which the *Poems* of one deſcended from him have been Celebrated in both *Englands*. If the rare Learning of a *Daughter*, was not the leaſt of thoſe bright things that adorn'd no leſs a Judge of *England* than Sir *Thomas More*; it muſt now be ſaid, that a Judge of *New-England*, namely, *Thomas Dudley*, Eſq; had a *Daughter* (beſides other Children) to be a *Crown* unto him. Reader, *America* juſtly admires the Learned Women of the other *Hemiſphere*. She has heard of thoſe that were *Tutoreſſes* to the Old Profeſſors of all Philoſophy: She hath heard of *Hippatia*, who formerly taught the Liberal Arts; and of *Sarocchia*, who more lately was very often the Moderatrix in the Diſputations of the Learned Men of *Rome*: She has been told of the Three *Corinnæ*'s, which equall'd, if not excell'd, the moſt Celebrated *Poets* of their Time. She has been told of the Empreſs *Endocia*, who Compoſed Poetical Paraphraſes on Divers Parts of the *Bible*; and of *Roſuida*, who wrote the *Lives* of Holy Men; and of *Pamphilia*, who wrote other Hiſtories unto the Life: The Writings of the moſt Renowned *Anna Maria Schurnian*, have come over unto her. But ſhe now prays, that into ſuch Catalogues of *Authoreſſes*, as *Beverovicius*, *Hottinger*, and *Voetius*, have given unto the World, there may be a room now given unto Madam **Ann Bradſtreet,** the Daughter of our Governour *Dudley*, and the Conſort of our Governour *Bradſtreet*, whoſe *Poems*, divers times Printed, have afforded a grateful Entertainment unto the Ingenious, and a Monument for her Memory beyond the Stateliеſt *Marbles*. It was upon theſe *Poems* that an Ingenious Perſon beſtowed this *Epigram*:

Now I believe Tradition, *which doth call*
The Muſes, Virtues, Graces, Females *all.*
Only they are not Nine, Eleven, *or* Three;
Our Auth'reſs *proves them but an* Unity.
Mankind, *take up ſome Bluſhes on the ſcore*;
Monopolize Perfection *hence no more.*
In your own Arts confeſs your ſelves outdone;
The Moon *hath totally Eclips'd the* Sun:
Not with her Sable Mantle muffling him,
But her bright Silver *makes his* Gold *look dim*:
Juſt as his Beams force our pale Lamps to wink,
And Earthly Fires *within their Aſhes ſhrink.*

What elſe might be ſaid of Mr. *Dudley*, the Reader ſhall Conſtrue from the Enſuing

EPITAPH.

Helluo Librorum, Lectorum Bibliotheca
Communis, Sacræ Syllabus Hiſtoriæ.
Ad Menſam Comes, hinc facundus, Roſtra diſertus,
(Non Cumulus verbis, pondus, Acumen erat,)
Morum acris Cenſor, validus Defenſor amanſq;
Et Sanæ & Canæ Catholicæ fidei.
Angli-novi Columen, Summum Decus atq; Senatus;
Thomas Dudleius, *conditur hoc Tumulo.* E. R.

§. 2. In the Year 1635. at the Anniverſary Election, the Freemen of the Colony teſtified their grateful Eſteem of Mr. *John Haines*, a Worthy Gentleman, who had been very Serviceable to the Intereſts of the Colony, by chuſing him their *Governour*. Of him in an Ancient Manuſcript I find this Teſtimony given; *To him is* New-England *many ways beholden; had he done no more but ſtilled a Storm of Diſſention, which broke forth in the beginning of his Government; he had done enough to Endear our Hearts unto him, and to account that Day happy when he took the Reins of Government into his Hands.* But this Pious, Humble, Well-bred Gentleman, removing afterwards into *Connecticut*, he took his turn with Mr. *Edward Hopkins*, in being every other Year the *Governour* of that Colony. And as he was a great Friend of *Peace* while he lived, ſo at his Death he entred into that *Peace* which attends the End of the *perfect* and *upright* Man, leaving behind him the Character ſometimes given of a *Greater*, tho' not a *Better*,

Man, [*Veſpaſian*] *Bonis Legibus multa correxit. ſed exemplo probæ vitæ plus effecit apud populum.*

§. 3. Near Twenty Ships from *Europe* viſited *New-England* in the Year 1635. and in one of them was Mr. *Henry Vane*, (afterward Sir *Henry Vane*) an Accompliſhed Young Gentleman, whoſe Father was much againſt his coming to *New-England*; but the King, upon Information of his Diſpoſition, commanded him to allow his Son's Voyage hither, with a Conſent for his continuing Three Years in this Part of the World. Although his Buſineſs had ſome Relation to the Plantation of *Connecticut*, yet in the Year 1636. the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony choſe him their *Governour*. And now, Reader, I am as much a *Seeker* for his *Character*, as many have taken him to be a *Seeker* in *Religion*, while no leſs Perſons than Dr. *Manton* have not been to *ſeek* for the *Cenſure* of *A Wicked Book*, with which they have noted the *Myſtical Divinity*, in the Book of this Knight, Entituled, *The Retired Man's Meditations*. There has been a ſtrange variety of Tranſlations beſtowed upon the *Hebrew Names* of ſome *Animals* mentioned in the *Bible*: *Kippod*, for Inſtance, which we tranſlate a *Bittern*; R. *Salomon* will have to be an *Owl*, but *Luther* will have it be an *Eagle*, while *Paynin* will have it be an *Hedg-hog*, but *R. Kimchi* will have it a *Snail*; ſuch a Variety of Opinions and Reſentments has the *Name* of this Gentleman fallen under; while ſome have counted him an Eminent *Chriſtian*, and others have counted him almoſt an *Heretick*; ſome have counted him a Renowned *Patriot*, and others an Infamous *Traitor*. If *Barak* ſignifie both to *Bleſs* and to *Curſe*; and Εὐλογεῖν be of the ſame Significancy with Βλασφημεῖν, in ſuch Philology as that of *Suidas* and *Heſychius*; the Uſage which the *Memory* of this Gentleman has met withal, ſeems to have been Accommodated unto that *Indifferency* of Signification in the Terms for ſuch an Uſage.

On the one ſide, I find an Old *New-Engliſh* Manuſcript thus reflecting, *His Election will remain as a Blemiſh to their Judgments who did Elect him, while* New-England *remains a Nation; for he coming from* Old-England, *a Young Unexperienced Gentleman, (and as young in Judgment as he was in Years) by the Induſtry of ſome that could do much, and thought by him to play their own Game, was preſently Elected Governour; and before he was ſcarce warm in his Seat, began to Broach New Tenets; and theſe were agitated with as much Violence, as if the Welfare of* New-England *muſt have been Sacrificed rather than theſe not take place. But the Wiſdom of the State put a Period to his Government; neceſſity cauſed them to undo the Works of their own Hands, and leave us a Caveat, that all good Men are not fit for Government.* But on the other ſide, the Hiſtorian who has Printed *The Trial of Sir* Henry Vane, *Knt. at the* King's Bench, Weſtminſter, June 2. *and* 6. 1662. *with other occaſional Speeches; alſo his Speech and Prayer on the Scaffold*, has given us in him the Picture of nothing leſs than an *Heroe*. He ſeems indeed by that Story to have ſuffered *Hardly* enough, but no Man can deny that he ſuffered *Bravely*: the *Engliſh* Nation has not often ſeen more of *Roman*, (and indeed more than *Roman*) Gallantry, out-facing *Death* in the moſt *pompous Terrors* of it. A great Royaliſt, preſent, at his Decollation, ſwore, *He died like a Prince*: He could ſay, *I bleſs the Lord I am ſo far from being affrighted at Death, that I find it rather ſhrink from me, than I from it!* He could ſay, *Ten Thouſand Deaths rather than Defile my Conſcience; the Chaſtity and Purity of which I value beyond all this World; I would not for Ten Thouſand Worlds part with the Peace and Satiſfaction I have in my own Heart.* When mention was made of the Difficult Proceeding againſt him, all his reply was, *Alas, what a Do do they keep to make a poor Creature like his Saviour!* On the Scaffold they did, by the Blaſt of Trumpets in his Face, with much Incivility, hinder him from ſpeaking what he intended; which Incivility he aforehand ſuſpecting, committed a true Copy of it unto a Friend before his going thither; the laſt Words whereof were theſe, *As my laſt Words I leave this with you, That as the Preſent Storm we now lye under, and the dark Clouds that yet hang over the Reformed Churches of Chriſt, (which are coming thicker and thicker for a Seaſon) were not unforeſeen by me for many Years paſt; (as ſome Writings of mine declare) ſo the coming of Chriſt in theſe Clouds, in Order to a ſpeedy and ſudden revival of his Cauſe, and ſpreading his Kingdom over the Face of the whole Earth, is moſt clear to the Eye of my Faith, even that Faith in which I Die.* His Execution was *June* 14. 1662. about the Fiftieth Year of his Age.

§. 4. After the Death of Mr. *Dudley*, the Notice and Reſpect of the Colony fell chiefly on Mr. *John Endicot*, who after many Services done for the Colony, even before it was yet a *Colony*, as well as when he ſaw it grown into a *Populous Nation*, under his Prudent and Equal Government, expired in a good Old Age, and was Honourably Interr'd at *Boſton*, *March* 23. 1665.

The Gentleman that ſucceeded Mr. *Endicot*, was Mr. *Richard Bellingham*, one who was bred a *Lawyer*, and one who lived beyond Eighty, well eſteemed for his laudable Qualities; but as the *Thebans* made the Statues of their Magiſtrates *without Hands*, importing that they muſt be no *Takers*; in this faſhion muſt be formed the *Statue* for this Gentleman; for among all his Virtues, he was noted for none more, than for his notable and perpetual hatred of a *Bribe*, which gave him, with his Country, the Reputation of Old Claimed by *Pericles*, to be, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων. *Civitatis Amans, & ad pecunias Invictus.* And as he never *took* any from any one *living*; ſo he neither could nor would have

have *given* any to *Death*; but in the latter end of the Year 1672. he had his *Soul gathered not with Sinners, whoſe Right Hand is full of Bribes*, but with ſuch as *walk in their uprightneſs*.

The Gentleman that ſucceeded Mr. *Bellingham*, was Mr. *John Leveret*, one to whom the Affections of the Freemen were ſignalized, in his quick advances through the leſſer Stages of Office and Honour unto the higheſt in the Country; and one whoſe *Courage* had been as much Recommended by Martial Actions abroad in his Younger Years, as his *Wiſdom* and *Juſtice* were now at Home in his Elder. The *Anniverſary Election* conſtantly kept him at the Helm from the time of his firſt Sitting there, until *March* 16. 1678. when *Mortality* having firſt put him on ſevere *Trials* of his *Paſſive-Courage*, (much more difficult than the *Active*) in pains of the *Stone*, releaſed him.

Pater Patriæ: *Or, The* LIFE *of* SIMON BRADSTREET, *Eſq*;

-----Extinctus amabitur idem.

THE Gentleman that ſucceeded Mr. *Leveret*, was Mr. *Simon Bradſtreet*, the Son of a Miniſter in *Lincolnſhire*, who was always a *Non-Conformiſt* at home, as well as when Preacher at *Middleburgh* abroad. Him the *New-Englanders* in their Addreſſes full of profound Reſpects unto him, have with good reaſon called, *The venerable* Mordecai *of his Country*. He was born at *Horbling*, *March* 1603. His Father (who was the Son of a *Suffolk* Gentleman of a fine Eſtate) was one of the Firſt Fellows in *Immanuel*-Colledge, under Dr. *Chaderton*, and one afterwards highly eſteemed by Mr. *Cotton*, and by Dr. *Preſton*. Our *Bradſtreet* was brought up at the Grammar-School, until he was about Fourteen Years Old; and then the Death of his Father put a ſtop for the preſent unto the Deſigns of his further Education. But according to the *Faith* of his Dying Father, that *he ſhould be well provided for*, he was within Two or Three Years after this taken into the Religious Family of the Earl of *Lincoln*, (the beſt Family of any Nobleman then in *England*,) where he ſpent about Eight Years under the Direction of Mr. *Thomas Dudley*, ſuſtaining ſucceſſively divers Offices. Dr. *Preſton* then (who had been my Lord's Tutor) moved my Lord, that Mr. *Bradſtreet* might have their permiſſion to come unto *Immanuel* Colledge, in the Capacity of Governour to the Lord *Rich*, the Son of the Earl of *Warwick*; which they granting, he went with the Doctor to *Cambridge*, who provided a Chamber for him, with Advice that he ſhould apply himſelf to Study until my Lord's Arrival. But he afterwards in a Writing of his, now in my Hands, made this humble Complaint; *I met with many Obſtacles to my Study in* Cambridge; *the Earl of* Lincoln *had a Brother there, who often called me forth upon Paſtimes. Divers Maſters of Art, and other Scholars alſo, conſtantly met, where we ſpent moſt part of the Afternoons many times in Diſcourſe to little purpoſe or profit; but that ſeemed an eaſie and pleaſant Life then, which too late I repented.* My Lord *Rich* not coming to the Univerſity, Mr. *Bradſtreet* returned after a Year to the Earl of *Lincolns*; and Mr. *Dudley* then removing to *Boſton*, his Place of *Steward* unto the Earl was conferred on Mr. *Bradſtreet*. Afterwards he with much ado obtained the Earl's leave to Anſwer the Deſires of the Aged and Pious Counteſs of *Warwick*, that he would accept the *Stewardſhip* of her Noble Family, which as the former he diſcharged with an Exemplary Diſcretion and Fidelity. Here he Married the Daughter of Mr. *Dudley*, by whoſe perſwaſion he came in Company with him to *New-England*, where he ſpent all the reſt of his Days, Honourably ſerving his Generation. It was counted a ſingular Favour of Heaven unto *Richard Chamond*, Eſq; one of *England*'s *Worthies*, that he was a *Juſtice of Peace* near Threeſcore Years; but of *Simon Bradſtreet*, Eſq; one of *New-England's Worthies*, there can more than this be ſaid; for he was choſen a *Magiſtrate* of *New-England* before *New-England* it ſelf came into *New-England*; even in their firſt great Voyage thither *Anno* 1630. and ſo he continued annually choſen; ſometimes alſo their *Secretary*, and at laſt their *Governour*, until the Colony had a ſhare in the general Shipwrack of *Charters*, which the Reign of King *Charles* II. brought upon the whole *Engliſh* Nation. Mr. *Joſeph Dudley* was placed, *Anno* 1685. as *Preſident* over the Territory for a few Months, when the *Judgment* that was entred againſt the *Charter* gave unto the late King *James* II. an opportunity to make what Alterations he pleaſed upon the Order of things, under which the Country had ſo long been Flouriſhing. But when the ſhort *Preſidentſhip* of that *New-Engliſh* and well Acccompliſhed Gentleman, the Son of Mr. *Thomas Dudley* abovementioned, was expired, I am not in a Diſpoſition here to relate what was the Condition of the Colony, until the *Revolution* whereto their Condition compell'd them. Only I have ſometimes, not without Amazement, thought of the Repreſentation which a Celebrated *Magician* made unto *Catherine de Medicis*, the *French* Queen, whoſe Impious Curioſity led her to deſire of him a *Magical Exhibition* of all the Kings that had hitherto Reigned in *France*, and yet were to Reign. The Shapes of all the Kings, even unto the

Husband of that Queen ſucceſſively ſhowed themſelves, in the *Enchanted Circle*, in which that Conjurer had made his Invocations, and they took as many *Turns* as there had been Years in their Government. The Kings that were to come, did then in like manner ſucceſſively come upon the Stage, namely, *Francis* II. *Charles* IX. *Henry* III. *Henry* IV. which being done, then Two Cardinals, *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, in Red Hats, became viſible in the Spectacle: But after thoſe Cardinals, there entred **Wolves, Bears, Tygers,** and **Lions,** to conſummate the Entertainment. If the People of *New-England* had not Imagined, that a Number of as *Rapacious Animals* were at laſt come into their Government, I ſuppoſe they would not have made ſuch a *Revolution* as they did, on *April* 18. 1689. in conformity to the Pattern which the *Engliſh Nation* was then ſetting before them. Nevertheleſs, I have nothing in this Paragraph of our Hiſtory to Report of it, but that Mr. *Bradſtreet* was at this time alive; whoſe Paternal Compaſſions for a Country, thus remarkably *his own*, would not permit him to decline his Return unto his former *Seat* in the Government, upon the Unanimous Invitation of the People thereunto. It was a Remark then generally made upon him, *That though he were then well towards Ninety Years of Age, his intellectual force was hardly abated, but he retained a Vigour and Wiſdom that would have recommended a younger Man to the Government of a greater Colony.* And the wonderful Difficulties, through which the Colony under his diſcreet Conduct waded, until the Arrival of his Excellency, Sir *William Phips*; with a Commiſſion for the Government, and a *New Charter* in the Year 1692. gave a Remarkable *Demonſtration* of it. Yea, this Honourable *Neſtor* of *New-England*, in the Year 1696. was yet alive; and as *Georgius Leontinus*, who lived until he was an Hundred and Eight Years of Age, being asked by what means he attained unto ſuch an Age, anſwered, *By my not Living Voluptuouſly*; thus this excellent Perſon attained his good old Age, in part, *By Living very Temperately*. And the *New-Englanders* would have counted it their Satisfaction, if like *Arganthonius*, who had been Fourſcore Years the Governour of the *Tarteſſians*, he might have lived unto the Age of an Hundred and Twenty; or, even unto the Age of *Johannes de Temporibus*, who was Knighted by the Emperour *Charlemaign*, and yet was Living till the Emperour *Conrade*, and ſaw, they ſay, no fewer Years than *Three Hundred Threeſcore and One*. Though, *To be Diſſolved and be with Chriſt*, was the Satisfaction which this our *Macrobius* himſelf was with a weary Soul now waiting and longing for; and Chriſt at length granted it unto him, on *March* 27, 1697. *Then* it was, that one of the oldeſt Servants that God and the King had upon Earth, drew his *Laſt*, in the very place where he drew his *Firſt*, *American* Breath. He Died at *Salem*, in a Troubleſome Time, and entred into everlaſting Peace. And in Imitation of what the Roman Orator ſaid upon the Death of *Craſſus*, I will venture to ſay, *Fuit hoc, luctuoſum ſuis, Acerbum Patriæ, Grave Bonis Omnibus: Sed ii tamen Rempublicam caſus Secuti ſunt, ut mihi non Erepta* Bradſtreeto *Vita, ſed donata mors eſſe videatur.*

The Epitaph on that famous Lawyer, *Simon Piſtorius*, we will now Employ for this Eminently Prudent and Upright Adminiſtrator of our *Laws*.

EPITAPH.

SIMON BRADSTREET.

Quod Mortale fuit, Tellus tenet; Inclyta Fama
Nominis haud ullo ſtat violanda Die.

And Add,

Extinctum luget quem tota Nov-Anglia Patrem,
O Quantum Claudit parvula Terra Virum!

CHAP. VI.

בעלי נפש Id eſt, Viri Animati: *Or, ASSISTANTS.*

THE Freemen of *New-England* had a great variety of Worthy Men, among whom they might pick and chuſe a Number of MAGISTRATES to be the *Aſſiſtants* of their GOVERNOURS, both in directing the General Affairs of the Land, and in diſpenſing of Juſtice unto the People. But they wiſely made few Alterations in their Annual *Elections*; and they thereby ſhew'd their Satisfaction in the wiſe and good Conduct of thoſe whom they had *Elected*. If they called ſome few of their *Magiſtrates* from the *Plough* to the *Bench*, ſo the Old *Romans* did ſome of their *Dictators*; yea, the greateſt Kings in the World once carried *Plough-ſhares* on the top of their *Scepters*. However, the Inhabitants of *New-England* never were ſo unhappy as the Inhabitants of *Norcia*, a Town ſcarce Ten Leagues from *Rome*; where they do at this Day chuſe their own *Magiſtrates*, but uſe an exact Care, *That no Man who is able to Write, or to Read, ſhall be capable of any ſhare in the Government*. The Magiſtrates of *New-England* have been of a better Education. Indeed, ſeveral deſerving Perſons, who were joined as *Aſſociates* and *Commiſſioners* unto theſe, for the more effectual Execution of the Laws in ſome *Emergencies*, cannot be brought into our *Catalogue*; but the *Names* of all our *Magiſtrates*, with the *Times* when I find their firſt Advancement unto that Character, are theſe.

MA-

MAGISTRATES of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony.

John Winthrop, Gov.	
Thomas Dudley, Deputy Gov.	
Matthew Cradock,	1629
Thomas Goff,	1629
Sir *Richard Saltonſtal*,	1629
Iſaac Johnſon,	1629
Samuel Alderſley,	1629
John Venn,	1629
John Humfrey,	1629
Simon Whercomb,	1629
Increaſe Nowel,	1629
Richard Perry,	1629
Nathanael Wright,	1629
Samuel Vaſſal,	1629
Theophilus Eaton,	1629
Thomas Adams,	1629
Thomas Hutchins,	1629
George Foxcroft,	1629
William Vaſſal,	1629
William Pinchon,	1629
John Pocock,	1629
Chriſtopher Cowlſon,	1629
William Coddington,	1629
Simon Bradſtreet,	1629
Thomas Sharp,	1629
Roger Ludlow,	1630
Edward Roſſiter,	1630
John Endicot,	1630
John Winthrop, Jun.	1632
John Haines,	1634
Richard Billingham,	1635
Atterton Hough,	1635
Richard Dummer,	1635
Henry Vane,	1636
Roger Hartackenden,	1636
Iſrael Stoughton,	1637
Richard Saltonſtal,	1637
Thomas Flint,	1643
Samuel Symons,	1643
William Hibbons,	1643
William Tynge,	1643
Herbert Pelham,	1645
Robert Bridges,	1647
Francis Willoughby,	1650
Thomas Wiggan,	1650
Edward Gibbons,	1650
John Glover,	1652
Daniel Gookin,	1652
Daniel Deniſon,	1654
Simon Willard,	1654
Humphrey Atherton,	1654
Richard Ruſſel,	1659
Thomas Danforth,	1659
William Hawthorn,	1662
Eleazer Luſher,	1662
John Leveret,	1665
John Pinchon,	1665
Edward Tyng,	1668
William Stoughton,	1671
Thomas Clark,	1673
Joſeph Dudley,	1676
Peter Bulkley,	1677
Nathanael Saltonſtal,	1679
Humphrey Davy,	1679
James Ruſſel,	1680
Samuel Nowel,	1680
Peter Tilton,	1680
John Richards,	1680
John Hull,	1680
Bartholomew Gidney,	1680
Thomas Savage,	1680
William Brown,	1680
Samuel Appleton,	1681
Robert Pike,	1682
Daniel Fiſher,	1683
John Woodbridge,	1683
Eliſha Cook,	1684
William Johnſon,	1684
John Hawthorn,	1684
Eliſha Hutchinſon,	1684
Samuel Sewal,	1684
Iſaac Addington,	1686
John Smith,	1686

Major-Generals of the Military Forces in the Colony, ſucceſsfully choſen.

Thomas Dudley.
John Endicot.
Edward Gibbons.
Robert Sedgwick.
Humfry Atherton.
Daniel Deniſon.
John Leveret.
Daniel Gookin.

Secretaries of the Colony, ſucceſsfully choſen.

William Burgis.
Simon Bradſtreet.
Increaſe Nowel.
Edward Rawſon.

That theſe *Names* are proper and worthy to be found in our *Church-Hiſtory*, will be acknowledged, when it is conſidered, not only that they were the *Members of Congregational Churches*, and by the *Members* of the *Churches* choſen to be the *Rulers* of the *Commonwealth*; and that their exemplary Behaviour in their *Magiſtracy* was generally ſuch as to *adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour*, and according to the Old *Jewiſh* Wiſhes, *prohibitum eſt Homini, inſtar principis Dominari ſuper populum, & cum elatione Spiritus, ſed,* בענוה ויראה *cum manſuetudine ac Timore:* But alſo that their Love to, and Zeal for, and Care of theſe *Churches*, was not the leaſt part of their Character.

The Inſtances of their Concern for the Welfare of the *Churches* were innumerable. I will ſingle out but one from the reſt, becauſe of ſome Singular Subſerviency to the Deſigns of our *Church-Hiſtory*, therein to be propos'd. I'll do it only by Tranſcribing an Inſtrument, publiſhed *Anno* 1668. in ſuch Terms as theſe.

To

To the Elders and Miniſters of every Town within the Juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſets *in* New-England, *the Governour and Council ſendeth Greeting.*

Reverend and Beloved in the Lord,

‘WE find in the Examples of Holy Scripture, that *Magiſtrates* have not only excited and commanded all the People under their Government, *to ſeek the Lord God of their Fathers, and do the Law and Commandment*, (2. Chron. 14. 2, 3, 4. Ezra 7. 25, 26, 27.) but alſo ſtirred up and ſent forth the *Levites*, accompanied with other Principal Men, to *Teach the good Knowledge of the Lord throughout all the Cities*, (2. Chron. 17. 6, 7, 8, 9.) which Endeavours have been Crowned with the Bleſſing of God.

‘Alſo we find that our Brethren of the *Congregational* Perſwaſion in *England*, have made a good Profeſſion in their Book, Entituled, *A Declaration of their Faith and Order*, (Page 59. Sect. 14.) where they ſay, *That altho' Paſtors and Teachers ſtand eſpecially related unto their particular Churches, yet they ought not to neglect others Living within their Parochial Bounds; but beſides their conſtant publick Preaching to them, they ought to enquire after their profiting by the Word, Inſtructing them in, and Preſſing upon them, (whether Young or Old) the great Doctrines of the Goſpel, even perſonally and particularly, ſo far as their Strength and Time will permit.*

‘We hope that ſundry of you need not a *Spur* in theſe things, but are conſcienciouſly careful to do your Duty. Yet, foraſmuch as we have cauſe to fear that there is too much Neglect in many places, notwithſtanding the *Laws* long ſince provided therein, we do therefore think it our Duty to emit this *Declaration* unto you, earneſtly Deſiring, and, in the Bowels of our Lord Jeſus, requiring you to be very Diligent and Careful to *Catechiſe* and Inſtruct all People (eſpecially the *Youth*) under your Charge, in the ſound Principles of Chriſtian Religion; and that not only in *Publick*, but privately *from Houſe to Houſe*, as Bleſſed *Paul* did; (*Act.* 20. 20.) or at leaſt, Three, Four, or more Families meeting together, as Time and Strength may permit; taking to your Aſſiſtance ſuch godly and grave Perſons as to you may ſeem moſt expedient: And alſo that you Labour to Inform your ſelves (as much as may be meet) how your Hearers do profit by the Word of God, and how their Converſations do agree therewith; and whether the Youth are Taught to Read the *Engliſh* Tongue: Taking all occaſions to apply ſuitable *Exhortations* particularly unto them, for *the Rebuke of thoſe that do evil, and the Encouragement of them that do well.*

‘The effectual and conſtant Proſecution hereof, we hope will have a Tendency to promote the *Salvation of Souls*; to ſuppreſs the Growth of *Sin* and Profaneneſs; to beget more Love and *Unity* among the People, and more *Reverence* and Eſteem of the *Miniſtry*: And it will aſſuredly be to the enlargement of your *Crown*, and Recompence in *Eternal Glory.*

Given at Boſton, *the* 10th *of* March, 1668. *by the Governour and Council, and by them Ordered to be Printed, and ſent accordingly.*

Edward Rawſon, *Secret.*

CHAP. VII.

Publicola Chriſtianus. *The* LIFE *of* EDWARD HOPKINS, *Eſq; Governour of* CONNECTICUT-*COLONY*.

Superiores ſint, qui ſuperiores eſſe ſciunt.

§. 1. WHEN the Great God of Heaven had carried his *Peculiar People* into a *Wilderneſs*, the *Theocracy*, wherein he became (as he was for *that Reaſon* ſtiled) *The Lord of Hoſts*, unto them and the *Four* Squadrons of their *Army*, was moſt eminently diſplay'd in *his* Enacting of their *Laws*, *his* Directing of their *Wars*, and his Electing and Inſpiring of their *Judges*. In ſome reſemblance hereunto, when *Four* Colonies of Chriſtians had marched like ſo many *Hoſts* under the Conduct of the good Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt into an *American* Wilderneſs, there were ſeveral Inſtances wherein that *Army* of *Confeſſors* was under a *Theocracy*: For their *Laws* were ſtill Enacted, and their *Wars* were ſtill Directed by the Voice of God, as far as they underſtood it, ſpeaking from the *Oracle* of the *Scriptures*; and though their *Judges* were ſtill *Elected* by themſelves, and not *Inſpired* with ſuch extraordinary Influences as *carried* them of Old, yet *theſe* alſo being ſingularly furniſhed and offered by the ſpecial Providence of God unto the Government of his *New-Engliſh* People, were ſo eminently acted by *His Graces*, and *His Precepts*, in the Diſcharge of their Government, that the Bleſſed People were ſtill ſenſibly *Governed by the Lord of All*. Now among the Firſt *Judges* of *New-England*, was **Edward Hopkins**, Eſq; in whoſe time the *Colony* of *Connecticut* was favoured with *Judges as at the firſt*; and put under the Power of thoſe with whom it was a Maxim, *Gratius eſt pietatis Nomen, quam poteſtatis.*

§. 2. The

§. 2. The Deſcent and Breeding of Mr. **Edward Hopkins,** (who was Born, I think, near *Shrowsbury*, about the Year 1600.) firſt fitted him for the Condition of a *Turky-Merchant*, in *London*; where he lived ſeveral Years in good Faſhion and Eſteem, until a powerful Party in the Church of *England*, then reſolving not only to *ſeparate* from the Communion of all the *Faithful* that were Averſe to certain confeſſedly *unſcriptural* and *uninſtituted* Rites in the Worſhip of God, but alſo to *Perſecute* with deſtroying Severities thoſe that were *Non-Conformiſts* thereunto, compelled a conſiderable Number of good Men to ſeek a ſhelter among the Salvages of *America*. Among theſe, and with his Excellent Father-in-Law, Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, he came to *New-England*; where then removing from the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay unto *Hartford* upon *Connecticut*-River, he became a *Ruler* and *Pillar* of that Colony, during the time of his Abode in the Country.

§. 3 In his Government he acquitted himſelf as the *Solomon* of his Colony, to whom *God gave Wiſdom and Knowledge, that he might go out and come in before the People*; and as he was the *Head*, ſo he was the *Heart* of the People, for the Reſolution *to do Well*, which he maintained among them. An *unjuſt Judge* is, as one ſays, *A cold Fire, a dark Sun, a dry Sea, an ungood God, a* contradictio in Adjecto. Far from ſuch was our *Hopkins*; no, he was, δίκαιον ἔμψυχον, a meer piece of *Living Juſtice*. And as he had no *ſeparate Intereſts* of his own, ſo he purſued their *Intereſts* with ſuch an unſpotted and ſucceſsful Fidelity, that they might call him as the Tribe of *Benjamin* did their Leader in the Wilderneſs, *Abidan*, that is to ſay, *Our Father is Judge*. *New-England* ſaw little *Dawnings*, and *Emblems*, and *Earneſts* of the Day, *That the greatneſs of the Kingdom under the whole Heaven ſhall be given unto the People of the Saints of the moſt High*, when ſuch a *Saint* as our **Hopkins** was one of its Governours. And the Felicity which a Great Man has Prognoſticated for *Europe, That God will ſtir up ſome happy Governour in ſome Country in Chriſtendom, indued with Wiſdom and Conſideration, who ſhall diſcern the true Nature of Godlineſs and Chriſtianity, and the Neceſſity and Excellency of ſerious Religion, and ſhall place his Honour and Felicity in pleaſing God, and doing Good, and attaining Everlaſting Happineſs, and ſhall ſubject all Worldly Reſpects unto theſe High and Glorious Ends:* This was now Exemplified in *America*.

§. 4. Moſt Exemplary was his *Piety* and his *Charity*; and while he governed *others* by the *Laws* of God, he did *himſelf* yeild a profound Subjection unto thoſe *Laws*. He was exemplarily watchful over his own Behaviour, and made a continual *Contemplation* of, and *Preparation* for *Death*, to be the Character of his *Life*. It was his manner to *Riſe early*, even before Day, to enjoy the Devotions of his *Cloſet*: after which he ſpent a conſiderable time in Reading, and Opening, and Applying the *Word* of God unto his *Family*, and then *Praying* with them: And he had one particular way to cauſe Attention in the People of his Family, which was to ask any Perſon that ſeemed Careleſs in the midſt of his Diſcourſe, *What was it that I Read or Spoke laſt?* Whereby he Habituated them unto ſuch an Attention, that they were ſtill uſually able to give a ready Account. But as for his *Prayers*, they were not only *frequent*, but ſo *fervent* alſo, that he frequently fell a *Bleeding* at the Noſe through the *Agony* of Spirit with which he labour'd in them. And, eſpecially when imploring ſuch *Spiritual Bleſſings*, as, *That God would grant in the End of our Lives, the End of our Hopes, even the Salvation of our Souls*, he would be ſo Tranſported, that the Obſerving and Judicious Hearers would ſay ſometimes upon it, *Surely this Man can't be long out of Heaven.* Moreover, in his Neighbourhood he not only ſet himſelf to Encourage and Countenance real *Godlineſs*, but alſo would himſelf kindly viſit the *Meetings* that the Religious Neighbours privately kept for the Exerciſes of it; and where the leaſt Occaſion for *Contention* was offered, he would, with a prudent and ſpeedy Endeavour, Extinguiſh it. But the *Poor* he ſo conſidered, that beſides the *Daily Reliefs* which with his own Hands he diſpenced unto them, he would put conſiderable Sums of Money into the Hands of his Friends, to be by them employed as they ſaw *Opportunity to do good unto all, eſpecially the Houſhold of Faith.* In this thing he was like that Noble and Worthy *Engliſh* General, of whom 'tis noted, *He never thought he had any thing but what he gave away*; and yet after all, with much humility he would profeſs, as one of the moſt Liberal Men that ever was in the World often would, *I have often turned over my Books of Accounts, but I could never find the Great God charged a Debtor there.*

§. 5. But *Suffering* as well as *Doing* belongs to the Compleat Character of a *Chriſtian*; and there were ſeveral *Trials* wherein our Lord called this Eminently Patient Servant of his to *Suffer the Will of God.* He Conflicted with *Bodily Infirmities*, but eſpecially with a Waſting and a Bloody *Cough*, which held him for Thirty Years together. He had been by *Perſecutions* driven to croſs an *Ocean*, to which he had in his Nature an *Antipathy*; and then a *Wilderneſs* full of ſuch Croſſes as attend the *beginning of a Plantation,* exerciſed him. Nevertheleſs there was one Affliction which *continually dropt* upon him above all the reſt, and that was this, He Married a Daughter which the Second Wife of Mr. *Eaton* had by a former Husband; one that from a Child had been Obſervable for Deſirable Qualities. But ſome time after ſhe was Married ſhe fell into a Diſtempered *Melancholly*, which at laſt Iſſued in an Incurable *Diſtraction*, with ſuch Ill-ſhaped *Ideas* in her Brain, as uſe to be formed when the *Animal Spirits* are *fired* by Irregular Particles, fixed with Acid, Bilious,

Vene-

Venemous Ferments in the Blood. Very Grievous was this Affliction unto this her worthy Conſort, who was by temper a very Affectionate Perſon: And who now left no part of a tender Husband undone, to *Eaſe*, and, if it were poſſible, to *Cure* the Lamentable Deſolation thus come upon, *The Deſire of his Eyes*; but when the Phyſician gave him to underſtand, that no means would be likely to *Reſtore* her *Senſe*, but ſuch as would be alſo likely to *Hazard* her *Life*, he Replied with Tears, *I had rather bear my Croſs unto the End that the Lord ſhall give!* But upon this Occaſion he ſaid unto *her* Siſter, who, with all the reſt related unto *her*, were as dear unto him as *his own*; *I have often thought, what ſhould be the meaning of the Lord, in chaſtiſing of me with ſo ſharp a Rod, and with ſo long a Stroke!* Whereto, when ſhe Reply'd, *Sir, nothing ſingular has, in this Caſe, befallen you; God hath afflicted others in the like way; and we muſt be content with our Portion:* He Anſwered, *Siſter, This is among the Lord's Rarities. For my part I cannot tell what Sore to lay my Hand upon: However, in General, my Sovereign Lord is Juſt, and I will juſtifie him for ever: But in Particular, I have thought the matter might lye here: I promiſed my ſelf too much Content in this Relation and Enjoyment; and the Lord will make me to know that this World ſhall not afford it me.* So he wiſely, meekly, fruitfully bore this heavy *Affliction* unto his *Dying Day*; having been taught by the Affliction to *Die Daily*, as long as he *Lived*.

§. 6. About Governour *Eaton*, his Father-in-Law, he ſaw cauſe to ſay unto a *Siſter-in-Law*, whom he much valued; *I have often wondred at my Father and your Father; I have heard him ſay, That he never had a Repenting, or a Repining Thought, about his coming to* New-England: *Surely, in this Matter he hath a Grace far out-ſhining Mine. But he is our Father! I cannot ſay, as he can, I have had hard work with my own Heart about it.* But upon the Death of his Elder Brother, who was *Warden of the Fleet*, it was neceſſary for him to Return into *England*, that he might look after the Eſtate which then fell unto him; and accordingly, after a Tempeſtuous and a Terrible Voyage, wherein they were eminently endangered by *Fire*, accidentally enkindled on the Ship, as well as by *Water*, which tore it ſo to Pieces, that it was Towed in by another Ship, he at length,

Per Varios Caſus; per tot Diſcrimina Rerum,

arrived there. *There* a great Notice was quickly taken of him: He was made *Warden of the Fleet*, Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and the Navy-Office, a Parliament-Man; and he was placed in ſome other conſiderable Stations: In all which he more than anſwered the Expectations of thoſe who took him to be a Perſon *Eminently Qualified for Publick Service.* By theſe Employments, his deſign of Returning to *New-England*, with which he left it, was diverted ſo far, that he ſent for his Family; and about the time that he looked for them, he being advantaged by his great Places to employ certain Frigots for their ſafety on the Coaſt, by that means had them ſafely brought unto him. When they were with him in *London*, one of them told him how much his Friends in *New-England* Wiſh'd and Pray'd for his Return: And how that Paſſage had been uſed in our Publick Supplications for that Mercy, *Lord, If we may win him in Heaven, we ſhall yet have him on Earth:* But he Reply'd, *I have had many Thoughts about my Return, and my Affections have been bent very ſtrongly that way; and tho' I have now, bleſſed be God, received my Family here, yet that ſhall be no hindrance to my Return. I will tell you, though I am little worth, yet I have that Love which will diſpoſe me to ſerve the Lord, and that People of his. But as to that matter, I incline to think they will not win it in Heaven; and I know not whether the Terrors of my dreadful Voyage hither might not be ordered by the Divine Providence, to Stake me in this Land, being in my Spirit ſufficiently loth to run the hazard of ſuch another. I muſt alſo ſay to you, I mourn exceedingly, and I fear, I fear, the Sins of* New-England *will e're long be read in its Puniſhments. The Lord has planted that Land with a* Noble Vine; *and* Bleſſed haſt thou been, O Land, in thy Rulers! *But, alas! for the generality they have not conſidered how they were to Honour the* Rules *of* God, *in Honouring of thoſe whom God made* Rulers *over them; and I fear they will come to ſmart by having them ſet over them, that it will be an* hard Work to Honour, *and that will hardly be capable to manage their Affairs.*

§. 7. Accordingly he continued in *England* the reſt of his Days, in ſeveral places of Great *Honour* and *Burden* faithfully ſerving the Nation; but in the midſt of his *Publick* Employments moſt exactly maintaining the *Zeal* and *Watch* of his own private *Walk with God.* His *Mind* kept continually Mellowing and Ripening for *Heaven*; and one Expreſſion of his *Heavenly Mind*, among many others, a little before his End, was, *How often have I pleaſed my ſelf with thoughts of a joyful Meeting with my Father* Eaton! *I remember with what pleaſure he would come down the Street, that he might meet me when I came from* Hartford *unto* New-Haven: *But with how much greater Pleaſure ſhall we ſhortly meet one another in Heaven!* But as an *Heavenly Mind* is oftentimes a *Preſaging Mind*, ſo he would ſometimes utter this *Preſage* unto ſome that were Near and Dear unto him; *God will ſhortly take the* Protector *away, and ſoon after that you will ſee great Changes overturning the preſent Conſtitution, and ſore Troubles come upon thoſe that now promiſe better things unto themſelves.* However, he did not Live to ſee the Fulfilment of this *Prediction*.

§. 8. For

§. 8. For the *time now drew near that this Iſraelite was to Die!* He had been in his Life troubled with many *Fears of Death*; and after he fell Sick, even when he drew very near his Death, he ſaid with Tears, *Oh! Pray for me, for I am in extream Darkneſs!* But at length, on a Lord's Day, about the very time when Mr. *Caryl* was publickly praying for him, his Darkneſs all vaniſhed, and he broke forth into theſe Expreſſions, *Oh! Lord, thou haſt kept the beſt Wine until the laſt! Oh! Friends, could you believe this? I ſhall be bleſſed for ever, I ſhall quickly be in Eternal Glory. Now let the whole World count me Vile, and call me an Hypocrite, or what they will, I matter it not; I ſhall be bleſſed; there is reſerved for me a Crown of Glory. Oh! Bleſſed be God for Jeſus Chriſt! I have heretofore thought it an hard thing to die, but now I find that it is not ſo. If I might have my choice, I would now chuſe to die; Oh! my Lord, I pray thee ſend me not back again into this Evil World, I have enough of it; no, Lord, now take me to Glory, and the Kingdom that is prepared for me!* Yea, the ſtanders by thought it not poſſible for them to utter exactly after him, the *Heavenly Words* which now proceeded from him; and when one of them ſaid, *Sir, The Lord hath enlarged your Faith*; he replied, *Friend, this is Senſe; the Lord hath even ſatisfied my Senſe; I am ſenſibly ſatisfied of Everlaſting Glory!* Two or Three Days he now ſpent in *Prayers* and *Praiſes*, and in Inexpreſſible *Joys*: In which time, when ſome Eminent Perſons of a very Publick Station and Imployment came to Viſit him, unto *them* he ſaid, *Sirs, Take heed of your Hearts while you are in your Work for God, that there be no root of bitterneſs within you. It may be pretended your Deſires are to ſerve God, but if there are in you ſecret Aims at advancing of your ſelves, and your own Eſtates and Intereſts, the Lord will not accept your Services as pure before him.*

But at length in the Month of *March*, 1657. at *London* he expired; when being opened, it was found that his *Heart* had been unaccountably, as it were, Boiled and Waſted in Water, until it was become a little brittle Skin, which being touch'd, preſently dropp'd in pieces. He had often wiſhed, upon ſome great Accounts, that he might live till the beginning of this Year; and now when he lay a dying, he ſaid, *Lord! Thou haſt fulfilled my Deſires according to thy Word, that thou wilt fulfil the Deſires of them that fear thee.*

Now from the Tombſtone of another Eminent Perſon, we will fetch what ſhall here be a proper

EPITAPH.

Part of EDWARD HOPKINS, Eſq;

But Heaven, *not brooking that the* Earth *ſhould ſhare*
In the leaſt Atom *of a Piece ſo rare,*
Intends to Sue out, by a New Reviſe,
His Habeas Corpus *at the* Grand Aſſize.

CHAP. VIII.

SUCCESSORS.

§. 1. ALternately, for the moſt part every other Year, Mr. *Hains*, whom we have already mentioned elſewhere, took a turn with Mr. *Hopkins* in the Chief place of Government. And beſides theſe, (Reader, the *Oracle* that once Predicted Government unto a ☉, would now and here Predict it unto a W.) there were Mr. *Willis*, Mr. *Wells*, and Mr. *Webſter*, all of whom alſo had Opportunity to expreſs their Liberal and Generous Diſpoſitions, and the *Governing Virtues* of Wiſdom, Juſtice and Courage, by the Election of the Freemen in the Colony before its being United with *Newhaven*. Had the Surviving Relations of theſe Worthy Men ſent in unto me a Tenth Part of the *Conſiderable* and *Imitable* Things which occurr'd in their *Lives*, they might have made more of a Figure in this our *Hiſtory*; whereas I muſt now Sum up all, with aſſuring my Reader, that it is the want of *Knowledge* in *Me*, and not of *Deſert* in *Them*, that has confined us unto this Brevity.

§. 2. After the Union of *Connecticut* with *Newhaven*, there were in Chief Government Mr. *Leet*, whom we have already paid our Dues unto; and Mr. *Treat*, who is yet living, a Pious and a Valiant Man, and (if even *Annoſa Quercus* be an Honourable thing!) worthy to be Honoured for *An Hoary Head found in the Way of Righteouſneſs*: Beſides, Mr. *Winthrop*, of whom anon, Reader, expect a Compleater Hiſtory.

CHAP. IX.

Humilitas Honorata. *The LIFE of* THEOPHILUS EATON, *Eſq*; *Governour of* NEW-HAVEN *COLONY.*

Juſtitiæ Cultor, Rigidi Servator Honeſti,
In Commune Bonum.

§. 1. IT has been enquired, why the Evangeliſt *Luke* in the *Firſt* Sacred Hiſtory which he Addreſſed unto his Fellow-Citizen, gave him the Title of *The moſt Excellent Theophilus*, but in the *next* he uſed no higher a Stile than plain *Theophilus?* And though ſeveral other Anſwers might be given to that Enquiry, 'tis enough to ſay, That neither the *Civility* of *Luke*, nor *Nobility* of *Theophilus*, were by Age abated; but *Luke* herein conſidered the Diſpoſition of *Theophilus*, as well as his own, with whom a reduced Age had render'd all *Titles of Honour* more *Diſagreeable Superfluities*. Indeed nothing would have been more unacceptable to the Governour of our *New-Haven Colony*, all the time of his being ſo, than to have been Advanced and Applauded above the reſt of Mankind; yet it muſt be *now* Publiſhed unto the Knowledge of Mankind, that *New-England* could not of his Quality ſhow a *More Excellent Perſon*, and this was *Theophilus Eaton*, Eſq; the firſt Governour of that Colony. *Humility* is a Virtue whereof *Amyraldus* obſerves, *There is not ſo much as a Shadow of Commendation in all the Pagan Writers.* But the Reader is now concerned with Writings which will *Commend* a Perſon for *Humility*; and therefore our *EATON*, in whom the ſhine of every Virtue was particularly ſet off with a more than ordinary Degree of *Humility*, muſt now be propos'd as *Commendable.*

§. 2. 'Tis *Reported*, that the Earth taken from the Banks of *Nilus*, will very ſtrangely Sympathize with the place from whence it was taken, and grow moiſt or dry according to the Increaſe and the Decreaſe of the River. And in ſpite of that *Popiſh Lie* which pretends to obſerve the contrary, this thing has been ſignally *Moraliz'd* in the daily Obſervation, that the *Sons of Miniſters*, though betaking themſelves to other Imployments, do ordinarily carry about with them an Holy and Happy Savour of their *Miniſterial Education.* 'Twas remarkably Exemplified in our *Theophilus Eaton*, who was Born at *Stony-Stratford* in *Oxfordſhire*, the Eldeſt Son to the Faithful and Famous *Miniſter* of the place. But the Words of Old uſed by *Philoſtratus* concerning the Son of a Great Man, *As for his Son I have nothing elſe to ſay, but that he was his Son*; they could not be uſed concerning our *Theophilus*, who having received a good Education from his *Pious Parents*, did live many Years to Anſwer that Education in his own *Piety* and *Uſefulneſs.*

§. 3. His Father being removed unto *Coventry*, he there at School fell into the Intimate Acquaintance of that Worthy *John Davenport*, with whom the Providence of God many Years after united him in the great Undertaking of ſettling a Colony of Chriſtian and Reformed Churches on the *American Strand.* Here his Ingenuity and Proficiency render'd him notable; and ſo vaſt was his *Memory*, that although he wrote not at the Church, yet when he came home, he would, at his Father's Call, *repeat* unto thoſe that met in his Father's Houſe, the *Sermons* which had been publickly Preached by others, as well as his own Father, with ſuch exactneſs, as aſtoniſhed all the Neighbourhood. But in their after Improvements, the *Hands* of Divine Providence were laid *acroſs* upon the Heads of *Theophilus Eaton* and *John Davenport*; for *Davenport*, whoſe Father was the *Mayor* of *Coventry*, became a *Miniſter*; and *Eaton*, whoſe Father was *Miniſter* of *Coventry*, contrary to his Intentions, became a *Merchant.* His Parents were very loth to have complied with his Inclinations; but their Compliance therewithal did at laſt appear to have been directed by a ſpecial Favour of Heaven unto the Family, when after the Death of his *Father*, he, by this means, became the *Joſeph*, by whom his *Mother* was maintained until ſhe died, and his Orphan *Brethren* and *Siſters* had no ſmall part of their Subſiſtence.

§. 4. During the time of his hard Apprenticeſhip he *behaved himſelf wiſely*; and his *Wiſdom*, with God's *Favour*, particularly appeared in his chaſte Eſcape from the *Snares* of a Young Woman in the Houſe where he lived, who would fain have taken him in the *Pits* by the *Wiſe Man* cautioned againſt, and who was herſelf ſo taken *only* with his moſt Comely Perſon, that ſhe dy'd for the *Love* of him, when ſhe ſaw him gone too far to be obtained: Whereas, by the like *Snares*, the Apprentice that next ſucceeded him was undone for ever. But being a Perſon herewithal moſt ſignally *Diligent in his Buſineſs*, it was not long before the *Maxim* of the *Wiſe Man* was moſt literally accompliſhed in his coming to *Stand before Princes*; for being made a *Freeman* of *London*, he applied himſelf unto the *Eaſt-Country* Trade, and was publickly choſen the *Deputy-Governour* of the Company, wherein he ſo acquitted himſelf as to become conſiderable. And afterwards going himſelf into the *Eaſt-Country*, he not only became ſo well Acquainted with the Affairs of the *Baltick-Sea*, but alſo became ſo well Improved in the Accompliſhments

compliſhments of a *Man of Buſineſs*, that the King of *England* imploy'd him as an *Agent* unto the King of *Denmark*. The Concerns of his *Agency* he ſo diſcreetly managed, that as he much obliged and engaged the *Eaſt-Land* Company, (who in Token thereof preſented his Wife with a Baſon and Ewer double gilt, and curiouſly wrought with Gold, and weighing above Sixty Pound,) ſo he found much Acceptance with the King of *Denmark*, and was afterwards uſed by that Prince to do him no little Services. Nevertheleſs he kept his Integrity amongſt the Temptations of that Court, whereat he was now a *Reſident*; and not ſeldom had he moſt Eminent Cauſe to acknowledge the *Benignity* and *Interpoſal* of Heaven for his Preſervations; once particularly, when the King of *Denmark* was beginning the King of *England*'s Health, while Mr. *Eaton*, who diſliked ſuch *Health-Drinking*, was in his Preſence; the King fell down in a ſort of a Fit, with the Cup in his Hand, whereat all the Nobles and Courtiers wholly applied themſelves to convey the King into his Chamber, and there was no notice taken who was to Pledge his Health; whereby Mr. *Eaton* was the more eaſily deliver'd from any ſhare in the Debauch.

§. 5. Having arrived unto a fair Eſtate, (which he was *firſt* willing to do, he Married a moſt Virtuous Gentlewoman, to whom he had firſt Eſpouſed himſelf after he had ſpent Three Years in an Abſence from her in the *Eaſt-Country*. But this deareſt and greateſt of his *Temporal* Enjoyments proved but a *Temporal* one; for living no longer with him than to render him the Father of Two Children, ſhe almoſt *killed him* with her own *Death*; and yet at her Death ſhe expreſſed herſelf wondrous willing *to be Diſſolved, and to be with Chriſt, from whom* (ſhe ſaid) *I would not be detained one Hour for all the Enjoyments upon Earth.* He afterwards Married a Prudent and Pious Widow, the Daughter of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*; unto the Three former *Children* of which Widow, he became a moſt Exemplary, Living and Faithful *Father*, as well as a moſt Worthy *Husband* unto herſelf, by whom *he* afterwards had *Five* Children, *Two* Sons and *Three* Daughters. But the Second of his Children by his latter Wife dying ſome while before, it was not long before his Two Children by his former Wife were ſmitten with the *Plague*, whereof the Elder died, and his Houſe thereupon ſhut up with a, *Lord have Mercy!* However the *Lord* had this *Mercy* on the Family, to let the Diſtemper ſpread no further; and ſo Mr. *Eaton* ſpent many Years a Merchant of great Credit and Faſhion in the City of *London*.

§. 6. At length Conformity to *Ceremonies* Humanely Invented and Impoſed in the Worſhip of God, was urged in the Church of *England* with ſo much Rigour, that Mr. *Davenport* was thereby driven to ſeek *a Refuge from the Storm* in the Cold and Rude Corners of *America*. Mr. *Eaton* had already aſſiſted the New *Maſſachuſet-Colony*, as being one of the *Patentees* for it; but had no purpoſe of removing thither himſelf, until Mr. *Davenport*, under whoſe Excellent Miniſtry he lived, was compelled unto a ſhare in this Removal. However, being fully ſatisfied in his own Conſcience, that *Unlawful things* were now violently demanded of him, he was willing to accompany his *Perſecuted Paſtor* in the Retreat from Violence now Endeavoured, and many Eminent *Londoners* chearfully engaged with him in this Undertaking. Unto *New-England* this Company of good Men came in the Year 1637. where chuſing to be a diſtinct Colony by themſelves, more Accommodated unto the Deſigns of *Merchandize* than of *Husbandry*, they ſought and bought a large Territory in the *Southern* Parts of the Country for their Habitations. In the Proſecution hereof, the chief Care was devolved upon Mr. *Eaton*, who with an Unexempled Patience took many tedious and hazardous Journies through a Deſolate Wilderneſs full of Barbarous *Indians*, until upon Mature Deliberation he pitched upon a place now called *New-Haven*, where they ſoon formed a very regular Town; and a number of other Towns along the Sea ſide were quickly added thereunto. But by the Difficulties attending theſe Journies, Mr. *Eaton* brought himſelf into an extream Sickneſs; from which he recovered not without a *Fiſtula* in his Breaſt, whereby he underwent much Affliction. When the *Chirurgeon* came to Inſpect the Sore, he told him, *Sir, I know not how to go about what is neceſſary for your Cure*; but Mr. *Eaton* anſwered him, *God calls you to do, and me to ſuffer!* And God accordingly ſtrengthened him to bear miſerable Cuttings and Launcings of his Fleſh with a moſt Invincible Patience. The *Chirurgeon* indeed *made* ſo many Wounds, that he was not able to *Cure* what he had made; another, and a better, Hand was neceſſarily imployed for it; but in the mean while great were the *Trials* with which the God of Heaven exerciſed the Faith of this his Holy Servant.

§. 7. Mr. *Eaton* and Mr. *Davenport* were the *Moſes* and *Aaron* of the Chriſtian Colony now Erected in the South-Weſt Parts of *New-England*; and Mr. *Eaton* being *yearly* and *ever* choſen their Governour, it was the Admiration of all Spectators to behold the *Diſcretion*, the *Gravity*, the *Equity* with which he ſtill managed all their Publick Affairs. He carried in his very Countenance a *Majeſty* which cannot be deſcribed; and in his Diſpenſations of *Juſtice* he was a *Mirrour* for the moſt Imitable *Impartiality*, but Ungainſayable *Authority* of his Proceedings, being awfully ſenſible of the Obligations which the *Oath* of a *Judge* lays upon him. *Ils ſont plus tenus de raiſon de garder Leur Serment, doubter mort, ou aucutie forfeiture:* And hence he, who would moſt patiently bear *hard things* offered unto his *Perſon* in *private* Caſes, yet would never paſs by any *Publick* Affronts, or Neglects offered,

offered when he appeared under the Character of a *Magiſtrate*. But he ſtill was the Guide of the *Blind*, the Staff of the *Lame*, the Helper of the *Widow* and the *Orphan*, and all the Diſtreſſed; none that had a *Good Cauſe* was afraid of coming before him: On the one ſide, *In his Days did the Righteous flouriſh*; on the other ſide, *He was the Terror of Evil Doers.* As in his Government of the *Commonwealth*, ſo in the Government of his *Family*, he was Prudent, Serious, Happy to a Wonder; and albeit he ſometimes had a large *Family*, conſiſting of no leſs than *Thirty Perſons*, yet he managed them with ſuch an *Even Temper*, that Obſervers have affirmed, *They never ſaw an Houſe ordered with more Wiſdom!* He kept an Honourable and Hoſpitable *Table*; but one thing that ſtill made the Entertainment thereof the better, was the continual Preſence of his Aged *Mother*, by feeding of whom with an Exemplary *Piety* till *ſhe died*, he enſured his own *Proſperity* as long as *he lived.* His *Children* and *Servants* he would mightily Encourage unto the Study of the *Scriptures*, and Countenance their Addreſſes unto himſelf with any of their *Enquiries*; but when he diſcerned any of them ſinfully negligent about the Concerns either of their General or Particular *Callings*, he would admoniſh them with ſuch a Penetrating Efficacy, that they could ſcarce forbear falling down at his Feet with *Tears.* A *Word* of his was enough to ſteer them!

§. 8. So *Exemplary* was he for a *Chriſtian*, that one who had been a *Servant* unto him, could many Years after ſay, *Whatever Difficulty in my daily Walk I now meet withal, ſtill ſomething that I either ſaw or heard in my Bleſſed Maſter* Eaton's *Converſation, helps me through it all; I have Reaſon to bleſs God that ever I knew him!* It was his Cuſtom when he firſt roſe in a *Morning*, to repair unto his *Study*; a Study well Perfumed with the *Meditations* and *Supplications* of an Holy Soul. After this, calling his *Family* together, he would then read a Portion of the *Scripture* among them, and after ſome Devout and Uſeful *Reflections* upon it, he would make a Prayer not long, but Extraordinary Pertinent and Reverent; and in the *Evening* ſome of the ſame Exerciſes were again attended. On the *Saturday* Morning he would ſtill take notice of the Approaching *Sabbath* in his *Prayer*, and ask the Grace to be *Remembring* of it, and *Preparing* for it; and when the Evening arrived, he, beſides this, not only *Repeated* a Sermon, but alſo *Inſtructed* his People, with putting of *Queſtions* referring to the Points of Religion, which would oblige them to Study for an *Anſwer*; and if their Anſwer were at any time inſufficient, he would wiſely and gently Enlighten their Underſtandings; all which he concluded with *Singing of a Pſalm.* When the *Lord's Day* came, he called his *Family* together at the time for the Ringing of the Firſt Bell, and *repeated* a Sermon, whereunto he added a Fervent *Prayer*, eſpecially tending unto the Sanctification of the *Day.* At *Noon* he ſang a *Pſalm*, and at *Night* he retired an Hour into his Cloſet; adviſing thoſe in his Houſe to improve the ſame time for the good of their own Souls. He then called his *Family* together again, and in an obliging manner conferred with them about the things with which they had been Entertained in the Houſe of God, ſhutting up all with a *Prayer* for the Bleſſing of God upon them all. For Solemn Days of *Humiliation*, or of *Thankſgiving*, he took the ſame Courſe, and Endeavoured ſtill to make thoſe that belonged unto him, underſtand the meaning of the Services before them. He ſeldom uſed any *Recreations*, but being a great *Reader*, all the time he could ſpare from Company and Buſineſs, he commonly ſpent in his Beloved *Study*; ſo that he merited the Name which was once given to a *Learned Ruler* of the *Engliſh Nation*, the Name of *Beauclerk*: In Converſing with his Friends, he was Affable, Courteous, and generally *Pleaſant*, but *Grave* perpetually; and ſo Cautelous and Circumſpect in his Diſcourſes, and ſo Modeſt in his Expreſſions, that it became a Proverb for Inconteſtable Truth, *Governour* Eaton *ſaid it.*

But after all, his *Humility* appeared in his having always but *Low Expectations*, looking for little Regard and Reward from any Men, after he had merited as highly as was poſſible by his *Univerſal Serviceableneſs.*

§. 9. His Eldeſt Son he maintained at the *Colledge* until he proceeded *Maſter of Arts*; and he was indeed the Son of his *Vows*, and a Son of great *Hopes.* But a ſevere *Catarrh* diverted this Young Gentleman from the Work of the Miniſtry whereto his Father had once devoted him; and a Malignant Fever then raging in thoſe Parts of the Country, carried off him with his Wife within Two or Three Days of one another. This was counted the ſoreſt of all the Trials that ever befel his *Father* in the *Days of the Years of his Pilgrimage*; but he bore it with a Patience and Compoſure of Spirit which was truly admirable. His dying Son look'd earneſtly on him, and ſaid, *Sir, What ſhall we do!* Whereto, with a well-ordered Countenance, he replied, *Look up to God!* And when he paſſed by his Daughter drowned in Tears on this Occaſion, to her he ſaid, *Remember the Sixth Commandment, Hurt not your ſelf with Immoderate Grief; Remember* Job, *who ſaid,* The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, Bleſſed be the Name of the Lord! *You may mark what a Note the Spirit of God put upon it*; in all this *Job* ſinned not, nor charged God fooliſhly: *God accounts it a charging of him fooliſhly, when we don't ſubmit unto his Will patiently.* Accordingly he now governed himſelf as one that had attained unto the Rule of *Weeping as if we wept not*; for it being the *Lord's Day*, he repaired unto the Church in the *Afternoon*, as he had been there in the *Forenoon*, though he was never

like

like to ſee his Deareſt Son alive any more in this World. And though before the Firſt Prayer began, a Meſſenger came to prevent Mr. *Davenport's* praying for the *Sick* Perſon, who was now *Dead*, yet his Affectionate Father alter'd not his Courſe, but *Wrote* after the Preacher as formerly; and when he came Home he held on his former Methods of Divine Worſhip in his Family, not for the Excuſe of *Aaron*, omitting any thing in the Service of God. In like ſort, when the People had been at the Solemn Interment of this his Worthy Son, he did with a very Unpaſſionate Aſpect and Carriage then ſay, *Friends, I thank you all for your Love and Help, and for this Teſtimony of Reſpect unto me and mine: The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken; bleſſed be the Name of the Lord!* Nevertheleſs, retiring hereupon into the Chamber where his Daughter then lay Sick, ſome Tears were obſerved falling from him while he uttered theſe Words, *There is a difference between a ſullen Silence or a ſtupid Senſleſneſs under the Hand of God, and a Child-like Submiſſion thereunto.*

§. 10. Thus continually he, for about a Score of Years, was the *Glory* and *Pillar* of *New-Haven* Colony. He would often ſay, *Some count it a great matter to* Die well, *but I am ſure 'tis a great matter to* Live well. *All our Care ſhould be while we have our* Life *to uſe it well, and ſo when Death puts an end unto that, it will put an end unto all our Cares.* But having Excellently managed his *Care* to *Live well*, God would have him to *Die well*, without any room or time then given to take any *Care* at all; for he enjoyed a Death *ſudden* to every one but himſelf! Having Worſhipped God with his Family after his uſual manner, and upon ſome Occaſion with much Solemnity charged all the Family to carry it well unto their Miſtreſs who was now confined by Sickneſs, he Supp'd, and then took a turn or two abroad for his Meditations. After that he came in to bid his Wife *Good-night*, before he left her with her *Watchers*; which when he did, ſhe ſaid, *Methinks you look ſad!* Whereto he reply'd, *The Differences riſen in the Church of* Hartford *make me ſo*; ſhe then added, *Let us e'en go back to our Native Country again*; to which he anſwered, *You may*, [and ſo ſhe did] *but I ſhall Die here.* This was the laſt Word that ever ſhe heard him ſpeak; for now retiring unto his Lodging in another Chamber, he was overheard about midnight fetching a *Groan*; and unto one, ſent in preſently to enquire how he did, he anſwered the Enquiry with only ſaying, *Very Ill!* And without ſaying any more, he fell *aſleep in Jeſus*: In the Year 1657. *looſing Anchor* from *New-Haven* for the better.

————————*Sedes, ubi Fata, Quietas Oſtendunt.*

Now let his *Graveſtone* wear at leaſt the following

EPITAPH.

NEW-ENGLAND'*s* Glory, *full of* Warmth *and* Light,
Stole away *(and* ſaid nothing*) in the Night.*

CHAP. X.

SUCCESSORS.

§. 1. WHEN the Day arrived in the *Anniverſary Courſe* for the Freemen of the Colony to Elect another Governour in the place of the Deceaſed *Eaton*, Mr. *Davenport* Preached on that Paſſage of the Divine Oracle, in *Joſh.* 1. 1, 2. *Now after the Death of* Moſes, *the Servant of the Lord, it came to paſs that the Lord ſpake unto* Joſhua, *the Son of* Nun, Moſes *Miniſter, ſaying, Now ariſe thou and all this People.* The Colony was abundantly ſenſible that their **Eaton** had been a Man of a *Moſaic* Spirit; and that while they choſe him, as they did every Year of his Life among them to be their Governour, they could not chuſe a better. But they now conſidered that Mr. *Francis Newman*, who had been for many Years the Secretary of the Colony, was there a *Miniſter* to their *Moſes*, as he had been otherwiſe his intimate Friend, Neighbour, Companion and Counſellor. For this Cauſe the Unanimous *Choice* of the Freemen fell upon this Gentleman to ſucceed in the Government. And I ſhall here give a ſufficient Hiſtory of his Government; which *through Death was not ſuffered to continue* above Three or Four Years, by only ſaying, *That he walk'd exactly in the Steps of his Predeceſſor.*

§. 2. Upon the ſetting of Mr. *Francis Newman*, there aroſe Mr. *William Leet*, of whom let not the Reader be diſpleaſed at this brief Account. This Gentleman was by his *Education* a *Lawyer*, and by his Imployment a Regiſter in the *Biſhop's Court*. In that Station, at *Cambridge*, he obſerved that there were Summoned before the Court certain Perſons to anſwer for the *Crime* of going to *hear Sermons abroad*, when there were *none* to be heard in their own Pariſh Churches at home; and that when any were brought before them for *Fornication* or *Adultery*, the Court only made themſelves merry with their *Peccadillo's*; and that theſe latter Tranſgreſſors were as favourably dealt withal, as ever the *Wolf* was when he came with an *Auricular Confeſſion* of his Murders to his Brother *Fox* for *Abſolution*; but the former found as hard meaſure as ever the poor *Aſs*, that had only taken a *Straw* by miſtake

miſtake out of a Pilgrim's Pad, and yet upon *Confeſſion*, was by Chancellour *Fox* pronounced *Unpardonable.* This Obſervation extreamly ſcandalized Mr. *Leet*, who always thought, that *Hearing a good Sermon* had been a leſſer Fault than *Lying with one's Neighbour's Wife:* And had the ſame Reſentments that *Auſtin* ſometimes had of the Iniquity which made *the Tranſgreſſion of a Ceremony more ſeverely reprehended than a Tranſgreſſion of the Law of God*; but it made an Everlaſting Impreſſion upon his Heart, when the Judge of the Court furiouſly demanded of one then to be cenſured, *How he durſt be ſo bold as to break the Laws of the Church, in going from his own Pariſh to hear Sermons abroad?* And the Honeſt Man anſwered, *Sir, How ſhould I get Faith elſe? For the Apoſtle ſaith, Faith comes by Hearing the Word Preached; which Faith is neceſſary to Salvation; and Hearing the Word is the Means appointed by God for the obtaining and encreaſing of it: And theſe Means I muſt uſe, whatever I ſuffer for it in this World.* Theſe Words of that Honeſt Man were bleſſed by God with ſuch an Effect upon the Mind of Mr. *Leet*, that he preſently left his *Office* in the Biſhop's Court, and forſaking that *Untoward Generation* of Men, he aſſociated himſelf with ſuch as would go *Hear the Word, that they might get Faith*; and in *Hearing* he did happily get the *Like precious Faith.* On this, and *for* this, he was expoſed unto the *Perſecution*, which cauſed him to retire into *New-England* with many Worthy Miniſters and other Chriſtians in the Year 1639. In that Country he ſettled himſelf under the Miniſtry of the Excellent Mr. *Whitfield* at *Gilford*, where being alſo choſen a *Magiſtrate*, and then *Governour* of the *Colony*; and being ſo at the Juncture of time, when the *Royal Charter* did join *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, he became next unto Governour *Winthrop*, the *Deputy-Governour* of the whole; and after the Death of Mr. *Winthrop*, even until his own Death, the *Annual Election* for about a *Decad* of Years together ſtill made him *Governour.* But in his whole Government he gave continual Demonſtrations of an *Excellent Spirit*, eſpecially in that part of it where the *Reconciliation* and the *Coalition* of the Spirits of the People under it was to be accompliſhed. Mr. *Robert Treat* is the Follower of his *Example*, as well as the Succeſſor in his *Government.*

CHAP. XI.

Hermes Chriſtianus. *The LIFE of* JOHN WINTHROP, *Eſq*; *Governour of* CONNECTICUT *and* NEW-HAVEN *United.*

-----Et Nos aliquod Nomenq; Decuſq;
Geſſimus.-----

§. 1. IF the Hiſtorian could give that Character of the beſt *Roman Emperor*, that he was *Bonus a Bono, Pius a Pio*, the *Son* of a *Father* like himſelf, our Hiſtory may affirm concerning a very good *New-Engliſh Governour* alſo, that he was the *Father* of a *Son* like himſelf. The Proverb of the *Jews* which doth obſerve, *That Vinegar is the Son of Wine*; and the Proverb of the *Greeks*, which doth obſerve, *That the Sons of Heroes are Treſpaſſers*, has been more than once contradicted in the happy Experience of the *New-Englanders:* But none of the leaſt remarkable Contradictions given to it has been in the Honourable Family of our **Winthrops.**

§. 2. The Eldeſt Son of **John Winthrop**, Eſq; the Governour of one Colony, was **John Winthrop**, Eſq; the Governour of another, in, therefore happy, *New-England*, born *Feb.* 12. 1605. at *Groton* in *England.* His *Glad Father* beſtowed on him a liberal Education at the Univerſity, firſt of *Cambridge* in *England*, and then of *Dublin* in *Ireland*; and becauſe *Travel* has been eſteemed no little Accompliſher of a *Young Gentleman*, he then Accompliſhed himſelf by Travelling into *France*, *Holland*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and as far as *Turky* it ſelf; in which places he ſo improved his Opportunity of Converſing with all ſorts of Learned Men, that he returned home equally a Subject of much *Experience*, and of great *Expectation.*

§. 3. The Son of *Scipio Africanus* proving a degenerate Perſon, the *People* forced him to pluck off a Signet-Ring, which he wore with his *Father's Face* engraven on it. But the Son of our Celebrated Governour *Winthrop*, was on the other ſide ſo like unto his Excellent Father for early Wiſdom and Virtue, that arriving at *New-England* with his Father's Family, *Nov.* 4. 1631. he was, though not above Twenty Three Years of Age, by the Unanimous Choice of the People, choſen a *Magiſtrate* of the Colony, whereof his Father was the *Governour.* For this Colony he afterwards did many Services, yea, and he did them *Abroad* as well as *at Home*; very particularly in the Year 1634. when returning for *England*, he was by bad Weather forced into *Ireland*, where being invited unto the Houſe of Sir *John Clotworthy*, he met with many Conſiderable Perſons, by conferring with whom, the Affairs of *New-England* were not a little promoted; but it was another *Colony* for which the Providence of Heaven intended him to be ſuch another *Father*, as his own Honourable *Father* had been to *this.*

§. 4. In

§. 4. In the Year 1635. Mr. *Winthrop* returned unto *New-England*, with Powers from the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brook*, to ſettle a Plantation upon the *Long River* of *Connecticut*, and a Commiſſion to be himſelf the *Governour* of that Plantation. But inaſmuch as many good People of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony had juſt before this taken Poſſeſſion of Land for a *New-Colony* thereabouts, this Courteous and Peaceable Gentleman gave them no Moleſtation; but having wiſely Accommodated the Matter with them, he ſent a convenient number of *Men*, with all Neceſſaries, to Erect a Fortification at the Mouth of the River, where a *Town*, with a *Fort*, is now diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Say-Brook*; by which happy Action, the *Planters* further up the River had no ſmall Kindneſs done unto them; and the *Indians*, which might elſe have been more Troubleſome, were kept in Awe.

§. 5. The Self-denying Gentleman, who had imployed his *Commiſſion* of *Governour* ſo little to the Diſadvantage of the Infant-Colony at *Connecticut*, was himſelf, e're long, by *Election* made *Governour* of that Colony. And upon the *Reſtoration* of King *Charles* II. he willingly undertook another Voyage to *England*, on the behalf of the People under his Government, whoſe Affairs he managed with ſuch a Succeſsful Prudence, that he obtained a *Royal Charter* for them, which Incorporated the Colony of *New-Haven* with them, and Inveſted both Colonies, now happily United, with a firm Grant of *Priviledges*, beyond thoſe of the Plantations which had been ſettled before them. I have been informed, that while he was engaged in this Negotiation, being admitted unto a private Conference with the King, he preſented His Majeſty with a Ring, which King *Charles* I. had upon ſome Occaſion given to his Grandfather; and the King not only accepted his Preſent, but alſo declared, that he accounted it one of his *Richeſt Jewels*; which indeed was the Opinion that *New-England* had of the Hand that carried it. But having thus laid his Colony under Everlaſting Obligations of Gratitude, they did, after his return to *New-England*, expreſs of their Gratitude, by ſaying to him as the *Iſraelites* did unto *Gideon*, *Rule thou over us, for thou haſt delivered us*; chuſing *him* for their *Governour* twice Seven Years together.

§. 6. When the Governour of *Athens* was a *Philoſopher*, namely *Demetrius*, the Commonwealth ſo flouriſhed, that no leſs than Three Hundred Brazen Statues were afterward by the Thankful People Erected unto his Memory. And a *Bleſſed Land* was *New-England*, when there was over part of it a Governour, who was not only a *Chriſtian* and a *Gentleman*, but alſo an Eminent *Philoſopher*; for indeed the Government of the *State* is then moſt ſucceſsfully managed, when the meaſures of it are, by a *Wiſe Obſerver*, taken from the Government of the *World*; and very unreaſonable is the *Jewiſh* Proverb, *Ne Habites in urbe ubi caput urbis eſt Medicus*: But highly reaſonable the Sentence of *Ariſtotle*, *Ubi præſes fuerit Philoſophus, ibi Civitas erit Fœlix*; and this the rather for what is truly noted by *Thucydides*, *Magiſtratus eſt Civitatis Medicus*. Such an one was our **Winthrop**, whoſe Genius and Faculty for *Experimental Philoſophy*, was advanced in his *Travels* abroad, by his Acquaintance with many Learned *Virtuoſi*. One Effect of this Diſpoſition in him, was his being furniſhed with *Noble Medicines*, which he moſt Charitably and Generouſly gave away upon all Occaſions; inſomuch that where-ever he came, ſtill the Diſeaſed flocked about him, as if the Healing Angel of *Betheſda* had appeared in the place; and ſo many were the *Cures* which he wrought, and the *Lives* that he ſaved, that if *Scanderbeg* might boaſt of his having ſlain in his Time Two Thouſand Men with his own Hands, this Worthy Perſon might have made a far more deſirable *Boaſt* of his having in his Time *Healed* more than ſo many Thouſands; in which Beneficence to Mankind, there are of his Worthy Children, who to this Day do follow his Direction and Example. But it was not unto *New-England* alone that the Reſpects of this Accompliſhed *Philoſopher* were confined. For, whereas in purſuance of the Methods begun by that Immortally Famous *Advancer of Learning*, the moſt Illuſtrious Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, a Select Company of Eminent Perſons, uſing to meet in the Lodgings of Dr. *Wilkins* of *Wadham* Colledge in *Oxford*, had laid the Foundation of a Celebrated *Society*, which by the Year 1663. being Incorporated with a *Royal Charter*, hath ſince been among the Glories of *England*, yea, and of *Mankind*; and their Deſign was to make Faithful Records of all the Works of *Nature* or of *Art*, which might come under their Obſervation, and Correct what had been *Falſe*, Reſtore what ſhould be *True*, Preſerve what ſhould be *Rare*, and Render the Knowledge of the World, as well more *Perfect* as more *Uſeful*; and by multiplied Experiments both of *Light* and *Fruit*, advance the *Empire* of Man over the whole viſible Creation; it was the Honour of Mr. *Winthrop* to be a Member of this *Royal Society*. And accordingly among the *Philoſophical Tranſactions* Publiſhed by Mr. *Oldenburgh*, there are ſome notable Communications from this Inquiſitive and Intelligent Perſon, whoſe Inſight into many Parts of the *Creation*, but eſpecially of the *Mineral Kingdom*, was beyond what had been attained by the moſt in many Parts of *America*.

§. 7. If one would therefore deſire an exact Picture of this Worthy Man, the Deſcription which the moſt Sober and Solid Writers of the Great *Philoſophick Work* do give of thoſe Perſons, who alone are qualified for the Smiles of Heaven upon their Enterprizes, would have exactly fitted him. He was a *Studious*, *Humble*, *Patient*, *Reſerved* and *Mortified* Perſon, and one in whom the Love of *God* was Fer-

vent,

vent, the Love of *Man* ſincere: And he had herewithal a certain *Extenſion of Soul*, which diſpoſed him to a *Generous Behaviour* towards thoſe, who by Learning, Breeding and Virtue, deſerve Reſpects, though of a Perſwaſion and Profeſſion in Religion very different from *his own*; which was *that* of a Reformed *Proteſtant*, and a *New-Engliſh Puritan*. In ſum, he was not more an *Adeptiſt* in thoſe Noble and Secret *Medicines*, which would reach the *Roots* of the Diſtempers that annoy Humane Bodies, and procure an *Univerſal Reſt* unto the *Archæus* on all Occaſions of Diſturbance, than he was in thoſe *Chriſtian Qualities*, which appear upon the Cure of the Diſtempers in the Minds of Men, by the Effectual *Grace* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

§. 8. In the Year 1643. after divers *Eſſays* made in ſome former Years, the ſeveral Colonies of *New England* became in *Fact*, as well as *Name*, **United Colonies.** And an Inſtrument was formed, wherein having declared, *That we all came into theſe parts of* America *with the ſame End and Aim, namely, to advance the Glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and enjoy the Liberties of the Goſpel with Purity and Peace*, it was firmly agreed between the ſeveral Juriſdictions, that there ſhould yearly be choſen *Two Commiſſioners* out of each, who ſhould meet at fit Places appointed for that purpoſe, with full Powers from the *General Courts* in each, to Concert and Conclude Matters of General Concernment for *Peace* or *War* of the ſeveral Colonies thus *Confederated*. In purſuance of this Laudable *Confederacy*, this moſt Meritorious *Governour* of *Connecticut* Colony accepted the Trouble of appearing as a *Commiſſioner* for that Colony, with the reſt met at *Boſton*, in the Year 1676. when the Calamities of the *Indian-War* were diſtreſſing the whole Country: But *here* falling Sick of a Fever, he dy'd on *April* 5. of that Year, and was Honourably Interred in the ſame Tomb with his Honourable Father.

§. 9. His Father, as long ago as the Year 1643. had ſeen Cauſe to Write unto him an Excellent Letter, wherein there were theſe among other Paſſages.

'You are the Chief of *Two* Families; I had 'by your Mother *Three Sons* and *Three Daughters*, and I had with her a *Large Portion* of 'outward Eſtate. Theſe now are all *gone*; 'Mother *gone*; Brethren and Siſters *gone*; you 'only are left to ſee the Vanity of theſe *Temporal things*, and learn *Wiſdom* thereby, 'which may be of more uſe to you, through 'the Lord's Bleſſing, than all that *Inheritance* 'which might have befallen you: And for 'which this may ſtay and quiet your Heart, '*That God is able to give you more than this*; 'and that it being ſpent in the furtherance of '*his Work*, which hath here proſpered ſo well, 'through his Power hitherto, you and yours 'may *certainly expect a liberal Portion in the Proſperity and Bleſſing thereof hereafter*; and 'the rather, becauſe it was not *forced* from you 'by a Father's Power, but freely *reſigned* by 'your ſelf, out of a Living and Filial Reſpect 'unto me, and your own readineſs unto the 'Work it ſelf. From whence, as I do often 'take Occaſion to Bleſs the Lord for you, ſo do 'I alſo Commend you and yours to his *Fatherly Bleſſing*, for a plentiful Reward to be 'rendred unto you. And doubt not, my Dear 'Son, but let your *Faith* be built upon his 'Promiſe and Faithfulneſs, that as he hath 'carried you hitherto through many Perils, and 'provided liberally for you, ſo he will do 'for the time to come, and will *never fail you, nor forſake you.* ——— *My Son*, the *Lord knows* how Dear thou art to me, and that my 'Care has been more for thee than for my ſelf. 'But *I know* thy Proſperity depends not on my 'Care, nor on *thine own*, but upon the Bleſſing 'of our *Heavenly Father*; neither doth it on 'the things of this World, but on the *Light of God's Countenance*, through the Merit and Mediation of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. It is *that* 'only which can give us *Peace of Conſcience* 'with *Contentation*; which can as well make 'our Lives Happy and Comfortable in a *mean* 'Eſtate, as in a *great* Abundance. But if you 'weigh things aright, and ſum up all the 'Turnings of Divine Providence together, you 'ſhall find great Advantage. — The Lord hath 'brought us to a *Good Land*; a Land, where 'we enjoy outward *Peace* and *Liberty*, and above all, the *Bleſſings of the Goſpel*, without 'the Burden of *Impoſitions* in Matters of *Religion*. Many Thouſands there are who would 'give *Great Eſtates* to enjoy our Condition. 'Labour therefore, my good Son, to increaſe 'our *Thankfulneſs* to God for all his Mercies 'to thee, eſpecially for that he hath revealed 'his *Everlaſting Good-will* to thee in Jeſus 'Chriſt, and joined thee to the viſible Body 'of his *Church*, in the Fellowſhip of his People, and hath ſaved thee in all thy *Travails* 'abroad, from being Infected with the *Vices* of 'theſe Countries where thou haſt been, (a Mercy vouchſafed but unto few Young Gentlemen '*Travellers*.) Let *him* have the Honour of it 'who kept thee. *He* it was who gave thee 'Favour in the Eyes of all with whom thou 'hadſt to do, both by Sea and Land; *He* it 'was who ſaved thee in all Perils; and *He* 'it is who hath given thee a Gift in Underſtanding and Art; and he it is who hath provided thee a Bleſſing in Marriage, a Comfortable Help, and many Sweet Children; and 'hath hitherto provided liberally for you all: 'And therefore I would have you to *Love* him 'again, and *Serve* him, and *Truſt* him for the 'time to come. Love and Prize that *Word of Truth*, which only makes known to you the 'Precious and Eternal Thoughts and Councils 'of the *Light Inacceſſible*. Deny your *own Wiſdom*, that you may find his; and eſteem it 'the greateſt Honour to lye under the Simplicity of the Goſpel of *Chriſt Crucified*, without 'which you can never enter into the *Secrets of his Tabernacle*, nor enjoy thoſe ſweet things

'which

‘ which *Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, nor* ‘ *can the Heart of Man conceive*; but God hath ‘ granted unto ſome few to know them even ‘ in this Life. Study well, my Son, the ſaying ‘ of the Apoſtle, *Knowledge puffeth up.* It is a ‘ *good Gift* of God, but when it lifts up the ‘ Mind above the *Croſs of Chriſt*, it is the *Pride* ‘ *of Life*, and the High-way to *Apoſtacy*, where- ‘ in many Men of great Learning and Hopes ‘ have periſhed. — In all the Exerciſe of your ‘ *Gifts*, and Improvement of your *Talents*, have ‘ an Eye to your *Maſter's End*, more than your ‘ *own*; and to the *Day of your Account*, that you ‘ may then have your *Quietus eſt*, even, *Well* ‘ *done, Good and Faithful Servant!* But my laſt ‘ and chief Requeſt to you, is, that you be ‘ careful to have your *Children* brought up in ‘ the Knowledge and Fear of God, and in the ‘ Faith of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *This* will ‘ give you the beſt *Comfort* of them, and keep ‘ them ſure from any *Want* or *Miſcarriage:* ‘ And when you part from them, it will be no ‘ ſmall joy to your Soul, that you *ſhall meet* ‘ *them again in Heaven!*

Doubtleſs, the Reader conſiders the *Hiſtorical* Paſſages in this Extract of the Letter thus Recited. Now, but by making this Reflection upon the Reſt, that as the *Prophetical Part* of it was notably fulfilled in the Eſtate, whereto the good Providence of God Recovered this Worthy Gentleman and his Family, ſo the *Monitory Part* of it was moſt Exemplarily attended in his Holy and Uſeful Converſation. I ſhall therein briefly ſum up the *Life* of a Perſon whom we ſhall call a *Second* unto none of our *Worthies*, but as we call him our *Second Winthrop.*

EPITAPHIUM.

Abi Viator;
Et Luge plures Magiſtratus in Uno periiſſe.
Redi Viator.
Non Periit, *ſed ad Cœleſtem Societatem*
Regia Magis Regiam,
Vere Adeptus,
Abiit:
WINTHROPUS, *Non minor magnis Majoribus.*

CHAP. XII.

ASSISTENTS.

MAGISTRATES of *Connecticut*-Colony, before *New-Haven* Colony was actually annexed unto it, were, (beſides the two Alternately, for the moſt Part, Elected Governours, *HOPKINS*, and *HAINS*.)

Roger Ludlow,	1636
John Steel,	1636
William Phelps,	1636
William Weſtwood,	1636
Andrew Ward,	1636
Thomas Wells,	1637
William Swayn,	1637
Matthew Mitchel,	1637
George Hull,	1637
William Whiting,	1637
John Maſon,	1637
George Willis,	1639
John Webſter,	1639
William Ludlow,	1640
William Hopkins,	1642
Henry Woolcot,	1643
George Fenwick,	1644
Coſmore,	1647
John Howel,	1647
John Cullick,	1648
Henry Clark,	1650
John Winthrop,	1651
Thomas Topping,	1651
John Talcot,	1654
John Ogden,	1656
Nathan Gold,	1657
Matthew Allyn,	1658
Richard Treat,	1658
Thomas Baker,	1658
Mulford,	1658
Alexander Knowles,	1658
John Wells,	1658
Robert Band,	1659
Rayner,	1661
John Allyn,	1662
Daniel Clark,	1662
Samuel Sherman,	1662
John Young,	1664

MAGISTATES of *New-Haven* Colony, before *Connecticut*-Colony could accompliſh its Coalition therewith, were, (beſides the Governours elſewhere mentioned)

Stephen Goodyear,	1637
Thomas Grigſon,	1637
Richard Malbon,	1637
William Leet,	1637
John Desborough,	1637
Tapp,	1637
William Fowler,	1637
Francis Newman,	1653
Aſtwood,	1653
Samuel Eaton,	1654
Benjamin Fen,	1654
Matthew Gilbert,	1658
Jaſper Crane,	1658
Robert Treat,	1659
William Jones,	1662

MAGISTRATES after the Two Colonies were content, according to their Charter, to become ONE, were,

John Winthrop, Gov.	1665
John Maſon,	1665
Matthew Allyn,	1665
Samuel Willys,	1665
Nathan Gold,	1665
John Talcot,	1665
Henry Woolcot,	1665
John Allyn,	1665
Samuel Sherman,	1665
James Richards,	1665
William Leet,	1665
William Jones,	1665
Benjamin Fen,	1665
Jaſper Crane,	1665
Daniel Clark,	1666
Alexander Bryans,	1668
James Biſhop,	1668
Anthony Howkins,	1668
Thomas Wells,	1668
John Naſh,	1672
Robert Treat,	1673
Thomas Topping,	1674
Matthew Gilbert,	1677
Andrew Leet,	1678
John Wadſworth,	1679
Robert Chapman,	1681
James Fitch,	1681
Samuel Maſon,	1683
Benjamin Newberry,	1685
Samuel Talcot,	1685
Giles Hamlin,	1685

While the Colonies were Cluſters of *Rich Grapes*, which had a *Bleſſing* in them. Such *Leaves* as theſe (which is in the *Proverbs* of the Jewiſh Nation, a Name for *Magiſtrates*) happily defended them from the *Storms* that moleſt the World.

Thoſe of the leaſt Character among them, yet came up to what the *Roman* Commonwealth required in their *Magiſtrates.*

Populus Romanus delegit Magiſtratus, quaſi Reipublicæ Villicos, in quibus, ſi qua præterea eſt Ars, facile patitur; ſin minus, virtute eorum & Innocentia Contentus eſt. Cic. Orat. Pro Plan.

THE Author of the following Narrative, is a Perſon of ſuch well known Integrity, Prudence and Veracity, that there is not any cauſe to Queſtion the Truth of what he here Relates. And moreover, this Writing of his is adorned with a very grateful Variety of Learning, and doth contain ſuch ſurprizing workings of Providence, as do well deſerve due Notice and Obſervation. On all which accounts, it is with juſt Confidence recommended to the Publick by

April 27. 1697.

Nath. Mather,
John Howe,
Matth. Mead.

Pietas

Pietas in Patriam:

THE

LIFE

OF HIS

EXCELLENCY

Sir William Phips, Knt.

Late Captain General, and Governour in Chief of the Province of the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay,

NEW-ENGLAND.

Containing the Memorable *Changes* Undergone, and *Actions* Performed by Him.

Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.

Diſcite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.

To his Excellency the Earl of **Bellomont,** *Baron of* **Coloony** *in* **Ireland,** *General Governour of the Province of* **Maſſachuſets** *in* **New-England,** *and the Provinces annexed.*

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

THE Station in which the Hand of the God of Heaven hath diſpoſed His Majeſties Heart to place your Honour, doth ſo manifeſtly entitle your Lordſhip to this enſuing Narrative, that its being thus Preſented to your Excellencies Hand, is thereby both Apologized for and Juſtified. I believe, had the Writer of it, when he Penned it, had any Knowledge of your Excellency, he would himſelf have done it, and withal, would have amply and publickly Congratulated the People of *New-England*, on account of their having ſuch a Governour, and your Excellency, on account of your being made Governour over them. For though as to ſome other things it may poſſibly be a place to ſome Perſons not ſo deſirable, yet I believe this Character may be juſtly given of them, that they are the beſt People under Heaven; there being among them, not only leſs of open Profaneneſs, and leſs of Lewdneſs, but alſo more of the ſerious Profeſſion, Practice, and Power of Chriſtianity, in proportion to their number, than is among any other People upon the Face of the whole Earth. Not but I

doubt, there are many bad Perſons among them, and too many diſtemper'd Humours, perhaps even among thoſe who are truly good. It would be a wonder if it ſhould be otherwiſe; for it hath of late Years, on various accounts, and ſome very ſingular and unuſual ones, been a Day of ſore Temptation with that whole People. Nevertheleſs, as I look upon it as a Favour from God to thoſe Plantations, that he hath ſet your Excellency over them, ſo I do account it a Favour from God to your Excellency, that he hath committed and truſted in your Hand ſo great a part of his peculiar Treaſure and precious Jewels, as are among that People. Beſides, that on other accounts the Lord Jeſus hath more of a viſible Intereſt in *New-England*, than in any of the Outgoings of the *Engliſh* Nation in *America*. They have at their own Charge not only ſet up Schools of lower Learning up and down the Country; but have alſo erected an Univerſity, which hath been the happy Nurſery of many Uſeful, Learned, and excellently Accompliſhed Perſons. And moreover, from them hath the bleſſed Goſpel been Preached to the Poor, Barbarous, Savage *Heathen* there; and it hath taken ſuch Root among them, that there were lately four and twenty Aſſemblies in which the Name of the Lord Jeſus was conſtantly called on, and celebrated in their own Language. In theſe things *New-England* outſhineth all the Colonies of the *Engliſh* in thoſe goings down of the Sun. I know your Excellency will Favour and Countenance their Univerſity, and alſo the Propagating of the Goſpel among the Natives; for the Intereſt of Chriſt in that Part of the Earth is much concerned in them. That the God of the Spirits of all Fleſh would abundantly repleniſh your Excellency with a ſuitable Spirit for the Service to which he hath called your Lordſhip, that he would give your Honour a proſperous Voyage thither, and when there, make your Excellency a rich Bleſſing to that People, and them a rejoicing to your Excellency, is the Prayer of,

April 27.
1697.

My Lord,

Your Excellencies moſt

Humble Servant,

Nath. Mather.

THE

THE LIFE Of His EXCELLENCY Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS*, Knt. LATE GOVERNOUR OF NEW-ENGLAND.

§. 1. IF ſuch a Renowned Chymiſt, as *Quercetanus*, with a whole Tribe of *Labourers in the Fire*, ſince that Learned Man, find it no eaſie thing to make the common part of Mankind believe, That they can take a *Plant* in its more vigorous Conſiſtence, and after a due *Maceration*, *Fermentation* and *Separation*, extract the *Salt* of that *Plant*, which, as it were, in a *Chaos*, inviſibly reſerves the *Form* of the whole, with its vital Principle; and, that keeping the *Salt* in a *Glaſs* Hermetically ſealed, they can, by applying a *Soft Fire* to the *Glaſs*, make the *Vegetable* riſe by little and little out of its *Aſhes*, to ſurprize the Spectators with a notable Illuſtration of that *Reſurrection*, in the Faith whereof the *Jews* returning from the Graves of their Friends, pluck up the *Graſs* from the Earth, uſing thoſe Words of the Scripture thereupon, *Your Bones ſhall flouriſh like an Herb*: 'Tis likely, that all the Obſervations of ſuch Writers, as the Incomparable *Borellus*, will find it hard enough to produce our Belief, that the *Eſſential Salts* of *Animals* may be ſo Prepared and Preſerved, that an Ingenious Man may have the whole *Ark* of *Noah* in his own Study, and raiſe the fine *Shape* of an *Animal* out of its Aſhes at his Pleaſure: And, that by the like Method from the *Eſſential Salts of Humane Duſt*, a Philoſopher may, without any Criminal *Necromancy*, call up the *Shape* of any *Dead* Anceſtor from the Duſt whereinto his Body has been Incinerated. The *Reſurrection of the Dead*, will be as Juſt, as Great an Article of our *Creed*, although the *Relations* of theſe Learned Men ſhould paſs for *Incredible Romances*: But yet there is an *Anticipation* of that Bleſſed *Reſurrection*, carrying in it ſome Reſemblance of theſe *Curioſities*, which is performed, when we do in a *Book*, as in a *Glaſs*, reſerve the Hiſtory of our Departed *Friends*; and by bringing our *Warm Affections* unto ſuch an Hiſtory, we revive, as it were, out of their *Aſhes*, the true *Shape* of thoſe Friends, and bring to a freſh View, what was *Memorable* and *Imitable* in them. Now, in as much as *Mortality* has done its part upon a Conſiderable Perſon, with whom I had the Honour to be well acquainted, and a Perſon as *Memorable* for the Wonderful *Changes* which befel him, as *Imitable* for his *Virtues* and *Actions* under thoſe *Changes*; I ſhall endeavour, with the *Chymiſtry* of an Impartial *Hiſtorian*, to *raiſe* my Friend ſo far out of his *Aſhes*, as to ſhew him again unto the World; and if the Character of *Heroick Virtue* be for a Man to *deſerve well of Mankind, and be great in the Purpoſe and Succeſs of Eſſays to do ſo*, I may venture to promiſe my Reader ſuch Example of *Heroick Virtue*, in the Story whereto I Invite him, that he ſhall ſay, it would have been little ſhort of a *Vice in me*, to have withheld it from him. Nor is it any *Partiality* for the Memory of my Deceaſed Friend, or any other Siniſter Deſign whatſoever, that has Invited me to this Undertaking; but I have undertaken this Matter from a ſincere Deſire, that the Ever-Glorious Lord *JESUS CHRIST* may have the Glory of his *Power* and *Goodneſs*, and of his *Providence*, in what he did for ſuch a Perſon,

and

and in what he diſpoſed and aſſiſted that Perſon to do for him. Now, *May he aſſiſt my Writing, even he that prepared the Subject, whereof I am to Write !*

§. 2. So *obſcure* was the *Original* of that Memorable Perſon, whoſe *Actions* I am going to relate, that I muſt, in a way of Writing, like that of *Plutarch*, prepare my Reader for the intended Relation, by firſt ſearching the *Archives* of Antiquity for a *Parallel.* Now, becauſe we will not *Parallel* him with *Eumenes*, who, though he were the Son of a Poor Carrier, became a Governour of Mighty Provinces; nor with *Marius*, whoſe mean Parentage did not hinder his becoming a Glorious Defender of his Country, and Seven times the Chief Magiſtrate of the Chiefeſt City in the Univerſe: Nor with *Iphicrates*, who became a Succeſsful and Renowned General of a Great People, though his Father were a *Cobler:* Nor with *Diocleſian*, the Son of a poor *Scrivener :* Nor with *Bonoſus*, the Son of a poor *School-Maſter*, who yet came to ſway the Scepter of the *Roman* Empire: Nor, laſtly, will I compare him to the more late Example of the Celebrated *Mazarini*, who though no Gentleman by his Extraction, and one ſo ſorrily Educated, that he might have wrote *Man*, before he could write at all; yet aſcended unto that Grandeur, in the Memory of many yet living, as to Umpire the moſt Important Affairs of *Chriſtendom :* We will decline looking any further in that *Hemiſphere* of the World, and make the *Hue and Cry* throughout the Regions of *America*, the *New World*, which *He*, that is becoming the Subject of our Hiſtory, by his *Nativity*, belong'd unto. And in *America*, the firſt that meets me, is *Franciſco Pizarro*, who, though a *Spurious Offspring*, expoſed when a *Babe* in a Church-Porch, at a ſorry Village of *Navarre*, and afterwards employ'd while he was a *Boy*, in keeping of Cattel, yet, at length, ſtealing into *America*, he ſo thrived upon his Adventures there, that upon ſome Diſcoveries, which with an handful of Men he had in a deſperate Expedition made of *Peru*, he obtain'd the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion for the Conqueſt of it, and at laſt ſo incredibly enrich'd himſelf by the Conqueſt, that he was made the firſt Vice-Roy of *Peru*, and created Marqueſs of *Anatilla.*

To the Latter and Higheſt Part of that Story, if any thing hindred His Excellency Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS*, from affording of a *Parallel*, it was not the want either of *Deſign*, or of *Courage*, or of *Conduct* in himſelf, but it was the Fate of a *Premature Mortality.* For my Reader now being ſatisfied, that a Perſon's being *Obſcure* in his *Original*, is not always a Juſt Prejudice to an Expectation of *Conſiderable Matters* from him; I ſhall now inform him, that this our *PHIPS* was Born **Feb. 2.** *A. Dom.* 1650. at a deſpicable Plantation on the River of *Kennebeck*, and almoſt the furtheſt Village of the Eaſtern Settlement of *New-England.* And as the *Father* of that Man, which was as great a Bleſſing as *England* had in the Age of that Man, was a *Smith*, ſo a *Gun-Smith*, namely, *James Phips*, once of *Briſtol*, had the Honour of being the *Father* to him, whom we ſhall preſently ſee, made by the God of Heaven as great a Bleſſing to *New-England*, as that Country could have had, if they themſelves had pleaſed. His fruitful *Mother*, yet living, had no leſs than *Twenty-Six* Children, whereof *Twenty-One* were Sons; but Equivalent to them all was *WILLIAM*, one of the youngeſt, whom his *Father* dying, left young with his *Mother*, and with her he lived, *keeping of Sheep in the Wilderneſs*, until he was Eighteen Years Old; at which time he began to feel ſome further Diſpoſitions of Mind from that *Providence* of God which *took him from the Sheepfolds, from following the Ewes great with Young, and brought him to feed his People.* Reader, enquire no further who was his *Father ?* Thou ſhalt anon ſee, that he was, as the *Italians* expreſs it, *A Son to his own Labours !*

§. 3. His Friends earneſtly ſolicited him to ſettle among them in a Plantation of the *Eaſt*; but he had an Unaccountable *Impulſe* upon his Mind, perſwading him, as he would privately hint unto ſome of them, *That he was Born to greater Matters.* To come at thoſe *greater Matters*, his firſt Contrivance was to bind himſelf an Apprentice unto a *Ship-Carpenter* for Four Years; in which time he became a Maſter of the *Trade*, that once in a Veſſel of more than *Forty Thouſand Tuns*, repaired the Ruins of the Earth; *Noah*'s, I mean; he then betook himſelf an Hundred and Fifty Miles further a Field, even to *Boſton*, the Chief Town of *New-England*; which being a Place of the moſt Buſineſs and Reſort in thoſe Parts of the World, he expected there more Commodiouſly to purſue the *Spes Majorum & Meliorum*, *Hopes* which had inſpir'd him. At *Boſton*, where it was that he now learn'd, firſt of all, to *Read* and *Write*, he followed his Trade for about a Year; and by a laudable Deportment, ſo recommended himſelf, that he Married a Young Gentlewoman of good Repute, who was the Widow of one Mr. *John Hull*, a well-bred Merchant, but the Daughter of one Captain *Roger Spencer*, a Perſon of good Faſhion, who having ſuffer'd much damage in his Eſtate, by ſome unkind and unjuſt Actions, which he bore with ſuch Patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the Publick, he would not ſeek Satisfaction, *Poſterity* might afterward ſee the Reward of his *Patience*, in what Providence hath now done for one of his own *Poſterity.* Within a little while after his Marriage, he indented with ſeveral Perſons in *Boſton*, to Build them a Ship at *Sheeps-coat* River, Two or Three Leagues Eaſtward of *Kennebeck*; where having Lanched the Ship, he alſo provided a *Lading* of Lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the Advantage of all Concern'd. But juſt as the Ship was hardly finiſhed, the Barbarous *Indians* on that

that River, broke forth into an Open and Cruel War upon the *Engliſh*; and the miſerable People, ſurprized by ſo ſudden a ſtorm of Blood, had no Refuge from the Infidels, but the *Ship* now finiſhing in the Harbour. Whereupon he left his intended *Lading* behind him, and inſtead thereof, carried with him his old Neighbours and their Families, free of all Charges, to *Boſton*; ſo the *firſt Action* that he did, after he was his own Man, was to *ſave his Father's Houſe*, with the reſt of the Neighbourhood, from Ruin; but the Diſappointment which befel him from the Loſs of his other *Lading*, plunged his Affairs into greater Embaraſments with ſuch as had employ'd him.

§. 4. But he was hitherto no more than beginning to make *Scaffolds* for further and higher *Actions!* He would frequently tell the Gentlewoman his Wife, That he ſhould yet be *Captain of a King's Ship*; That he ſhould come to have the *Command of better Men* than he was now accounted himſelf; and, That he ſhould be Owner of a *Fair Brick-Houſe* in the *Green-Lane* of *North-Boſton*; and, That, it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained theſe Paſſages with a ſufficient Incredulity; but he had ſo *ſerious* and *poſitive* an Expectation of them, that it is not eaſie to ſay, what was the *Original* thereof. He was of an Enterprizing *Genius*, and naturally diſdained *Littleneſs*: But his Diſpoſition for *Buſineſs* was of the *Dutch* Mould, where, with a little ſhew of *Wit*, there is as much *Wiſdom* demonſtrated, as can be ſhewn by any Nation. His Talent lay not in the *Airs* that ſerve chiefly for the pleaſant and ſudden Turns of *Converſation*; but he might ſay, as *Themiſtocles*, *Though he could not play upon a Fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little City become a Great One.* He would *prudently* contrive a weighty Undertaking, and then patiently purſue it unto the End. He was of an Inclination, cutting rather like a *Hatchet*, than like a *Razor*; he would propoſe very Conſiderable Matters to himſelf, and then ſo *cut through* them, that no Difficulties could put by the *Edge* of his Reſolutions. Being thus of the *True Temper*, for doing of *Great Things*, he betakes himſelf to the *Sea*, the Right *Scene* for ſuch Things; and upon Advice of a *Spaniſh Wreck* about the *Bahama's*, he took a Voyage thither; but with little more ſucceſs, than what juſt ſerved him a little to furniſh him for a Voyage to *England*; whither he went in a Veſſel, not much unlike that which the *Dutchmen* ſtamped on their *Firſt Coin*, with theſe Words about it, *Incertum quo Fata ferant.* Having firſt informed himſelf that there was another *Spaniſh Wreck*, wherein was loſt a mighty Treaſure, hitherto undiſcovered, he had a ſtrong Impreſſion upon his Mind that *He* muſt be the Diſcoverer; and he made ſuch Repreſentations of his Deſign at *White-Hall*, that by the Year 1683. he became the Captain of *a King's Ship*, and arrived at *New-England* Commander of the *Algier-Roſe*, a Frigot of Eighteen Guns, and Ninety-Five Men.

§. 5. To Relate all the *Dangers* through which he paſſed, both by Sea and Land, and all the Tireſome Trials of his *Patience*, as well as of his *Courage*, while Year after Year the moſt vexing Accidents imaginable delay'd the Succeſs of his Deſign, it would even Tire the patience of the Reader: For very great was the Experiment that Captain *Phips* made of the *Italian* Obſervation, *He that cann't ſuffer both Good and Evil, will never come to any great Preferment.* Wherefore I ſhall ſuperſede all *Journal* of his Voyages to and fro, with reciting one Inſtance of his Conduct, that ſhow'd him to be a Perſon of no contemptible Capacity. While he was Captain of the *Algier-Roſe*, his Men growing weary of their unſucceſsful Enterprize, made a Mutiny, wherein they approach'd him on the Quarter-Deck, with Drawn Swords in their Hands, and required him to join with them in Running away with the Ship, to drive a Trade of Piracy on the *South Seas*. Captain *Phips*, though he had not ſo much of a Weapon as an *Ox-Goad*, or a *Jaw-bone* in his Hands, yet like another *Shamgar* or *Samſon*, with a moſt undaunted Fortitude, he ruſh'd in upon them, and with the Blows of his bare Hands, *Fell'd* many of them, and *Quell'd* all the Reſt. But this is not the Inſtance which I intended: That which I intend is, That (as it has been related unto me) One Day while his Frigot lay *Careening*, at a deſolate *Spaniſh* Iſland, by the ſide of a Rock, from whence they had laid a Bridge to the Shoar, the Men, whereof he had about an *Hundred*, went all, but about Eight or Ten, to divert themſelves, as they pretended, in the *Woods*: Where they all entred into an *Agreement*, which they Sign'd in a Ring, That about ſeven a Clock that Evening they would ſeize the Captain, and thoſe Eight or Ten, which they knew to be True unto him, and leave them to periſh on this Iſland, and ſo be gone away unto the *South Sea* to *ſeek their Fortune.* Will the Reader now imagine, that Captain *Phips* having Advice of this Plot but about an Hour and half before it was to be put in Execution, yet within *Two Hours* brought all theſe Rogues down upon their Knees to beg for their Lives? But ſo it was! For theſe Knaves conſidering that they ſhould want a *Carpenter* with them in their *Villanous Expedition*, ſent a Meſſenger to fetch unto them the *Carpenter*, who was then at Work upon the Veſſel; and unto him they ſhew'd their *Articles*; telling him what he muſt look for if he did not *ſubſcribe* among them. The *Carpenter* being an honeſt Fellow, did with much importunity prevail for one half hours Time to conſider of the Matter; and returning to Work upon the Veſſel, with a *Spy* by them ſet upon him, he feigned himſelf taken with a Fit of the *Cholick*, for the Relief whereof he ſuddenly run unto the Captain in the Great Cabbin for a *Dram*; where, when he came, his

buſineſs

buſineſs was only in brief, to tell the Captain of the horrible Diſtreſs which he was fallen into; but the Captain bid him as briefly return to the Rogues in the *Woods*, and Sign their *Articles*, and leave *him* to provide for the Reſt. The *Carpenter* was no ſooner gone, but Captain *Phips* calling together the few Friends (it may be ſeven or eight) that were left him aboard, whereof the Gunner was one, demanded of them, whether they would ſtand by him in the Extremity, which he informed them was now come upon him; whereto they reply'd, *They would ſtand by him, if he could ſave them*; and he Anſwer'd, *By the help of God he did not fear it.* All their Proviſions had been carried Aſhoar to a Tent, made for that purpoſe there; about which they had placed ſeveral Great Guns to defend it, in caſe of any *Aſſault* from *Spaniards*, that might happen to come that way. Wherefore Captain *Phips* immediately ordered thoſe Guns to be ſilently Drawn'd and Turn'd; and ſo pulling up the Bridge, he charged his Great Guns aboard, and brought them to Bear on every ſide of the Tent. By this Time the *Army of Rebels* comes out of the Woods; but as they drew near to the Tent of Proviſions, they ſaw ſuch a change of Circumſtances, that they cried out, *We are Betray'd!* And they were ſoon confirm'd in it, when they heard the Captain with a ſtern Fury call to them, *Stand off, ye Wretches, at your Peril!* He quickly ſaw them caſt into a more than ordinary Confuſion, when they ſaw *Him* ready to Fire his Great Guns upon them, if they offered one Step further than he permitted them: And when he had ſignified unto them his *Reſolve* to abandon them unto all the Deſolation which they had purpoſed for *him*, he cauſed the *Bridge* to be again laid, and his Men begun to take the Proviſions abroad. When the Wretches beheld what was coming upon them, they fell to very humble Entreaties; and at laſt fell down upon their Knees, proteſting, *That they never had any thing againſt him, except only his unwillingneſs to go away with the King's Ship upon the* South-Sea *Deſign: But upon all other Accounts, they would chuſe rather to Live and Die with him, than with any Man in the World; however, ſince they ſaw how much he was diſſatisfied at it, they would inſiſt upon it no more, and humbly begg'd his Pardon.* And when he judg'd that he had kept them on their *Knees* long enough, he having firſt ſecur'd their *Arms*, received them aboard; but he immediately weighed Anchor, and arriving at *Jamaica*, he Turn'd them off. Now with a ſmall Company of other Men he ſailed from thence to *Hiſpaniola*, where by the Policy of his Addreſs, he fiſhed out of a very old *Spaniard*, (or *Portugueſe*) a little Advice about the true Spot where lay the *Wreck* which he had been hitherto ſeeking, as unproſperouſly, as the *Chymiſts* have their *Auriſick Stone*: That it was upon a *Reef of Shoals*, a few Leagues to the Northward of *Port de la Plata*, upon *Hiſpaniola*, a Port ſo call'd, it ſeems, from the Landing of ſome of the *Shipwreck'd* Company, with a Boat full of Plate, ſaved out of their Sinking Frigot: Nevertheleſs, when he had ſearched very narrowly the Spot, whereof the old *Spaniard* had adviſed him, he had not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such *Thorns* did vex his Affairs while he was in the *Roſe-Frigot*; but none of all theſe things could retund the Edge of his Expectations to find the *Wreck*; with ſuch Expectations he return'd then into *England*, that he might there better furniſh himſelf to Proſecute a *New Diſcovery*; for though he judged he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right *Spot*, yet he found his preſent Company too ill a Crew to be confided in.

§. 6. So *proper* was his Behaviour, that the beſt Noble Men in the Kingdom now admitted him into their Converſation; but yet he was oppoſed by powerful Enemies, that Clogg'd his Affairs with ſuch Demurrages, and ſuch *Diſappointments*, as would have wholly Diſcouraged his Deſigns, if his Patience had not been *Invincible. He who can wait, hath what he deſireth.* This his Indefatigable *Patience*, with a proportionable *Diligence*, at length overcame the Difficulties that had been thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of *Albemarle*, and ſome other Perſons of Quality, to fit him out, he ſet Sail for the *Fiſhing-Ground*, which had been ſo well *baited* half an Hundred Years before: And as he had already diſcovered his *Capacity for Buſineſs* in many conſiderable Actions, he now added unto thoſe Diſcoveries, by not only *providing* all, but alſo by *inventing* many of the Inſtruments neceſſary to the proſecution of his intended *Fiſhery*. Captain *Phips* arriving with a Ship and a *Tender* at *Port de la Plata*, made a ſtout *Canoo* of a ſtately *Cotton-Tree*, ſo large as to carry Eight or Ten Oars, for the making of which *Periaga* (as they call it) he did, with the ſame induſtry that he did every thing elſe, employ his own *Hand* and *Adſe*, and endure no little hardſhip, lying abroad in the Woods many Nights together. This *Periaga*, with the *Tender*, being Anchored at a place Convenient, the *Periaga* kept Busking to and again, but could only diſcover a *Reef of Riſing Shoals* thereabouts, called, *The Boilers*, which Riſing to be within Two or Three Foot of the Surface of the Sea, were yet ſo ſteep, that a Ship ſtriking on them, would immediately ſink down, who could ſay, *how many Fathom* into the Ocean? Here they could get no other Pay for their long *peeping* among the *Boilers*, but only ſuch as cauſed them to think upon returning to their Captain with the *bad News* of their total Diſappointment. Nevertheleſs, as they were upon the Return, one of the Men looking over the ſide of the *Periaga*, into the calm Water, he ſpied a *Sea Feather*, growing, as he judged, out of a Rock; whereupon they bad one of their *Indians* to Dive and fetch this *Feather*, that they might however carry home *ſomething* with them, and make, at leaſt, as fair a Triumph as *Caligula's*.

The

The *Diver* bringing up the *Feather*, brought therewithal a ſurprizing Story, That he perceived a Number of *Great Guns* in the *Watry World* where he had found his *Feather*; the *Report* of which *Great Guns* exceedingly aſtoniſhed the whole Company; and at once turned their *Deſpondencies* for their ill ſucceſs into *Aſſurances*, that they had now lit upon the *true Spot* of Ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in theſe *Aſſurances*, when upon further Diving, the *Indian* fetcht up a *Sow*, as they ſtil'd it, or a Lump of Silver, worth perhaps Two or Three Hundred Pounds. Upon this they prudently *Buoy'd* the place, that they might readily find it again; and they went back unto their Captain whom for ſome while they diſtreſſed with nothing but ſuch *Bad News*, as they formerly thought they muſt have carried him: Nevertheleſs, they ſo ſlipt in the Sow of Silver on one ſide under the Table, where they were now ſitting with the Captain, and hearing him expreſs his Reſolutions to wait ſtill patiently upon the Providence of God under theſe Diſappointments, that when he ſhould look on one ſide, he might ſee that *Odd Thing* before him. At laſt he *ſaw* it; ſeeing it, he cried out with ſome Agony, *Why? What is this? Whence comes this?* And then, with changed Countenances, they told him *how*, and *where* they got it: *Then*, ſaid he, *Thanks be to God! We are made*; and ſo away they went, all hands to Work; wherein they had this one further piece of Remarkable Proſperity, that whereas if they had firſt fallen upon that part of the *Spaniſh Wreck*, where the Pieces of Eight had been ſtowed in Bags among the Ballaſt, they had ſeen a more laborious, and leſs enriching time of it: Now, moſt happily, they firſt fell upon that Room in the *Wreck* where the *Bullion* had been ſtored up; and they ſo proſpered in this *New Fiſhery*, that in a little while they had, without the loſs of any Man's Life, brought up *Thirty Two Tuns* of Silver; for it was now come to meaſuring of Silver by *Tuns*. Beſides which, one *Adderly* of *Providence*, who had formerly been very helpful to Captain *Phips* in the Search of this *Wreck*, did upon former Agreement meet him now with a little Veſſel here; and *he*, with his few hands, took up about *Six Tuns* of Silver; whereof nevertheleſs he made ſo little uſe, that in a Year or Two he Died at *Bermudas*, and as I have heard, he ran *Diſtracted* ſome while before he Died. Thus did there once again come into the Light of the Sun, a Treaſure which had been half an Hundred Years *groaning under the Waters*: And in this time there was grown upon the Plate a Cruſt like *Limeſtone*, to the thickneſs of ſeveral Inches; which Cruſt being broken open by Irons contrived for that purpoſe, they knockt out whole Buſhels of ruſty Pieces of Eight which were grown thereinto. Beſides that incredible Treaſure of Plate in various Forms, thus fetch'd up, from Seven or Eight Fathom under Water, there were vaſt Riches of *Gold*, and *Pearls*, and *Jewels*, which they alſo lit upon; and indeed, for a more Comprehenſive *Invoice*, I muſt but ſummarily ſay, *All that a* Spaniſh *Frigot uſes to be enricht withal*. Thus did they continue *Fiſhing* till their Proviſions failing them, 'twas time to be gone; but before they went, Captain *Phips* cauſed *Adderly* and his Folk to ſwear, That they would none of them Diſcover the Place of the *Wreck*, or come to the Place any more till the next Year, when he expected again to be there himſelf. And it was alſo Remarkable, that though the Sows came up ſtill ſo faſt, that on the very laſt Day of their being there, they took up *Twenty*, yet it was afterwards found, that they had in a manner wholly cleared that Room of the Ship where thoſe *Maſſy things* were Stowed.

But there was one extraordinary Diſtreſs which Captain *Phips* now found himſelf plunged into: For his Men were come out with him upon Seamens Wages, at ſo much *per* Month; and when they ſaw ſuch vaſt Litters of Silver *Sows* and *Pigs*, as they call them, come on Board them at the Captain's Call, they knew not how to bear it, that they ſhould not *ſhare* all among themſelves, and be gone to lead *a ſhort Life and a merry*, in a Climate where the Arreſt of thoſe that had hired them ſhould not reach them. In this terrible Diſtreſs he made his Vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him ſafe home to *England* with what *he* had now given him, *to ſuck of the Abundance of the Seas, and of the Treaſures hid in the Sands*, he would for ever Devote himſelf unto the Intereſts of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of his People, eſpecially in the *Country* which he did himſelf Originally belong unto. And he then uſed all the obliging *Arts* imaginable to make his Men true unto him, eſpecially by aſſuring them, that beſides their *Wages*, they ſhould have ample *Requitals* made unto them; which if the reſt of his Employers would not agree unto, he would himſelf diſtribute his *own ſhare* among them. Relying upon the Word of One whom they had ever found worthy of their *Love*, and of their *Truſt*, they declared themſelves *Content*: But ſtill keeping a moſt careful Eye upon them, he haſtned back for *England* with as much *Money* as he thought he could then ſafely *Truſt* his Veſſel withal; not counting it ſafe to ſupply himſelf with neceſſary Proviſions at any nearer Port, and ſo return unto the *Wreck*, by which delays he wiſely feared leſt all might be loſt, more ways than one. Though he alſo left ſo much behind him, that many from divers Parts made very conſiderable Voyages of *Gleanings* after his *Harveſt*: Which came to paſs by certain *Bermudians*, compelling of *Adderly*'s Boy, whom they *ſpirited* away with them, to tell them the exact place where the *Wreck* was to be found. Captain *Phips* now coming up to *London* in the Year 1887. with near *Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling* aboard him, did acquit himſelf with ſuch an Exemplary Honeſty, that partly by his fulfilling his Aſſurances to the

Seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual Care to have his Employers defrauded of nothing that might conſcienciouſly belong unto them, he had leſs than *Sixteen Thouſand Pounds* left unto himſelf: As an acknowledgment of which *Honeſty* in him, the Duke of *Albemarle* made unto his Wife, whom he never ſaw, a Preſent of a *Golden Cup*, near a Thouſand Pound in value. The Character of an *Honeſt Man* he had ſo merited in the whole Courſe of his Life, and eſpecially in this laſt act of it, that this, in Conjunction with his other ſerviceable Qualities, procured him the Favours of the Greateſt Perſons in the Nation; and *he that had been ſo diligent in his Buſineſs, muſt now ſtand before Kings, and not ſtand before mean Men.* There were indeed certain *mean Men*, if baſe, little, dirty Tricks, will entitle Men to Meanneſs, who urged the King to ſeize his *whole Cargo*, inſtead of the Tenths, upon his firſt Arrival; on this pretence, that he had not been rightly inform'd of the *True ſtate of the Caſe*, when he Granted the *Patent*, under the Protection whereof theſe *particular Men* had made themſelves Maſters of all this Mighty Treaſure; but the King replied, That he had been *rightly informed* by Captain *Phips* of the whole Matter, as it now proved; and that it was the Slanders of one then preſent, which had, unto his Damnage, hindred him from hearkning to the Information: Wherefore he would give them, he ſaid, no Diſturbance; they might keep what they had got; but Captain *Phips*, he ſaw, was a Perſon of that Honeſty, Fidelity and Ability, that he ſhould not want his Countenance. Accordingly the King, in Conſideration of the Service done by him, in bringing ſuch a Treaſure into the Nation, conferr'd upon him the Honour of *Knighthood*; and if we now reckon him, *A Knight of the Golden Fleece*, the Stile might pretend unto ſome Circumſtances that would juſtifie it. Or call him, if you pleaſe, *The Knight of Honeſty*; for it was *Honeſty* with *Induſtry* that raiſed him; and he became a Mighty River, without the running in of Muddy Water to make him ſo. Reader, now make a Pauſe, and behold *One Raiſed by God!*

§. 7. I am willing to Employ the Teſtimonies of others, as much as may be, to ſupport the Credit of my Hiſtory: And therefore, as I have hitherto related no more than what there are others *Others* enough to avouch; thus I ſhall chuſe the Words of an Ingenious Perſon Printed at *London* ſome Years ago, to expreſs the Sum of what remains, whoſe Words are theſe; 'It has always been Sir *William Phips*'s 'Diſpoſition to ſeek the *Wealth* of his People 'with as great Zeal and Unweariedneſs, as 'our *Publicans* uſe to ſeek their *Loſs* and *Ruin*. 'At firſt it ſeems they were in hopes to gain 'this Gentleman to their Party, as thinking him '*Good Natur'd*, and eaſie to be flattered out of 'his Underſtanding; and the more, becauſe 'they had the advantage of ſome, no very good, 'Treatment that Sir *William* had formerly met 'with from the People and Government of '*New-England.* But Sir *William* ſoon ſhewed 'them, that what they expected would be his '*Temptation* to lead them into their *little Tricks*, 'he embraced as a Glorious Opportunity to 'ſhew his *Generoſity* and *Greatneſs of Mind*; 'for, in Imitation of the Greateſt Worthies that 'have ever been, he rather choſe to join in the 'Defence of his Country, with ſome Perſons 'who formerly were none of his Friends, than 'become the Head of a *Faction*, to its Ruin and 'Deſolation. It ſeems this Noble Diſpoſition of 'Sir *William*, joined with that Capacity and 'good Succeſs wherewith he hath been attended, in Raiſing himſelf by ſuch an Occaſion, 'as it may be, all things conſidered, has *never* '*happened to any before him*, makes theſe Men 'apprehenſive;——And it muſt needs heighten 'their trouble to ſee, that he neither hath, nor 'doth ſpare himſelf, nor any thing that is near 'and dear unto him, in promoting the Good of 'his Native Country.

When Sir *William Phips* was *per ardua & aſpera*, thus raiſed into an *Higher Orb*, it might eaſily be thought that he could not be without Charming Temptations to take the *way on the left hand.* But as the Grace of God kept him in the midſt of none of the ſtricteſt Company, unto which his Affairs daily led him, from abandoning himſelf to the lewd Vices of *Gaming, Drinking, Swearing* and *Whoring*, which the Men *that made* England *to Sin*, debauch'd ſo many of the Gentry into, and he deſerved the Salutations of the *Roman* Poet:

> *Cum Tu, inter ſcabiem tantam, & Contagia Lucri,*
> *Nil parvum ſapias, & adhuc Sublimia cures:*

Thus he was worthy to paſs among the Inſtances of *Heroick Vertue* for that *Humility* that ſtill Adorned him: He was *Raiſed*, and though he prudently accommodated himſelf to the *Quality* whereto he was now *Raiſed*, yet none could perceive him to be *Lifted up.* Or, if this were not *Heroick*, yet I will Relate one Thing more of him that muſt certainly be accounted ſo. He had in his own Country of *New-England* met with *Provocations* that were enough to have Alienated any Man Living, that had no more than *Fleſh and Blood* in him, from the Service of it; and ſome that were Enemies to that Country, now lay hard at him to join with them in their Endeavours to Raviſh away their *Ancient Liberties.* But this *Gentleman* had ſtudied another way to *Revenge* himſelf upon his Country, and that was to ſerve it in all *its* Intereſts, with all of *his*, even with his *Eſtate*, his *Time*, his *Care*, his *Friends*, and his very *Life!* The old *Heathen* Virtue of PIETAS IN PATRIAM, or, *LOVE TO ONES COUNTRY*, he turned into *Chriſtian*; and ſo notably exemplified it, in all the Reſt of his *Life*, that it will be an Eſſential *Thread* which is to be now interwoven into all that remains of his

his *Hiſtory*, and his *Character*. Accordingly though he had the Offers of a very Gainful Place among the *Commiſſioners of the Navy*, with many other Invitations to ſettle himſelf in *England*, nothing but a Return to *New-England* would content him. And whereas the Charters of *New-England* being taken away, there was a Governour Impoſed upon the Territories with as *Arbitrary* and as *Treaſonable* a *Commiſſion*, perhaps, as ever was heard of; a *Commiſſion*, by which the Governour, with Three or Four more, none of whom were choſen by the People, had Power to make what *Laws* they would, and Levy *Taxes*, according to their own Humours, upon the People; and he himſelf had Power to ſend the beſt Men in the Land more than Ten Thouſand Miles out of it, as he pleaſed: And in the Execution of his Power, the Country was every Day ſuffering Intollerable *Invaſions* upon their *Proprieties*, yea, and the Lives of the beſt Men in the Territory began to be practiſed upon: Sir *William Phips* applied himſelf to Conſider what was the moſt ſignificant Thing that could be done by him for that poor People in their preſent Circumſtances. Indeed, when King *James* offered, as he did, unto Sir *William Phips* an Opportunity to Ask what he pleaſed of him, Sir *William* Generouſly prayed for nothing but *this*, *That* New-England *might have its loſt Priviledges Reſtored.* The King then Replied, *Any Thing but that!* Whereupon he ſet himſelf to Conſider what was the *next Thing* that he might ask for the Service, not of himſelf, but of his *Country*. The Reſult of his Conſideration was, That by Petition to the King, he Obtained, with expence of ſome Hundreds of *Guinea's*, a *Patent*, which conſtituted him *The High Sheriff of that Country*; hoping, by his Deputies in that Office, to ſupply the Country ſtill with Conſciencious Juries, which was the only Method that the *New-Englanders* had left them to ſecure any thing that was Dear unto them. Furniſhed with this *Patent*, after he had, in Company with Sir *John Narborough*, made a Second Viſit unto the *Wreck*, (not ſo advantageous as the former for a Reaſon already mentioned) in his way he Returned unto *New-England*, in the Summer of the Year 1688. able, after Five Years Abſence, to Entertain his Lady with ſome Accompliſhment of his Predictions; and then Built himſelf a *Fair Brick Houſe* in the very *place* which we foretold, the Reader can tell how many *Sections* ago. But the *Infamous Government* then Rampant there, found a way wholly to put by the Execution of this *Patent*; yea, he was like to have had his *Perſon* Aſſaſſinated in the Face of the Sun, before his own Door, which with ſome further Deſigns then in his Mind, cauſed him within a few Weeks to take another Voyage for *England*.

§. 8. It would require a long Summers-Day to Relate the Miſeries which were come, and coming in upon poor *New-England*, by reaſon of the *Arbitrary Government* then impoſed on them; a *Government* wherein, as old *Wendover* ſays of the Time, when *Strangers* were domineering over *Subjects* in *England*, *Judicia committebantur Injuſtis*, *Leges Exlegibus*, *Pax Diſcordantibus*, *Juſtitia Injurioſis*; and *Foxes* were made the Adminiſtrators of Juſtice to the *Poultrey*; yet ſome *Abridgment* of them is neceſſary for the better underſtanding of the Matters yet before us. Now to make this *Abridgment* Impartial, I ſhall only have Recourſe unto a little Book, Printed at *London*, under the Title of *The Revolution of* New-England *Juſtified*; wherein we have a *Narrative of the Grievances* under the Male Adminiſtrations of that Government, written and ſigned by the chief Gentlemen of the *Governour's Council*; together with the *Sworn Teſtimonies* of many good Men, to prove the ſeveral Articles of the *Declaration*, which the *New-Englanders* publiſhed againſt their Oppreſſors. It is in that Book demonſtrated.

That the Governour neglecting the greater Number of his *Council*, did Adhere principally to the Advice of a *few Strangers*, who were Perſons without any *Intereſt* in the Country, but of declared *Prejudice* againſt it, and had plainly laid their *Deſigns* to make an Unreaſonable *Profit* of the poor People: And *four* or *five* Perſons had the abſolute Rule *over a Territory, the moſt Conſiderable of any belonging to the Crown.*

That when *Laws* were propoſed in the *Council*, tho' the *Major* part at any time Diſſented from them, yet if the Governour were poſitive, there was no fair *Counting* the Number of *Councellors* Conſenting, or Diſſenting, but the Laws were immediately *Engroſſed*, *Publiſhed* and *Executed*.

That this *Junto* made a *Law*, which prohibited the Inhabitants of any *Town* to meet about their *Town-Affairs* above *once* in a Year; for fear, you muſt Note, of their having any opportunity to Complain of *Grievances*.

That they made another *Law*, requiring all Maſters of *Veſſels*, even *Shallops* and *Woodboats*, to give *Security*, that no Man ſhould be Tranſported in them, except his Name had been ſo many Days poſted up: Whereby the Pockets of a few *Leeches* had been filled with *Fees*, but the whole Trade of the Country deſtroyed; and all Attempts to obtain a *Redreſs* of theſe Things obſtructed; and when this *Act* had been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in Council at *Boſton*, they carried it as far as *New-York*, where a Crew of them enacted it.

That without any *Aſſembly*, they Levied on the People a *Penny* in the Pound of all their *Eſtates*, and Twenty-pence *per* Head, as *Pollmoney*, with a Penny in the Pound for *Goods* Imported, beſides a Vaſt *Exciſe* on Wine, Rum, and other *Liquors*.

That when among the Inhabitants of *Ipſwich*, ſome of the Principal Perſons modeſtly gave Reaſons why they could not chuſe a *Commiſſioner* to *Tax* the Town, until the King ſhould firſt be Petitioned for the Liberty of an *Aſſembly*, they were committed unto *Goal* for it, as an

High Miſdemeanour, and were denied an *Habeas Corpus*, and were dragg'd many Miles out of their own County to anſwer it at a Court in *Boſton*; where *Jurors* were pickt for the Turn, that were not *Freeholders*, nay, that were meer *Sojourners*; and when the Priſoners pleaded the Priviledges of *Engliſh-men*, *That they ſhould not be Taxed without their own conſent*; they were told, *That thoſe things would not follow them to the ends of the Earth:* As it had been before told them in *open Council*, no one in the Council contradicting it, *You have no more Priviledges left you, but this, that you are not bought and ſold for Slaves:* And in fine, they were all *Fined* ſeverely, and laid under great *Bonds* for their good Behaviour; beſides all which, the *hungry Officers* extorted *Fees* from them that amounted unto an Hundred and Threeſcore Pounds; whereas in *England*, upon the like Proſecution, the *Fees* would not have been Ten Pounds in all. After which faſhion the *Townſmen* of many other Places were alſo ſerved.

That theſe Men giving out, That the *Charters* being loſt, all the Title that the People had unto their Lands was loſt with them; they began to *compel* the People every where to take *Patents* for their Lands: And accordingly *Writs of Intruſion* were iſſued out againſt the chief Gentlemen in the Territory, by the Terror whereof, many were actually driven to Petition for *Patents*, that they might quietly enjoy the Lands that had been Fifty or Sixty Years in their Poſſeſſion; but for theſe *Patents* there were ſuch exorbitant Prices demanded, that Fifty Pounds could not purchaſe for its Owner an Eſtate not worth *Two Hundred*, nor could all the Money and Moveables in the Territory have defrayed the Charges of *Patenting* the Lands at the Hands of theſe *Crocodiles:* Beſides the conſiderable *Quit-Rents* for the King. Yea, the Governour cauſed the Lands of *particular Perſons* to be meaſured out, and given to his Creatures: And ſome of his Council Petitioned for the *Commons* belonging to ſeveral Towns; and the *Agents* of the Towns going to get a *voluntary Subſcription* of the Inhabitants to maintain their Title at Law, they have been dragg'd Forty or Fifty Miles to anſwer as Criminals at the next Aſſizes; the Officers in the mean time extorting Three Pounds *per* Man for fetching them.

That if theſe *Harpies*, at any time, were a little *out of Money*, they found ways to Impriſon the *beſt Men* in the Country; and there appeared not the leaſt *Information* of any Crime exhibited againſt them, yet they were put unto Intollerable Expences by theſe Greedy Oppreſſors, and the Benefit of an *Habeas Corpus* not allowed unto them.

That packt and pickt *Juries* were commonly made uſe of, when under a pretended *Form of Law*, the Trouble of ſome Honeſt and Worthy Men was aimed at; and theſe alſo were hurried out of their own Counties to be tried, when *Juries* for the Turn were not like to be found there. The *Greateſt Rigour* being uſed ſtill towards the *ſobereſt ſort* of People, whilſt in the mean time the moſt horrid Enormities in the World, committed by Others, were overlook'd.

That the publick Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and all *Schools of Learning*, were diſcountenanced unto the Utmoſt.

And ſeveral more ſuch abominable things, too notorious to be denied, even by a *Randolphian* Impudence it ſelf, are in that Book proved againſt that *unhappy Government*. Nor did that moſt Ancient Set of the *Phœnician Shepherds*, who ſcrued the Government of *Egypt* into their Hands, as old *Manethon* tells us, by their *Villanies*, during the Reigns of thoſe Tyrants, make a *Shepherd* more of an *Abomination* to the *Egyptians* in all after Ages, than theſe *Wolves* under the Name of *Shepherds* have made the Remembrance of their *French Government* an *Abomination* to all Poſterity among the *New-Englanders:* A *Government*, for which, now, Reader, as faſt as thou wilt, get ready this Epitaph:

Nulla quæſita Scelere Potentia diuturna.

It was under the Reſentments of theſe Things that Sir *William Phips* returned into *England* in the Year 1688. In which *Twice-Wonderful-Year* ſuch a *Revolution* was wonderfully accompliſhed upon the whole Government of the *Engliſh* Nation, that *New-England*, which had been a *Specimen* of what the whole Nation was to look for, might juſtly hope for a ſhare in the General Deliverance. Upon this Occaſion Sir *William* offered his beſt Aſſiſtances unto that Eminent Perſon, who a little before this Revolution betook himſelf unto *White-Hall*, that he might there lay hold on all Opportunities to procure ſome Relief unto the Oppreſſions of that afflicted Country. But ſeeing the *New-Engliſh* Affairs in ſo able an Hand, he thought the beſt Stage of *Action* for him would now be *New-England* it ſelf; and ſo with certain Inſtructions from none of the leaſt conſiderable Perſons at *White-Hall*, what Service to do for his Country, in the Spring of the Year 1689. he haſtened back unto it. Before he left *London*, a Meſſenger from the Abdicated King tender'd him the Government of *New-England*, if he would accept it: But as that excellent Attorney General, Sir *William Jones*, when it was propoſed that the *Plantations* might be Governed without *Aſſemblies*, told the King, *That he could no more Grant a Commiſſion to levy Money on his Subjects there, without their conſent by an Aſſembly, than they could Diſcharge themſelves from their Allegiance to the* Engliſh *Crown.* So Sir *William Phips* thought it his Duty to refuſe a *Government without an Aſſembly*, as a thing that was Treaſon in the very *Eſſence* of it; and inſtead of Petitioning the ſucceeding Princes, that his *Patent* for *High Sheriff* might be rendred Effectual, he joined in Petitions, that *New-England* might have its own old *Patent* ſo Reſtored, as to render ineffectual *that*, and

and all other Grants that might cut ſhort any of its Ancient Priviledges. But when Sir *William* arrived at *New-England*, he found a new Face of things; for about an Hundred Indians in the *Eaſtern Parts* of the Country, had unaccountably begun a War upon the *Engliſh* in *July*, 1688. and though the Governour then in the *Weſtern Parts* had immediate Advice of it, yet he not only delayed and neglected all that was neceſſary for the *Publick Defence*, but alſo when he at laſt returned, he manifeſted a moſt Furious Diſpleaſure againſt thoſe of the Council, and all others that had forwarded any one thing for the ſecurity of the Inhabitants; while at the ſame time he diſpatched ſome of his Creatures upon ſecret Errands unto *Canada*, and ſet at Liberty ſome of the moſt Murderous *Indians* which the *Engliſh* had ſeized upon.

This Conduct of the Governour, which is in a *Printed* Remonſtrance of ſome of the beſt Gentlemen in the Council complained of, did extreamly diſſatisfie the *Suſpicious* People: Who were doubtleſs more extream in ſome of their *Suſpicions*, than there was any *real Occaſion* for: But the Governour at length raiſed an Army of a *Thouſand Engliſh* to Conquer this *Hundred Indians*; and this Army, whereof ſome of the chief Commanders were *Papiſts*, underwent the Fatigues of a long and a cold Winter, in the moſt *Caucaſæan* Regions of the Territory, till, without the killing of *One Indian*, there were more of the poor People killed, than they had Enemies there alive! This added not a little to the Diſſatisfaction of the People, and it would much more have done ſo, if they had ſeen what the World had not *yet* ſeen of the *Suggeſtions* made by the *Iriſh Catholicks* unto the Late King, publiſhed in the Year 1691. in the *Account of the State of the Proteſtants in* Ireland, Licenſed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, whereof one Article runs in theſe Expreſs Terms, *That if any of the* Iriſh *cannot have their Lands in Specie, but Money in Lieu, ſome of them may Tranſport themſelves into* America, *poſſibly near* New-England, *to check the growing* Independants *of that Country:* Or if they had ſeen what was afterwards ſeen in a Letter from K. *James* to His *Holineſs*, (as they ſtile his *Fooliſhneſs*) the Pope of *Rome*; that it was his full Purpoſe to have ſet up *Roman-Catholick* Religion in the *Engliſh* Plantations of *America:* Tho' after all, there is Cauſe to think that there was more made of the *Suſpicions* then flying like Wild-Fire about the Country, than a ſtrong *Charity* would have Countenanced. When the People were under theſe *Frights*, they had got by the Edges a little Intimation of the then Prince of *Orange*'s glorious Undertaking to deliver *England* from the *Feared* Evils, which were already *felt* by *New-England*; but when the Perſon who brought over a Copy of the Prince's *Declaration* was Impriſoned for bringing into the Country a *Treaſonable Paper*, and the Governour, by his Proclamation, required all Perſons to uſe their *utmoſt Endeavours to hinder* the *Landing* of any whom the Prince might ſend thither, *this* put them almoſt out of Patience. And one thing that plunged the more Conſiderate Perſons in the Territory into uneaſie thoughts, was the *Faulty Action* of ſome Soldiers, who upon the Common *Suſpicions*, deſerted their *Stations* in the Army, and cauſed their Friends to gather together here and there in little Bodies, to protect from the Demands of the Governour their poor Children and Brethren, whom they thought bound for a *Bloody Sacrifice:* And there were alſo belonging to the *Roſe-Frigot* ſome that buzz'd ſurprizing Stories about *Boſton*, of many Miſchiefs to be thence expected. Wherefore, ſome of the Principal Gentlemen in *Boſton* conſulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, They all agreed that they would, if it were poſſible, extinguiſh all Eſſays in the People towards an *Inſurrection*, in daily Hopes of Orders from *England* for their Safety: But that if the Country People by any violent Motions puſh'd the Matter on ſo far, as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, then to prevent the ſhedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, ſome of the Gentlemen preſent ſhould appear at the Head of the *Action* with a *Declaration* accordingly prepared. By the *Eighteenth* of *April*, 1689. Things were puſhed on ſo far by the People, that certain Perſons firſt Seized the Captain of the *Frigot*, and the Rumor thereof running like Lightning through *Boſton*, the whole Town was immediately in Arms, with the moſt *Unanimous Reſolution* perhaps that ever was known to have Inſpir'd any People. They then ſeized thoſe Wretched Men, who by their innumerable *Extortions* and *Abuſes* had made themſelves the Objects of *Univerſal Hatred*; not giving over till the *Governour* himſelf was become their *Priſoner:* The whole *Action* being managed without the leaſt *Bloodſhed* or *Plunder*, and with as much *Order* as ever attended any *Tumult*, it may be, in the World. Thus did the *New-Englanders* aſſert their Title to the Common Rights of *Engliſhmen*; and except the Plantations are willing to Degenerate from the Temper of True *Engliſhmen*, or except the *Revolution* of the whole *Engliſh* Nation be condemned, their *Action* muſt ſo far be juſtified. On their late *Oppreſſors*, now under juſt Confinement, they took no other Satisfaction, but ſent them over unto *White-Hall* for the Juſtice of the King and Parliament. And when the Day for the *Anniverſary Election*, by their vacated *Charter*, drew near, they had many Debates into what Form they ſhould caſt the Government, which was till then Adminiſtred by a *Committee for the Conſervation of the Peace*, compoſed of Gentlemen whoſe *Hap* it was to appear in the Head of the late *Action*; but their Debates Iſſued in this Concluſion; That the *Governour* and *Magiſtrates*, which were in Power before the late *Uſurpation*, ſhould Reſume their Places, and apply themſelves unto the *Conſervation of the Peace*, and put forth what *Acts of Government* the Emergencies

might

might make needful for them, and thus to wait for further Directions from the Authority of *England.* So was there Accompliſhed a *Revolution* which delivered *New-England* from grievous Oppreſſions, and which was moſt graciouſly Accepted by the *King* and *Queen*, when it was Reported unto their Majeſties. But there were new Matters for Sir *William Phips*, in a little while, now to think upon.

§. 9. Behold the great things which were done by the Sovereign God, for a Perſon once as little in his *own Eyes*, as in *other Mens.* All the Returns which he had hitherto made unto the *God of his Mercies*, were but Preliminaries to what remain to be related. It has been the Cuſtom in the Churches of *New-England*, ſtill to expect from ſuch Perſons as they admitted unto conſtant Communion with them, that they do not only Publickly and Solemnly *Declare* their *Conſent* unto the *Covenant of Grace*, and particularly to thoſe Duties of it, wherein a *Particular Church-State* is more immediately concerned, but alſo firſt relate unto the *Paſtors*, and by them unto the *Brethren*, the ſpecial Impreſſions which the *Grace* of God has made upon their Souls in bringing them to this *Conſent.* By this *Cuſtom* and *Caution*, though they cannot keep *Hypocrites* from their Sacred Fellowſhip, yet they go as far as they can, to render and preſerve themſelves *Churches of Saints*, and they do further very much *Edifie one another.* When Sir *William Phips* was now returned unto his *own Houſe*, he began to bethink himſelf, like *David*, concerning the *Houſe* of the *God* who had ſurrounded him with ſo many Favours in *his own*; and accordingly he applied himſelf unto the *North Church* in *Boſton*, that with his open Profeſſion of his Hearty Subjection to the *Goſpel* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he might have the *Ordinances* and the *Priviledges* of the *Goſpel* added unto his other Enjoyments. One thing that quickned his Reſolution to do what might be in this Matter expected from him, was a Paſſage which he heard from a Miniſter Preaching on the Title of the *Fifty-Firſt* Pſalm: *To make a publick and an open Profeſſion of Repentance, is a thing not miſbecoming the greateſt Man alive. It is an Honour to be found among the Repenting People of God, though they be in Circumſtances never ſo full of Suffering. A Famous Knight going with other Chriſtians to be Crowned with Martyrdom, obſerved, That his Fellow-Sufferers were in Chains, from which the Sacrificers had, becauſe of his Quality, excus'd him; whereupon he demanded, that he might wear Chains as well as they.* For, *ſaid he*, I would be a Knight of that Order too; *There is among our ſelves a Repenting People of God, who by their Confeſſions at their Admiſſions to his Table, do ſignalize their being ſo; and thanks be to God that we have ſo little of Suffering in our Circumſtances. But if any Man count himſelf grown too big to be a* Knight of that Order, *the Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf will one Day be aſhamed of that* Man! Upon this Excitation, Sir *William Phips* made his Addreſs unto a *Congregational-Church*, and he had therein one thing to propound unto himſelf, which few Perſons of his Age, ſo well ſatisfied in *Infant-Baptiſm* as he was, have then to ask for. Indeed, in the Primitive Times, although the *Lawfulneſs* of *Infant-Baptiſm*, or the Precept and Pattern of *Scripture* for it, was never ſo much as once made a Queſtion, yet we find *Baptiſm* was frequently delayed by Perſons upon ſeveral ſuperſtitious and unreaſonable Accounts, againſt which we have ſuch Fathers as *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Baſil*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Ambroſe*, and others, employing a variety of Argument. But Sir *William Phips* had hitherto delayed his *Baptiſm*, becauſe the Years of his Childhood were ſpent where there was no ſettled Miniſter, and therefore he was now not only willing to attain a good Satisfaction of his own Internal and Practical *Chriſtianity*, before his receiving that *Mark* thereof, but he was alſo willing to receive it among thoſe *Chriſtians* that ſeemed moſt ſenſible of the *Bonds* which it laid them under. Offering himſelf therefore, firſt unto the *Baptiſm*, and then unto the *Supper* of the Lord, he preſented unto the Paſtor of the Church, with his own *Hand-Writing*, the following *Inſtrument*; which becauſe of the Exemplary *Devotion* therein expreſſed, and the Remarkable *Hiſtory* which it gives of ſeveral Occurrences in his Life, I will here faithfully Tranſcribe it, without adding ſo much as one Word unto it.

'The firſt of God's making me ſenſible of 'my *Sins*, was in the Year 1674. by hearing 'your Father Preach concerning, *The Day of* '*Trouble near.* It pleaſed Almighty God to 'ſmite me with a deep Sence of my miſerable 'Condition, who had lived until then in the 'World, and had *done nothing for God.* I did 'then begin to think *what I ſhould do to be* '*ſaved?* And did bewail my *Youthful Days*, 'which I had ſpent *in vain*: I did think that 'I would begin to mind the *things of God.* Being then ſome time under your Father's Miniſtry, much troubled with my *Burden*, but 'thinking on that Scripture, *Come unto me*, '*you that are weary and heavy Laden, and I* '*will give you Reſt*; I had ſome thoughts of 'drawing as near to the Communion of the 'Lord *Jeſus* as I could; but the Ruins which 'the *Indian Wars* brought on my Affairs, and 'the Entanglements which my following the '*Sea* laid upon me, hindred my purſuing the 'Welfare of my own Soul as I ought to have 'done. At length God was pleaſed to ſmile 'upon my *Outward Concerns.* The various '*Providences*, both Merciful and Afflictive, 'which attended me in my Travels, were ſanctified unto me, to make me *Acknowledge God* '*in all my Ways.* I have divers Times been 'in danger of my *Life*, and I have been brought 'to ſee that I owe my *Life* to him that has

'given

'given a *Life* ſo often to me: I thank God, he hath brought me to ſee my ſelf altogether unhappy, without an Intereſt in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to cloſe heartily with him, deſiring him to Execute *All his Offices* on my Behalf. I have now, for ſome time, been under ſerious *Reſolutions*, that I would avoid whatever I ſhould know to be Diſpleaſing unto God, and that I would *Serve him all the Days of my Life.* I believe *no Man will Repent the Service of ſuch a Maſter.* I find my ſelf *unable* to keep ſuch *Reſolutions*, but my ſerious *Prayers* are to the Moſt High, that *he* would *enable* me. God hath done ſo much for me, that I am ſenſible I owe my ſelf to him; *To him would I give my ſelf, and all that he has given to me.* I can't expreſs his Mercies to me. But as ſoon as ever God had ſmiled upon me with a Turn of my Affairs, I had laid my ſelf under the VOWS of the Lord, *That I would ſet my ſelf to ſerve his People, and Churches here, unto the utmoſt of my Capacity.* I have had great Offers made me in *England*; but the Churches of *New-England* were thoſe which my Heart was moſt ſet upon. I knew, *That if God had a People any where, it was here:* And I *Reſolved to riſe and fall with them*; neglecting very great Advantages for my Worldly Intereſt, that I might come and enjoy the Ordinances of the Lord Jeſus here. It has been my Trouble, that ſince I came Home I have made no more haſte to get into the *Houſe of God*, where *I deſire to be*: Eſpecially having heard ſo much about the *Evil* of that Omiſſion. I can do little for God, but I deſire to wait upon him in his Ordinances, and to live to his Honour and Glory. My being Born in a part of the Country, where I had not in my *Infancy* enjoyed the *Firſt Sacrament* of the *New-Teſtament*, has been ſomething of a *Stumbling-Block* unto me. But though I have had Profers of *Baptiſm* elſewhere made unto me, I reſolved rather to defer it, until I might enjoy it in the Communion of theſe Churches; and I have had awful Impreſſions from thoſe Words of the Lord Jeſus in *Matth.* 8. 38. *Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my Words, of him alſo ſhall the Son of Man be aſhamed.* When God had bleſſed me with ſomething of the World, I had no Trouble ſo great as this, *Leſt it ſhould not be in Mercy*; and I trembled at nothing more than being *put off with a Portion here.* That I may make ſure of *better things*, I now offer my ſelf unto the Communion of this Church of the Lord JESUS.

Accordingly on *March* 23. 1690. after he had in the Congregation of *North-Boſton* given himſelf up, *firſt unto the Lord, and then unto his People*, he was *Baptized*, and ſo received into the *Communion* of the Faithful there.

§. 10. Several times, about, before and after *this time*, did I hear him expreſs himſelf unto this purpoſe: *I have no need at all to look after any further Advantages for my ſelf in this World; I may ſit ſtill at Home, if I will, and enjoy my Eaſe for the reſt of my Life; but I believe that I ſhould offend God in my doing ſo: For I am now in the Prime of my Age and Strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo Hardſhip: He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my Duty to venture my Life in doing of good, before an uſeleſs Old Age comes upon me: Wherefore I will now expoſe my ſelf, while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the Service of my Country: I was Born for others, as well as my ſelf.* I ſay, many a time have I heard him ſo expreſs himſelf: And agreeable to this Generous *Diſpoſition* and *Reſolution* was all the reſt of his Life. About this time *New England* was miſerably *Briar'd* in the Perplexities of an *Indian War*; and the Salvages, in the *Eaſt* part of the Country, iſſuing out from their inacceſſible *Swamps*, had for many Months made their Cruel Depredations upon the poor *Engliſh* Planters, and ſurprized many of the Plantations on the Frontiers, into Ruin. The *New-Englanders* found, that while they continued only on the *Defenſive* part, their *People* were thinned, and their *Treaſures* waſted, without any hopes of ſeeing a Period put unto the *Indian Tragedies*; nor could an Army greater than *Xerxes*'s have eaſily come at the ſeemingly contemptible handful of *Tawnies* which made all this Diſturbance; or, *Tamerlain*, the greateſt Conqueror that ever the World ſaw, have made it a Buſineſs of no *Trouble* to have *Conquered* them: They found, that they were like to make no Weapons reach their Enſwamped Adverſaries, except Mr. *Milton* could have ſhown them how

To have pluckt up the Hills with all their Load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by their ſhaggy tops,
Up-lifting, bore them in their Hands, therewith
The Rebel Hoſt to've over-whelm'd———

So it was thought that the *Engliſh* Subjects, in theſe Regions of *America*, might very properly take this occaſion to make an attempt upon the *French*, and by reducing them under the *Engliſh* Government, put an Eternal Period at once unto all their Troubles from the *Frenchified Pagans*. This was a Motion urged by Sir *William Phips* unto the General Court of the *Maſſachuſet-Colony*; and he then made unto the Court a brave *Offer* of his own Perſon and Eſtate, for the Service of the Publick in their preſent Extremity, as far as they ſhould ſee Cauſe to make uſe thereof. Whereupon they made a *Firſt Eſſay* againſt the *French*, by ſending a Naval Force, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir *William Phips*, againſt *L'Acady* and *Nova Scotia*; of which Action we ſhall give only this General and Summary Account; that Sir *William Phips* ſet Sail from *Nantaſcot*, *April* 28. 1690. Arriving at *Port-Royal*, *May* 11. and had the Fort quickly Surrender'd into his Hands by the

the *French* Enemy, who deſpaired of holding out againſt him. He then took Poſſeſſion of that Province for the *Engliſh* Crown, and having Demoliſhed the Fort, and ſent away the Garriſon, Adminiſtred unto the Planters an *Oath of Allegiance* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, he left what Order he thought convenient for the Government of the Place, until further Order ſhould be taken by the Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, unto whom he returned *May* 30. with an acceptable Account of his Expedition, and accepted a Place among the *Magiſtrates* of that Colony, to which the *Free-Men* had choſen him at their *Anniverſary Election* Two Days before.

Thus the Country, once given by King *James* the Firſt unto Sir *William Alexander*, was now by another Sir *William* recovered out of the Hands of the *French*, who had afterwards got the Poſſeſſion of it; and there was added unto the *Engliſh Empire*, a Territory, whereof no Man can Read Monſieur *Denys*'s *Deſcription Geographique & Hiſtorique des Coſtes de l' Amerique Septentrionale*, but he muſt reckon the Conqueſt of a Region ſo Improvable, for *Lumber*, for *Fiſhing*, for *Mines*, and for *Furrs*, a very conſiderable *Service*. But if a ſmaller *Service* has, e'er now, ever merited a *Knighthood*, Sir *William* was willing to Repeat his Merits by Actions of the greateſt *Service* poſſible:

Nil Actum credens, ſi quid ſupereſſet agendum.

§. 11. The Addition of this *French* Colony to the *Engliſh* Dominion, was no more than a *little ſtep* towards a *greater Action*, which was firſt in the Deſign of Sir *William Phips*, and which was, indeed, the *greateſt Action* that ever the *New-Englanders* Attempted. There was a time when the *Philiſtines* had made ſome Inroads and Aſſaults from the *Northward*, upon the Skirts of *Goſhen*, where the *Iſraelites* had a Reſidence, before their coming out of *Egypt*. The *Iſraelites*, and eſpecially that Active Colony of the *Ephraimites*, were willing to Revenge theſe Injuries upon their wicked Neighbours; they preſumed themſelves Powerful and Numerous enough to Encounter the *Canaanites*, even in their own Country; and they formed a briſk *Expedition*, but came off unhappy Loſers in it; the *Jewiſh Rabbins* tell us, they loſt no leſs than *Eight Thouſand* Men. The *Time* was not yet come; there was more *Haſte* than good *Speed* in the Attempt; they were not enough concerned for the *Counſel* and *Preſence* of God in the Undertaking; they mainly propounded the *Plunder* to be got among a People, whoſe Trade was that wherewith *Beaſts* enriched them; ſo the buſineſs miſcarried. This Hiſtory the Pſalmiſt going to recite, ſays, *I will utter dark Sayings of old.* Now that what befel Sir *William Phips*, with his whole Country of *New-England*, may not be almoſt forgotten among *the dark Sayings of old*, I will here give the true Report of a very memorable Matter.

It was *Canada* that was the chief Source of *New-England*'s Miſeries. *There* was the main Strength of the *French*; *there* the *Indians* were moſtly ſupplied with Ammunition; *thence* Iſſued Parties of Men, who uniting with the Salvages, barbarouſly murdered many Innocent *New-Englanders*, without any Provocation on the *New-Engliſh* part, except this, that *New-England* had Proclaimed King *William* and Q. *Mary*, which they ſaid were *Uſurpers*; and as *Cato* could make no Speech in the Senate without that Concluſion, *Delenda eſt Carthago*; ſo it was the general Concluſion of all that Argued ſenſibly about the ſafety of that Country, *Canada muſt be Reduced.* It then became the concurring Reſolution of all *New-England*, with *New-York*, to make a Vigorous Attack upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land.

And a Fleet was accordingly fitted out from *Boſton*, under the Command of Sir *William Phips*, to fall upon *Quebeque*, the chief City of *Canada*. They waited until *Auguſt* for ſome Stores of War from *England*, whither they had ſent for that purpoſe early in the Spring; but none at laſt arriving, and the Seaſon of the Year being ſo far ſpent, Sir *William* could not, without many Diſcouragements upon his Mind, proceed in a Voyage, for which he found himſelf ſo poorly provided. However, the Ships being taken up, and the Men on Board, his uſual Courage would not permit him to Deſiſt from the Enterprize; but he ſet Sail from *Hull* near *Boſton*, *Auguſt* 9. 1690. with a Fleet of *Thirty Two* Ships and Tenders; whereof one, called *the Six Friends*, carrying Forty Four great Guns, and Two Hundred Men, was *Admiral.* Sir *William* dividing the Fleet into ſeveral Squadrons, whereof there was *the Six Friends*, Captain *Gregory Sugars* Commander, with Eleven more of the Admiral's Squadron, of which one was alſo a Capital Ship, namely, *The John and Thomas*, Captain *Thomas Carter* Commander; of the *Vice-Admirals*, the *Swan*, Captain *Thomas Gilbert* Commander, with Nine more; of the *Rear-Admirals*, the *America-Merchant*, Captain *Joſeph Eldridge* Commander, with Nine more, and above Twenty Hundred Men on Board the whole Fleet: He ſo happily managed his Charge, that they every one of them Arrived ſafe at Anchor before *Quebeck*, although they had as dangerous, and almoſt untrodden a *Path*, to take *Un-Piloted*, for the whole Voyage, as ever any Voyage was undertaken with. Some ſmall *French Prizes* he took by the way, and ſet up *Engliſh* Colours upon the Coaſt, here and there, as he went along; and before the Month of *Auguſt* was out, he had ſpent ſeveral Days as far onward of his Voyage, as between the Iſland of *Antecoſta*, and the *Main*. But when they entred the mighty River of *Canada*, ſuch adverſe Winds encountred the Fleet, that they were *Three Weeks* diſpatching the way, which might otherwiſe have been gone in *Three Days*, and it was the Fifth of *October*, when a freſh Breeze coming up at *Eaſt*, carried them along by the *North* Shore, up to the Iſle of

of *Orleans*; and then haling *Southerly*, they paſſed by the *Eaſt* end of that Iſland, with the whole Fleet approaching the City of *Quebeck*. This loſs of Time, which made it ſo late before the Fleet could get into the Country, where a cold and fierce *Winter* was already very far advanced, gave no very *good* Proſpect of Succeſs to the Expedition; but that which gave a much *worſe*, was a moſt horrid *Miſmanagement*, which had, the mean while, happened in the *Weſt*. For a Thouſand *Engliſh* from *New-York*, and *Albany*, and *Connecticut*, with Fifteen Hundred *Indians*, were to have gone over-land in the *Weſt*, and fallen upon *Mount-Royal*, while the Fleet was to Viſit *Quebeck* in the *Eaſt*; and no Expedition could have been better laid than *This*, which was thus contrived. But thoſe *Engliſh* Companies in the *Weſt*, marching as far as the great Lake that was to be paſſed, found their *Canoos* not provided, according to Expectation; and the *Indians* alſo were [*How?* God knows, and will one Day Judge! Diſſuaded from Joining with the *Engliſh*; and the Army met with ſuch Diſcouragements, that they returned.

Had this *Weſtern Army* done but ſo much as continued at the *Lake*, the Diverſion thereby given to the *French* Quartered at *Mount-Royal*, would have rendered the Conqueſt of *Quebeck* eaſie and certain; but the Governour of *Canada* being Informed of the Retreat made by the *Weſtern*-Army, had opportunity, by the croſs Winds that kept back the Fleet, unhappily to get the whole Strength of all the Country into the City, before the Fleet could come up unto it. However, none of theſe Difficulties hindred Sir *William Phips* from ſending on Shoar the following Summons, on *Monday* the Sixth of *October*.

Sir *William Phips*, Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their Majeſties Forces of *New-England*, by Sea and Land;

To Count *Frontenac*, Lieutenant-General and Governour for the *French* King at *Canada*; or in his Abſence, to his Deputy, or Him, or Them, in Chief Command at *Quebeck*.

THE *War between the Two Crowns of* England *and* France, *doth not only ſufficiently* Warrant, *but the Deſtruction made by the* French *and* Indians, *under your Command and Encouragement, upon the Perſons and Eſtates of Their Majeſties Subjects of* New-England, *without Provocation on their part, hath put them under the* Neceſſity *of this Expedition, for their own Security and Satisfaction. And although the Cruelties and Barbarities uſed againſt them, by the* French *and* Indians, *might, upon the preſent Opportunity, prompt unto a ſevere* Revenge, *yet being deſirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchriſtian-like Actions, and to prevent ſhedding of Blood as much as may be*;

I the aforeſaid Sir William Phips, *Knight, do hereby, in the Name, and in the Behalf of Their Moſt Excellent Majeſties,* William *and* Mary, *King and Queen of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *Defenders of the Faith; and by Order of Their ſaid Majeſties Government of the* Maſſachuſet-*Colony in* New-England, *Demand a preſent Surrender of your Forts and Caſtles, undemoliſhed, and the King's, and other Stores, unimbezzelled, with a ſeaſonable Delivery of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all your Perſons and Eſtates to my Diſpoſe: Upon the doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a* Chriſtian, *according to what ſhall be found for Their Majeſties Service, and the Subjects Security. Which if you Refuſe forthwith to do, I am come Provided, and am Reſolved, by the help of God, in whom I truſt, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all Wrongs and Injuries offered, and bring you under Subjection to the Crown of* England; *and when too late, make you wiſh you had accepted of the Favour tendered.*

Your Anſwer Poſitive in an Hour, returned by your own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Required, upon the Peril that will enſue.

The Summons being Delivered unto Count *Frontenac*, his Anſwer was;

That Sir William Phips, *and thoſe with him, were* Hereticks *and* Traitors *to their King, and had taken up with that* Uſurper, *the Prince of* Orange, *and had made a* Revolution, *which if it had not been made,* New-England *and the* French *had been* all One; *and that no other Anſwer was to be expected from him, but what ſhould be from the Mouth of his* Cannon.

General *Phips* now ſaw that it muſt coſt him *Dry Blows*, and that he muſt Roar his Perſwaſions out of the Mouths of *Great Guns*, to make himſelf Maſter of a City which had certainly Surrender'd it ſelf unto him, if he had arrived but a little ſooner, and Summon'd it before the coming down of Count *Frontenac* with all his Forces, to Command the oppreſſed People there, who would have been, many of them, glader of coming under the *Engliſh* Government. Wherefore on the Seventh of *October*, the *Engliſh*, that were for the Land-Service, went on Board their leſſer Veſſels, in order to Land; among which there was a Bark, wherein was Captain *Ephraim Savage*, with ſixty Men, that ran a-ground upon the *North*-Shoar, near two Miles from *Quebeck*, and could not get off, but lay in the ſame Diſtreſs that *Scæva* did, when the *Britains* poured in their Numbers upon the *Bark*, wherein he, with a few more Soldiers of *Cæſar*'s Army, were, by the diſadvantage of the *Tide*, left Aſhoar: The *French*, with *Indians*, that ſaw them lye there, came near, and Fired thick upon them, and were bravely Anſwered; and when two or

Three Hundred of the Enemy, at laſt planted a Field-Piece againſt the *Bark*, while the Wind blew ſo hard, that no help could be ſent unto his Men, the General advanced ſo far, as to Level Two or Three great Guns, conveniently enough to make the Aſſailants Fly; and when the Flood came, the Bark happily got off, without the hurt of one Man aboard. But ſo violent was the Storm of Wind all this Day, that it was not poſſible for them to Land until the Eighth of *October*; when the *Engliſh* counting every *Hour* to be a *Week* until they were come to Battel, vigorouſly got Aſhoar, deſigning to enter the *Eaſt*-end of the City. The *Small-Pox* had got into the Fleet, by which Diſtemper prevailing, the number of Effective Men which now went Aſhoar, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Walley*, did not amount unto more than Fourteen Hundred; but Four Companies of theſe were drawn out as *Forlorns*, whom, on every ſide, the Enemy fired at; nevertheleſs, the *Engliſh* Ruſhing with a ſhout, at once upon them cauſed them to Run as faſt as Legs could carry them: So that the whole *Engliſh* Army, expreſſing as much Reſolution as was in *Cæſar*'s Army, when they firſt landed on *Britain*, in ſpight of all oppoſition from the Inhabitants, marched on until it was dark, having firſt killed many of the *French*, with the loſs of but *Four* Men of their own; and frighted about Seven or Eight Hundred more of the *French* from an Ambuſcado, where they lay ready to fall upon them. But ſome thought, that by *ſtaying in the Valley*, they took the way *never to get over the Hill*: And yet for them to ſtay where they were, till the ſmaller Veſſels came up the River before them, ſo far as by their Guns to ſecure the Paſſage of the Army in their *getting over*, was what the Council of War had ordered. But the Violence of the *Weather*, with the General's being ſooner plunged into the heat of Action than was intended, hindred the ſmaller Veſſels from attending that Order. And this Evening a *French* Deſerter coming to them, aſſured them, that Nine Hundred Men were on their March from *Quebeck* to meet them, already paſſed a little Rivulet that lay at the end of the City, but ſeeing them Land ſo ſuddenly, and ſo valiantly run down thoſe that firſt Encounted them, they had Retreated: Nevertheleſs, That Count *Frontenac* was come down to *Quebeck* with no fewer than *Thirty Hundred* Men to defend the City, having left but *Fifty* Souldiers to defend *Mount Real*, becauſe they had underſtood, that the *Engliſh* Army on that ſide, were gone back to *Albany*. Notwithſtanding this diſ-ſpiriting Information, the common Souldiers did with much vehemency Beg and Pray, that they might be led on; profeſſing, that they had rather loſe their Lives on the Spot, than fail of taking the City; but the more wary Commanders conſidered how raſh a thing it would be, for about Fourteen Hundred Raw Men, tired with a long Voyage, to aſſault more than Twice as many Expert Souldiers, who were *Galli in ſuo ſterquilinio*, or *Cocks Crowing on their own Dunghil*. They were, in truth, now gotten into the grievous Caſe which *Livy* deſcribes, when he ſays, *Ibi grave eſt Bellum gerere, ubi non conſiſtendi aut procedendi locus; quocunque aſpexeris Hoſtilia ſunt omnia*; look on one ſide or t'other, all was full of *Hoſtile Difficulties*. And indeed, whatever Popular Clamour has been made againſt any of the Commanders, it is apparent that they acted conſiderately, in making a *Pauſe* upon what was before them; and they did a greater kindneſs to their Souldiers than they have ſince been thanked for. But in this time, General *Phips* and his Men of War, with their *Canvas Wings*, flew cloſe up unto the Weſt-end of the City, and there he behaved himſelf with the greateſt Bravery imaginable; nor did the other Men of War forbear to follow his brave Example: Who never diſcovered himſelf more in his Element, than when (as the Poet expreſſeth it,)

> *The Slaughter-Breathing Braſs grew hot, and ſpoke*
> *In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of Smoke:*

He lay within *Piſtol-ſhot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and very much batter'd the Town, having his own Ship ſhot through in almoſt an Hundred Places with *Four and Twenty Pounders*, and yet but one Man was killed, and only Two Mortally Wounded Aboard him, in this hot Engagement, which continued the greateſt part of that Night, and ſeveral Hours of the Day enſuing. But wondring that he ſaw no *Signal* of any Effective Action Aſhoar at the Eaſt-end of the City, he ſent that he might know the Condition of the Army there; and received Anſwer, That ſeveral of the Men were ſo frozen in their Hands and Feet, as to be diſabled from Service, and others were apace falling ſick of the *Small-Pox*. Whereupon he order'd them on Board immediately to refreſh themſelves, and he intended then to have renew'd his Attack upon the City, in the Method of Landing his Men in the Face of it, under the ſhelter of his great Guns; having to that purpoſe provided alſo a conſiderable number of well-ſhaped *Wheel-Barrows*, each of them carrying Two *Petarraro*'s apiece, to March before the Men, and make the Enemy Fly, with as much Contempt as overwhelmed the *Philiſtines*, when undone by *Foxes* with *Torches* in their Tails; (remembred in an Anniverſary Diverſion every *April* among the Ancient *Romans*, taught by the *Phenicians*.)

While the Meaſures to be further taken were debating, there was made an Exchange of Priſoners, the *Engliſh* having taken ſeveral of the *French* in divers Actions, and the *French* having in their Hands divers of the *Engliſh*, whom the *Indians* had brought Captives unto them. The Army now on Board continued ſtill Reſolute and Courageous, and on fire for the Conqueſt of *Quebeck*; or if they had miſſed of doing it by Storm,

Storm, they knew that they might, by poſſeſſing themſelves of the Iſle of *Orleans*, in a little while have ſtarved them out. Incredible Damage they might indeed have done to the Enemy before they Embarked, but they were willing to preſerve the more undefenſible Parts of the Country in ſuch a Condition, as might more ſenſibly Encourage the Submiſſion of the Inhabitants unto the Crown of *England*, whoſe Protection was deſired by ſo many of them. And ſtill they were loth to play for any leſſer Game than the immediate Surrender of *Quebeck* it ſelf. But e're a full *Council of War* could conclude the next Steps to be taken, a violent *Storm* aroſe that ſeparated the Fleet, and the Snow and the Cold became ſo extream, that they could not continue in thoſe Quarters any longer.

Thus, by an evident *Hand of Heaven*, ſending one unavoidable Diſaſter after another, as well-formed an Enterprize, as perhaps was ever made by the *New-Englanders*, moſt unhappily miſcarried; and General *Phips* underwent a very mortifying Diſappointment of a Deſign, which his Mind was, as much as ever any, ſet upon. He arrived *Nov.* 19. at *Boſton*, where, although he found himſelf, as well as the Publick, thrown into very *uneaſie* Circumſtances, yet he had this to Comfort him, that neither his Courage nor his Conduct could reaſonably have been Taxed; nor could it be ſaid that any Man could have done more than he did, under ſo many *Embaraſſments of his Buſineſs*, as he was to Fight withal. He alſo relieved the uneaſineſs of his Mind, by conſidering, that his Voyage to *Canada*, diverted from his Country an *Horrible Tempeſt* from an Army of *Boſs-Lopers*, which had prepar'd themſelves, as 'tis affirmed, that Winter, to fall upon the *New-Engliſh* Colonies, and by falling on them, would probably have laid no little part of the Country deſolate. And he further conſidered, that in this Matter, like *Iſrael* engaging againſt *Benjamin*, it may be, we ſaw yet but the *beginning* of the matter: And that the way to *Canada* now being learnt, the Foundation of a Victory over it might be laid in what had been already done. Unto this purpoſe likewiſe, he was heard ſometimes applying the Remarkable Story reported by *Bradwardine*.

'There was an *Hermit*, who being vexed 'with Blaſphemous Injections about the Juſtice 'and Wiſdom of Divine *Providence*, an Angel 'in Humane Shape invited him to Travel 'with him, *That he might ſee the hidden 'Judgments of God.* Lodging all Night at 'the Houſe of a Man who kindly entertain'd 'them, the Angel took away a valuable Cup 'from their Hoſt, at their going away in the 'Morning, and beſtowed this Cup upon a very '*wicked Man*, with whom they lodged the 'Night enſuing. The Third Night they were 'moſt lovingly Treated at the Houſe of a very 'Godly Man, from whom, when they went in 'the Morning, the Angel meeting a Servant of 'his, threw him over the Bridge into the Water, where he was drowned. And the Fourth, 'being in like manner moſt courteouſly 'Treated at the Houſe of a very Godly Man, 'the Angel before Morning did unaccountably 'kill his only *Child*. The Companion of the 'Journey being wonderfully offended at theſe 'things, would have left his *Guardian*: But 'the Angel then thus Addreſſed him, *Under'ſtand now the ſecret Judgments of God! The 'firſt Man that entertained us, did inordinate'ly affect that* Cup *which I took from him*; '*twas for the Advantage of his Interiour 'that I took it away, and I gave it unto the 'impious Man, as the preſent Reward of his 'good Works, which is all the Reward that he 'is like to have. As for our* Third *Hoſt, the 'Servant which I ſlew had formed a bloody 'Deſign to have ſlain his Maſter, but now, 'you ſee, I have ſaved the Life of the Maſter, 'and prevented ſomething of growth unto the 'Eternal Puniſhment of the Murderer. As for 'our* Fourth *Hoſt, before his* Child *was Born 'unto him, he was a very liberal and bounti'ful Perſon, and he did abundance of good with 'his Eſtate; but when he ſaw he was like to 'leave ſuch an Heir, he grew Covetous; where'fore the Soul of the Infant is Tranſlated into 'Paradiſe, but the occaſion of Sin is, you ſee, 'mercifully taken away from the Parent.*

Thus General *Phips*, though he had been uſed unto *Diving* in his time, would ſay, *That the things which had befallen him in this Expedition, were too deep to be* Dived *into!*

§. 12. From the time that General *Pen* made his Attempt upon *Hiſpaniola*, with an Army that, like the *New-Engliſh* Forces againſt *Canada*, miſcarried after an Expectation of having little to do but to *Poſſeſs and Plunder*; even to this Day, the general Diſaſter which hath attended almoſt every Attempt of the *European* Colonies in *America*, to make any conſiderable Encroachments upon their Neighbours, is a Matter of ſome cloſe Reflection. But of the Diſaſter which now befel poor *New-England* in particular, every one will eaſily conclude none of the leaſt Conſequences to have been the *Extream Debts* which that Country was now plunged into; there being *Forty Thouſand* Pounds, more or leſs, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treaſury to pay it withal. In this *Extremity* they preſently found out an *Expedient*, which may ſerve as an *Example* for any People in other Parts of the World, whoſe Diſtreſſes may call for a ſudden ſupply of *Money* to carry them through any Important *Expedition*. The *General Aſſembly* firſt paſs'd *an Act* for the Levying of ſuch a Sum of *Money* as was wanted, within ſuch a Term of time as was judged convenient; and this *Act* was a *Fund*, on which the *Credit* of ſuch a Sum ſhould be rendered *paſſable* among the People. Hereupon there was appointed an able and faithful *Committee* of Gentlemen, who Printed, from *Copper-Plates*, a juſt Number of *Bills*, and Floriſhed, Indented,

and Contrived them in ſuch a manner, as to make it impoſſible to Counterfeit any of them, without a ſpeedy Diſcovery of the *Counterfeit*: Beſides which, they were all Signed by the Hands of *Three* belonging to that *Committee*. Theſe *Bills* being of ſeveral Sums, from *Two Shillings*, to *Ten Pounds*, did confeſs the *Maſſachuſet Colony* to be *Endebted* unto the Perſon, in whoſe Hands they were, the Sums therein expreſſed; and Proviſion was made, that if any *Particular Bills* were Irrecoverable Loſt, or Torn, or Worn by the Owners, they might be Recruited without any Damage to the *whole in general*. The *Publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Soldiers*, now upon the point of *Mutiny*, (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Juſta negat!*) were in theſe *Bills* paid immediately: But that further *Credit* might be given thereunto, it was Ordered that they ſhould be accepted by the Treaſurer, and all Officers that were Subordinate unto him, in all *Publick Payments*, at Five *per Cent.* more than the Value expreſſed in them. The People knowing that the *Tax-Act* would, in the ſpace of Two Years at leaſt, fetch into the Treaſury as much as all the *Bills of Credit*, thence emitted, would amount unto, were willing to be furniſhed with *Bills*, wherein 'twas their Advantage to pay their *Taxes*, rather than in any other *Specie*; and ſo the *Sailors* and *Soldiers* put off their *Bills*, inſtead of *Money*, to thoſe with whom they had any Dealings, and they *Circulated* through all the Hands in the Colony pretty Comfortably. Had the *Government* been ſo ſettled, that there had not been any doubt of any Obſtruction, or Diverſion to be given to the Proſecution of the *Tax-Act*, by a *Total Change* of their Affairs then depending at *Whitehall*, 'tis very certain, that the *Bills of Credit* had been better than ſo much ready *Silver*; yea, the *Invention* had been of more uſe to the *New-Englanders*, than if all their *Copper Mines* had been opened, or the Mountains of *Peru* had been removed into theſe Parts of *America*. The *Maſſachuſet Bills of Credit* had been like the *Bank Bills* of *Venice*, where though there were not, perhaps, a *Ducat* of Money in the *Bank*, yet the *Bills* were eſteemed more than Twenty *per Cent.* better than Money, among the Body of the People, in all their Dealings. But many People being afraid, that the Government would in half a Year be ſo overturned, as to Convert their *Bills of Credit* altogether into *Waſt Paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired; and they, who firſt received them, could make them yield little more than *Fourteen* or *Sixteen* Shillings in the Pound; from whence there aroſe thoſe Idle *Suſpicions* in the Heads of many more Ignorant and Unthinking Folks concerning the uſe thereof, which, to the Incredible Detriment of the Province, are not wholly laid aſide unto this Day. However, this Method of paying the *Publick Debts*, did no leſs than ſave the Publick from a perfect Ruin: And e're many Months were expired, the Governour and Council had the Pleaſure of ſeeing the *Treaſurer* burn before their Eyes many a Thouſand Pounds Worth of the *Bills*, which had paſſed about until they were again returned unto the Treaſury; but before their being returned, had happily and honeſtly, without a Farthing of *Silver Coin*, diſcharged the *Debts*, for which they were intended. But that which helped theſe *Bills* unto much of their *Credit*, was the Generous Offer of many Worthy Men in *Boſton*, to run the Riſque of ſelling their *Goods* reaſonably for them: And of theſe, I think I may ſay, that General *Phips* was in ſome ſort the *Leader*; who at the very beginning, meerly to Recommend the *Credit* of the *Bills* unto other Perſons, chearfully laid down a conſiderable quantity of *ready Money* for an equivalent parcel of them. And thus in a little time the Country waded through the Terrible *Debts* which it was fallen into: In this, though unhappy enough, yet not ſo unhappy as in the *Loſs of Men*, by which the Country was at the ſame time conſumed. 'Tis true, there was very *little Blood* ſpilt in the Attack made upon *Quebeck*; and there was a *Great Hand* of Heaven ſeen in it. The Churches, upon the Call of the Government, not only obſerved a General *Faſt* through the Colony, for the Welfare of the Army ſent unto *Quebeck*, but alſo kept the *Wheel of Prayer* in a *Continual Motion*, by Repeated and Succeſſive Agreements, for Days of *Prayer* with *Faſting*, in their ſeveral Vicinities. On theſe Days the Ferventeſt Prayers were ſent up to the *God of Armies*, for the Safety and Succeſs of the *New-Engliſh* Army gone to *Canada*; and though I never underſtood that any of the Faithful did in their *Prayers* ariſe to any aſſurance that the Expedition ſhould *proſper in all reſpects*, yet they ſometimes in their Devotions on theſe Occaſions, uttered their Perſwaſion, that Almighty God had heard them in *this* thing, *that the* Engliſh *Army ſhould not fall by the Hands of the* French *Enemy*. Now they were marvellouſly delivered from doing *ſo*; though the Enemy had ſuch unexpected Advantages over them, yea,, and though the horrid *Winter* was come on ſo far, that it is a Wonder the *Engliſh* Fleet, then Riding in the River of *Canada*, fared any better than the Army which a while ſince beſieged *Poland*, wherein, of *Seventy Thouſand* Invaders, no leſs than *Forty Thouſand* ſuddenly periſhed by the ſeverity of the *Cold*, albeit it were but the Month of *November* with them. Nevertheleſs, a kind of *Camp-Fever*, as well as the *Small-Pox*, got into the Fleet, whereby ſome Hundreds came ſhort of Home. And beſides this Calamity, it was alſo to be lamented, that although the moſt of the Fleet arrived ſafe at *New-England*, whereof ſome Veſſels indeed were driven off by Croſs-Winds as far as the *Weſt-Indies*, before ſuch Arrival; yet there were Three or Four Veſſels which totally miſcarried: *One* was never heard of, a *Second* was Wreck'd, but moſt of the Men were ſaved by another in Com-

Company; a *third* was Wreck'd ſo, that all the Men were either ſtarv'd, or drown'd, or ſlain by the *Indians*, except *one*, which a long while after was by means of the *French* reſtored: And a *fourth* met with Accidents, which, it may be, my Reader will by and by pronounce not unworthy to have been Related.

A *Brigantine*, whereof Captain *John Rainsford* was Commander, having about Threeſcore Men aboard, was in a very ſtormy Night, *Octob.* 28. *1690.* ſtranded upon the deſolate and hideous Iſland of *Antecoſta*, an Iſland in the mouth of the Mighty River of *Canada*; but through the ſingular Mercy of God unto them, the Veſſel did not, immediately, ſtave to pieces, which if it had happened, they muſt have, one way or another, quickly periſhed. There they lay for divers Days, under abundance of bitter Weather, trying and hoping to get off their Veſſel; and they ſolemnly ſet apart one Day for *Prayer* with *Faſting*, to obtain the Smiles of Heaven upon them in the midſt of their Diſtreſſes; and this eſpecially, That if they muſt go Aſhoar, they might not, by any ſtreſs of Storm, loſe the *Proviſions* which they were to carry with them. They were at laſt convinced, that they muſt continue no longer on Board, and therefore, by the Seventh of *November*, they applied themſelves, all Hands, to get their *Proviſions* Aſhoar upon the diſmal *Iſland*, where they had nothing but a ſad and cold Winter before them; which being accompliſhed, their Veſſel *overſet* ſo, as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the Iſland in it. Here they now built themſelves Nine ſmall *Chimney-leſs things* that they called *Houſes*, to this purpoſe employing ſuch *Boards* and *Planks* as they could get from their ſhattered Veſſel, with the help of *Trees*, whereof that ſqualid Wilderneſs had enough to ſerve them; and they built a particular *Store-Houſe*, wherein they carefully Lodg'd and Lock'd the poor quantity of *Proviſions*, which though ſcarce enough to ſerve a very abſtemious Company for *one Month*, muſt now be ſo ſtinted, as to hold out *Six* or *Seven*; and the Allowance agreed among them could be no better than for One Man, *Two Biskets*, *half a pound of Pork*, *half a pound of Flower*, *one Pint and a quarter of Peaſe*, *and two Salt Fiſhes* per *Week*. This little Handful of Men were now a ſort of *Commonwealth*, extraordinarily and miſerably ſeparated from all the reſt of Mankind; (but I believe, they thought little enough of an *Utopia:* Wherefore they conſulted and concluded ſuch *Laws* among themſelves, as they judged neceſſary to their ſubſiſtence, in the doleful Condition whereinto the *Providence* of God had caſt them; now

——*Penitus toto diviſos Orbe.*

They ſet up *Good Orders*, as well as they could, among themſelves; and beſides their daily Devotions, they Obſerved the *Lord's Days*, with more ſolemn Exerciſes of Religion.

But it was not long before they began to feel the more mortal effects of the Straits whereinto they had been Reduced: Their *ſhort* Commons, their Drink of *Snow-Water*, their Hard, and Wet, and Smoaky *Lodgings*, and their Grievous *Deſpair of Mind*, overwhelmed ſome of them at ſuch a rate, and ſo *ham-ſtring'd* them, that ſooner than be at the pains to go abroad, and cut their one Fuel, they would lye after a Sottiſh manner in the Cold; theſe things quickly brought *Sickneſſes* among them. The firſt of their Number who Died was their *Doctor*, on the *20th* of *December*; and then they dropt away, one after another, till between *Thirty* and *Forty* of the *Sixty* were buried by their diſconſolate Friends, whereof every one look'd ſtill to be the next that ſhould lay his Bones in that Forſaken Region. Theſe poor Men did therefore, on *Monday* the Twenty Seventh of *January*, keep a *Sacred Faſt* (as they did, in ſome ſort, a *Civil* one, every Day, all this while) to beſeech of Almighty God, that his *Anger* might be turned from them, that he would not go on to cut them off in his *Anger*, that the Extremity of the Seaſon might be mitigated, and that they might be proſpered in ſome Eſſay to get Relief as the *Spring* ſhould Advance upon them; and they took *Notice* that God gave them a Gracious Anſwer to every one of theſe Petitions.

But while the *Hand of God* was killing *ſo many* of this little *Nation* (and yet uncapable to become a *Nation*, for it was, *Res unius Ætatis, populus virorum!*) they apprehended, that they muſt have been under a moſt uncomfortable Neceſſity to *kill* One of their Company.

Whatever *Penalties* they Enacted for other Crimes, there was One, for which, like that of *Parricide* among the Antients, they would have promiſed themſelves, that there ſhould not have been Occaſion for any *Puniſhments*; and that was, the Crime of *Stealing* from the Common-Stock of their Proviſions. Nevertheleſs they found their *Store-Houſe* divers times broken open, and their *Proviſions* therefrom *Stolen* by divers unnatural *Children* of the *Leviathan*, while it was not poſſible for them to preſerve their feeble Store-Houſe from the *Stone-Wall-breaking* Madneſs of theſe unreaſonable Creatures. This Trade of *Stealing*, if it had not been ſtopp'd by ſome *exemplary Severity*, they muſt in a little while, by *Lot* or *Force*, have come to have *Canibally* devoured one another; for there was nothing to be done, either at *Fiſhing*, or *Fowling*, or *Hunting*, upon that Rueful Iſland, in the depth of a Frozen Winter; and though they ſent as far as they could upon Diſcovery, they could not find on the Iſland any *Living thing* in the World, beſides themſelves. Wherefore, though by an *Act* they made *Stealing* to be ſo *Criminal*, that ſeveral did Run the *Gantlet* for it, yet they were not far from being driven, after all, to make one Degree and Inſtance of it *Capital*. There was a wicked *Iriſhman* among them, who had ſuch a *Voracious Devil* in him, that after divers *Burglaries* upon

upon the *Store-Houſe*, committed by him, at laſt he *Stole*, and *Eat* with ſuch a *Pamphagous Fury*, as to Cram himſelf with no leſs than *Eighteen Biskets* at one *Stolen Meal*, and he was fain to have his Belly ſtrok'd and bath'd before the Fire, leſt he ſhould otherwiſe have burſt. This Amazing, and indeed Murderous Villany of the *Iriſhman*, brought them all to their Wits Ends, how to defend themſelves from the Ruin therein threatned unto them; and whatever *Methods* were propoſed, it was feared that there could be no ſtop given to his *Furacious* Exorbitancies any way but *One*; he could not be paſt *Stealing*, unleſs he were paſt *Eating* too. Some think therefore they might have Sentenced the Wretch to Die, and after they had been at pains, upon Chriſtian and Spiritual Accounts, to prepare him for it, have Executed the Sentence, by Shooting him to Death: Concluding Matters come to that paſs, that if *they* had not Shot him, he muſt have *Starved* them unavoidably. Such an Action, if it were done, will doubtleſs meet with no harder a Cenſure, than that of the Seven *Engliſhmen*, who being in a Boat carried off to Sea from St. *Chriſtopher*'s, with but *one* Days Proviſion aboard for *Seventeen*, Singled out ſome of their Number by Lot, and Slew them, and Eat them; for which, when they were afterwards accuſed of *Murder*, the Court, in conſideration of the *inevitable Neceſſity*, acquitted them. Truly the *inevitable Neceſſity* of *Starving*, without ſuch an Action, ſufficiently grievous to them all, will very much plead for what was done (whatever it were!) by theſe poor *Antecoſtians*. And *Starved* indeed they muſt have been, for all this, if they had not Contrived and Performed a very deſperate Adventure, which now remains to be Related. There was a very diminutive kind of Boat belonging to their *Brigantine*, which they recovered out of the Wreck, and cutting this Boat in Two, they made a ſhift, with certain odd Materials preſerved among them, to lengthen it ſo far, that they could therein form a *little Cuddy*, where Two or Three Men might be ſtowed, and they ſet up a *little Maſt*, whereto they faſtened a little Sail, and accommodated it with ſome other *little Circumſtances*, according to their preſent poor Capacity.

On the Twenty Fifth of *March*, Five of the Company Shipped themſelves upon this Doughty *Fly-Boat*, intending, if it were poſſible, to carry unto *Boſton* the Tidings of their woful Plight upon *Antecoſta*, and by help from their Friends there, to return with ſeaſonable Succours for the reſt. They had not Sail'd long before they were Hemm'd in by prodigious Cakes of Ice, whereby their Boat ſometimes was horribly wounded, and it was a Miracle that it was not Cruſh'd into a *Thouſand Pieces*, if indeed a *Thouſand Pieces* could have been Splintred out of ſo minute a *Cock-Boat*. They kept labouring, and fearfully Weather-beaten, among enormous Rands of Ice, which would ever now and then rub formidably upon them, and were enough to have broken the Ribs of the ſtrongeſt Frigot that ever cut the Seas; and yet the ſignal Hand of Heaven ſo preſerved this petty Boat, that by the Eleventh of *April* they had got a quarter of their way, and came to an Anchor under Cape St. *Lawrence*, having ſeen Land but *once* before, and that about ſeven Leagues off, ever ſince their firſt ſetting out; and yet having ſeen the *open* and *Ocean Sea not ſo much as once* in all this while, for the Ice that ſtill encompaſſed them. For their ſupport in this Time, the little Proviſions they brought with them would not have kept them alive; only they killed *Seale* upon the Ice, and they melted the upper part of the Ice for Drink; but fierce, wild, ugly *Sea-Horſes*, would often ſo approach them upon the Ice, that the fear of being devoured by them was not the leaſt of their Exerciſes. The Day following they weighed Anchor betimes in the Morning but the *Norweſt Winds* perſecuted them, with the raiſed and raging Waves of the Sea, which almoſt continually poured into them; and Monſtrous Iſlands of Ice, that ſeemed almoſt as big as *Antecoſta* it ſelf, would ever now and then come athwart them. In ſuch a Sea they lived by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God, until, by the Thirteenth of *April*, they got into an Iſland of *Land*, where they made a Fire, and killed ſome Fowl, and ſome *Seale*, and found ſome *Gooſe-Eggs*, and ſupplied themſelves with what Billets of Wood were neceſſary and carriageable for them; and there they ſtayed until the Seventeenth. Here their Boat lying near a Rock, a great Sea hove it upon the Rock, ſo that it was upon the very point of *overſetting*, which if it had, ſhe had been utterly diſabled for any further Service, and they muſt have called that Harbour by the Name, which, I think, one a little more *Northward* bears, *The* Cape *without Hope*. There they muſt have ended their weary Days! But here the good Hand of God again interpoſed for them; they got her off; and though they loſt their *Compaſs* in this Hurry, they ſufficiently Repaired another defective one that they had aboard. Sailing from thence, by the Twenty-fourth of *April*, they made Cape *Brittoon*; when a thick Fog threw them into a new Perplexity, until they were ſafely gotten into the Bay of *Iſlands*, where they again wooded, and watred, and killed a few Fowl, and catched ſome Fiſh, and began to reckon themſelves as good as *half way home.* They reached *Cape Sables* by the Third of *May*, but by the Fifth all their Proviſion was again ſpent, and they were out of ſight of Land; nor had they any proſpect of catching any thing that lives in the *Atlantick:* which while they were lamenting one unto another, a ſtout *Halibut* comes up to the top of the Water, by their ſide; whereupon they threw out the Fiſhing-Line, and the Fiſh took the Hook; but he proved ſo heavy, that it required the help of ſeveral Hands to hale him in, and a *thankful Supper* they made on't. By the Seventh of *May* ſeeing no Land, but having once more ſpent all their Proviſion, they were grown almoſt

moſt wholly hopeleſs of Deliverance, but then a Fiſhing Shallop of Cape *Ann* came up with them, Fifteen Leagues to the Eaſtward of that Cape. And yet before they got in, they had ſo Tempeſtuous a Night, that they much feared periſhing upon the Rocks after all: But God carried them into *Boſton* Harbour the Ninth of *May*, unto the great ſurprize of their Friends that were in Mourning for them: And there furniſhing themſelves with a Veſſel fit for their Undertaking, they took a Courſe in a few Weeks more to fetch home their Brethren that they left behind them at *Antecoſta*.

But it is now time for us to return unto Sir *William!*

§. 13. All this while *CANADA* was as much written upon Sir *William*'s Heart, as *CALLICE*, they ſaid once, was upon Queen *Mary*'s. He needed not one to have been his daily Monitor about *Canada*: It lay down with him, it roſe up with him, it engroſſed almoſt all his thoughts; he thought the ſubduing of *Canada* to be the greateſt Service that could be done for *New-England*, or for the Crown of *England*, in *America*. In purſuance whereof, after he had been but a few Weeks at Home, he took another Voyage for *England*, in the very depth of Winter, *when Sailing was now dangerous*; conflicting with all the Difficulties of a tedious and a terrible Paſſage, in a very little Veſſel, which indeed was like enough to have periſhed, if it had not been for the help of his generous Hand aboard, and *his Fortunes in the bottom*.

Arriving ——— *per tot Diſcrimina*, at *Briſtol*, he haſtned up to *London*; and made his Applications to their Majeſties, and the Principal Miniſters of State, for aſſiſtance to renew an Expedition againſt *Canada*, concluding his Repreſentation to the King with ſuch Words as theſe:

'If Your Majeſty ſhall graciouſly pleaſe to 'Commiſſion and Aſſiſt me, I am ready to 'venture my Life again in your Service. 'And I doubt not, but by the Bleſſing of God, '*Canada* may be added unto the reſt of your 'Dominions, which will (all Circumſtances 'conſidered) be of more Advantage to the 'Crown of *England*, than all the Territories in 'the *Weſt-Indies* are.

The Reaſons *here ſubjoined, are humbly Offered unto Your Majeſties* Conſideration.

'*Firſt*, The Succeſs of this Deſign will 'greatly add to the Glory and Intereſt of the '*Engliſh* Crown and Nation; by the Addition 'of the *Bever-Trade*, and Securing the *Hudſon*'s '*Bay* Company, ſome of whoſe *Factories* have 'lately fallen into the Hands of the *French*; 'and increaſe of *Engliſh* Shipping and Seamen, 'by gaining the Fiſhery of *Newfoundland*; and 'by conſequence diminiſh the number of *French* 'Seamen, and cut off a great Revenue from the '*French* Crown.

'*Secondly*, The Cauſe of the *Engliſh* in *New-*'*England*, their failing in the late Attempt up-'on *Canada*, was their waiting for a Supply 'of *Ammunition* from *England* until *Auguſt*; 'their long Paſſage up that River; the *Cold* '*Seaſon* coming on, and the *Small-Pox* and *Fe-*'*vers* being in the Army and Fleet, ſo that they 'could not ſtay Fourteen Days longer; in which 'time probably they might have taken *Que-*'*beck*; yet, if a few Frigots be ſpeedily ſent, 'they doubt not of an happy Succeſs; the 'Strength of the *French* being ſmall, and the '*Planters* deſirous to be under the *Engliſh* Go-'vernment.

'*Thirdly*, The *Jeſuites* endeavour to ſeduce 'the *Maqua's*, and other *Indians* (as is by 'them affirmed) ſuggeſting the Greatneſs of 'King *Lewis*, and the Inability of King *Willi-*'*am*, to do any thing againſt the *French* in thoſe 'Parts, thereby to engage them in their Inte-'reſts: In which, if they ſhould ſucceed, not 'only *New-England*, but all our *American* 'Plantations, would be endangered by the great 'increaſe of Shipping, for the *French* (built in '*New-England* at eaſie rates) to the Infinite 'Diſhonour and Prejudice of the *Engliſh* Na-'tion.

But now, for the Succeſs of theſe Applications, I muſt entreat the Patience of my Reader to wait until we have gone through a little more of our Hiſtory.

§. 14. The Reverend *INCREASE MATHER* beholding his Country of *New-England* in a very Deplorable Condition, under a *Governour* that acted by an Illegal, Arbitrary, Treaſonable Commiſſion, and Invaded *Liberty* and *Property* after ſuch a manner, as that no Man could ſay any thing was *his own*, he did, with the Encouragement of the Principal Gentlemen in the Country, but not without much Trouble and Hazard unto his own Perſon, go over to *Whitehall* in the Summer of the Year 1688. and wait upon King *James*, with a full *Repreſentation* of their Miſeries. That King did give him Liberty of *Acceſs* unto him, whenever he deſired it, and with many *Good Words* promiſed him to relieve the Oppreſſed People in many *Inſtances* that were propoſed: But when the *Revolution* had brought the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* to the Throne, Mr. *Mather* having the Honour divers times to wait upon the King, he ſtill prayed for no leſs a Favour to *New-England*, than the full Reſtoration of their *Charter-Priviledges*: And Sir *William Phips* happening to be then in *England*, very generouſly joined with Mr. *Mather* in ſome of thoſe Addreſſes: Whereto His Majeſty's Anſwers were always very expreſſive of his Gracious Inclinations. Mr. *Mather*, herein aſſiſted alſo by the Right Worſhipful Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, a moſt Hearty Friend of all ſuch good Men as thoſe that once filled *New-England*, ſolicited the Leading Men of both Houſes in the Convention-Parliament, until a Bill for the

Reſtoring of the Charters belonging to *New-England*, was fully paſſed by the Commons of *England*; but that Parliament being Prorogu'd, and then Diſſolved, all that *Siſyphæan* Labour came to nothing. The Diſappointments which afterwards moſt wonderfully blaſted all the hopes of the Petitioned Reſtoration, obliged Mr. *Mather*, not without the Concurrence of other Agents, now alſo come from *New-England*, unto that Method of Petitioning the King for a *New* Charter, that ſhould contain more than all the Priviledges of the *Old*; and Sir *William Phips*, now being again returned into *England*, lent his utmoſt aſſiſtance hereunto.

The King taking a Voyage for *Holland* before this Petition was anſwered; Mr. *Mather*, in the mean while, not only waited upon the greateſt part of the Lords of His Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council, offering them a Paper of *Reaſons for the Confirmation of the* Charter-Priviledges *granted unto the* Maſſachuſet-Colony; but alſo having the Honour to be introduc'd unto the Queen, he aſſured Her Majeſty, That there were none in the World better affected unto their Majeſties Government than the People of *New-England*, who had indeed been expoſed unto great Hardſhips for their being ſo; and entreated, that ſince the King had referred the *New-Engliſh* Affair unto the Two Lord Chief Juſtices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General, there might be granted unto us what they thought was reaſonable. Whereto the Queen replied, That the Requeſt was reaſonable; and that ſhe had ſpoken divers times to the King on the behalf of *New-England*; and that for her own part, ſhe deſired that the People there might not meerly have Juſtice, but *Favour* done to them. When the King was returned, Mr. *Mather*, being by the Duke of *Devonſhire* brought into the King's Preſence on *April* 28. 1691. humbly pray'd His Majeſties Favour to *New-England*; urging, That if their Old Charter-Priviledges might be reſtored unto them, his *Name* would be great in thoſe Parts of the World as long as the World ſhould ſtand; adding,

Sir,

YOUR Subjects there have been willing to venture their Lives, that they may enlarge your Dominions; the Expedition *to* Canada *was a Great and Noble Undertaking.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, in your great Wiſdom alſo to conſider the Circumſtances of that People, as in your Wiſdom you have conſidered the Circumſtances of England, *and of* Scotland. *In* New-England *they differ from other Plantations; they are called* Congregational *and* Presbyterian. *So that ſuch a Governour will not ſuit with the People of* New-England, *as may be very proper for other* Engliſh *Plantations.*

Two Days after this, the King, upon what was propoſed by certain Lords, was very inquiſitive, whether he might, without breach of Law, ſet a Governour over *New-England*; whereto the Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſome others of the Council, anſwered, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cauſe, inaſmuch as the *Charter* of *New-England* ſtood vacated by a Judgment againſt them, it was in the King's Power to put them under what *Form of Government* he ſhould think beſt for them.

The King then ſaid, 'That he believed it 'would be for the Advantage of the People in 'that Colony, to be under a Governour appointed by himſelf: Nevertheleſs (becauſe of what Mr. *Mather* had ſpoken to him) 'He would 'have the Agents of *New-England* nominate a 'Perſon that ſhould be agreeable unto the Inclinations of the People there; and notwithſtanding this, he would have Charter-Priviledges reſtored and confirmed unto them.

The Day following the King began another Voyage to *Holland*; and when the Attorney General's Draught of a Charter, according to what he took to be His Majeſties Mind, as expreſſed in Council, was preſented at the *Council-Board*, on the Eighth of *June*, ſome Objections then made, procured an Order to prepare *Minutes* for another Draught, which deprived the *New-Englanders* of ſeveral *Eſſential Priviledges* in their other Charter. Mr. *Mather* put in his Objections, and vehemently proteſted, That he would ſooner part with his *Life*, than conſent unto thoſe *Minutes*, or any thing elſe that ſhould infringe any Liberty or Priviledge of Right belonging unto his Country; but he was anſwered, That the Agents of *New-England* were not *Plenipotentiaries* from another Soveraign State; and that if they would not ſubmit unto the King's Pleaſure in the Settlement of the Country, they muſt *take what would follow*.

The diſſatisfactory *Minutes* were, by Mr. *Mather*'s Induſtry, ſent over unto the King in *Flanders*; and the Miniſters of State then with the King were earneſtly applied unto, that every miſtake about the good Settlement of *New-England* might be prevented; and the Queen her ſelf, with her own Royal Hand, wrote unto the King, that the Charter of *New-England* might either paſs as it was drawn by the Attorney General, or be deferred until his own Return.

But after all, His Majeſties Principal Secretary of State received a Signification of the King's Pleaſure, that the Charter of *New-England* ſhould run in the Main Points of it as it was now granted: Only there were ſeveral Important Articles which Mr. *Mather* by his unwearied Solicitations obtained afterwards to be inſerted.

There were ſome now of the Opinion, that inſtead of ſubmitting to this New Settlement, they ſhould, in hopes of getting a Reverſion of the Judgment againſt the Old Charter, declare to the Miniſters of State, That they had rather have no Charter at all, than ſuch an one

as

as was now propoſed unto Acceptance. But Mr. *Mather* adviſing with many unprejudiced Perſons, and Men of the greateſt Abiſities in the Kingdom, *Noblemen*, *Gentlemen*, *Divines* and *Lawyers*, they all agreed, that it was not only a lawful, but all Circumſtances then conſidered, a Needful thing, and a part of Duty and Wiſdom to accept what was now offered, and that a peremptory refuſal would not only bring an Inconveniency, but a Fatal, and perhaps, a Final Ruin upon the Country; whereof Mankind would lay the blame upon the Agents.

It was argued, That ſuch a Submiſſion was no Surrender of any thing; that the Judgment, not in the Court of King's *Bench*, but in *Chancery* againſt the Old Charter, ſtanding on Record, the Patten was thereby Annihilated; that all attempts to have the Judgment againſt the Old Charter taken off, would be altogether in vain, as Men and Things were then diſpoſed.

It was further argued, That the Ancient Charter of *New-England* was in the Opinion of the Lawyers very Defective, as to ſeveral *Powers*, which yet were abſolutely neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the Plantation: It gave the Government there no more Power than the Corporations have in *England*; Power in Capital Caſes was not therein particularly expreſſed.

It mentioned not an *Houſe of Deputies*, or an *Aſſembly of Repreſentatives*; the Governour and Company had thereby (they ſaid) no Power to impoſe Taxes on the Inhabitants that were not Freemen, or to erect Courts of Admiralty. Without ſuch Powers the Colony could not ſubſiſt; and yet the beſt Friends that *New-England* had of Perſons moſt Learned in the Law, profeſſed, that ſuppoſe the Judgment againſt the *Maſſachuſet*-Charter might be Reverſed, yet, if they ſhould again Exert ſuch Powers as they did before the *Quo Warranto* againſt their Charter, a new Writ of *Scire Facias* would undoubtedly be iſſued out againſt them.

It was yet further argued, That if an Act of Parliament ſhould have Reverſed the Judgment againſt the *Maſſachuſet-Charter*, without a Grant of ſome other Advantages, the whole Territory had been, on many Accounts, very miſerably Incommoded: The Province of *Main*, with *Hampſhire*, would have been taken from them; and *Plymouth* would have been annexed unto *New-York*; ſo that this Colony would have been ſqueezed into an *Atom*, and not only have been render'd *Inſignificant* in its Trade, but by having its Militia alſo, which was veſted in the King, taken away, its *Inſignificancies* would have become out of meaſure humbling; whereas now, inſtead of ſeeing any Relief by Act of Parliament, they would have been put under a Governour, with a Commiſſion, whereby ill Men, and the King's and Country's Enemies might probably have crept into Opportunities to have done Ten Thouſand ill things, and have treated the beſt Men in the Land after a very uncomfortable manner.

It was laſtly argued, That by the New Charter very great Priviledges were granted unto *New-England*; and in ſome reſpects greater than what they formerly enjoyed. The *Colony* is now made a *Province*, and their General Court, has, with the King's Approbation, as much Power in *New-England*, as the King and Parliament have in *England*. They have all *Engliſh* Liberties, and can be touched by no Law, by no Tax, but of their own making. All the Liberties of their Holy Religion are for ever ſecured, and their Titles to their Lands, once for want of ſome Forms of Legal Conveyance, conteſted, are now confirmed unto them. If an ill Governour ſhould happen to be impoſed on them, what hurt could he do to them? None, except they themſelves pleaſed; for he cannot make one Counſellor, or one Judge, or one Juſtice, or one Sheriff to ſerve his Turn: Diſadvantages enough, one would think, to Diſcourage any ill Governour from deſiring to be Stationed in thoſe uneaſie Regions. The People have a Negative upon all the Executive Part of the Civil Government, as well as the Legiſlative, which is a vaſt Priviledge, enjoyed by no other Plantation in *America*, nor by *Ireland*, no, nor hitherto by *England* it ſelf. Why ſhould all of this good be refuſed or deſpiſed, becauſe of ſomewhat not ſo good attending it? The Deſpiſers of ſo much good, will certainly deſerve a Cenſure, not unlike that of *Cauſabon*, upon ſome who did not value what that Learned Man counted highly valuable, *Vix illis optari quidquam pejus poteſt, quam ut fatuitate ſua fruantur:* Much good may do them with their Madneſs! All of this being well conſidered, Sir *William Phips*, who had made ſo many Addreſſes for the Reſtoration of the Old Charter, under which he had ſeen his Country many Years flouriſhing, will be excuſed by all the World from any thing of a Fault, in a moſt unexpected paſſage of his Life, which is now to be related.

Sir *Henry Aſhurſt*, and Mr. *Mather*, well knowing the agreeable Diſpoſition to do Good, and the King and his Country Service, which was in Sir *William Phips*, whom they now had with them, all this while Proſecuting his Deſign for *Canada*, they did unto the Council-Board nominate *him* for the GOVERNOUR of *New-England*. And Mr. *Mather* being by the Earl of *Nottingham* introduced unto His Majeſty, ſaid,

Sir,

I *Do, in the behalf of* New-England, *moſt humbly thank your Majeſty, in that you have been pleaſed, by a* Charter, *to reſtore* Engliſh

Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their Properties, and to grant them ſome peculiar Priviledges. I doubt not, but that your Subjects there will demean themſelves with that dutiful Affection and Loyalty to your Majeſty, as that you will ſee cauſe to enlarge your Royal Favours towards them. And I do moſt humbly thank your Majeſty, in that you have been pleaſed to give leave unto thoſe that are concerned for New-England *to nominate their* Governour.

Sir William Phips *has been accordingly nominated by us at the Council-Board. He hath done a good Service for the Crown, by enlarging your Dominions, and reducing of* Nova Scotia *to your Obedience. I know that he will faithfully ſerve your Majeſty to the utmoſt of his Capacity; and if your Majeſty ſhall think fit to confirm him in that place, it will be a further Obligation on your Subjects there.*

The Effects of all this was, that Sir *William Phips* was now inveſted with a Commiſſion under the King's Broad-Seal to be *Captain General*, and *Governour in Chief* over the Province of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* in *New-England:* Nor do I know a Perſon in the World that could have been propoſed more acceptable to the Body of the People throughout *New-England*, and on that ſcore more likely and able to ſerve the King's Intereſts among the People there, under the Changes in ſome things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a *Gideon*, who had more than once ventured his Life to ſave his Country from their Enemies; and they now, with univerſal Satisfaction ſaid, *Thou ſhalt rule over us.* Accordingly, having with Mr. *Mather* kiſſed the King's Hand on *January* 3d, 1691. he haſtned away to his Government; and arriving at *New-England* the Fourteenth of *May* following, attended with the *Non-ſuch-Frigat*, both of them were welcomed with the loud Acclamations of the long *ſhaken* and *ſhatter'd* Country, whereto they were now returned with a Settlement ſo full of happy Priviledges.

§. 15. When *Titus Flaminius* had freed the poor *Grecians* from the Bondage which had long oppreſſed them, and the Herald Proclaimed among them the Articles of their Freedom, they cried out, *A Saviour! A Saviour!* with ſuch loud Acclamations, that the very *Birds* fell down from Heaven aſtoniſh'd at the Cry. Truly, when Mr. *Mather* brought with him unto the poor *New-Englanders*, not only a *Charter*, which though in divers Points wanting what both *he* and *they* had wiſhed for, yet for ever delivers them from Oppreſſions on their *Chriſtian* and *Engliſh* Liberties, or on their Ancient Poſſeſſions, wherein ruining *Writs of Intruſion* had begun to Invade them all, but alſo a *GOVERNOUR* who might call *New-England* his own *Country*, and who was above moſt Men in it, full of Affection to the Intereſts of *his Country*; the ſenſible part of the People then cauſed the Sence of the *Salvations* thus brought them to reach as far as *Heaven* it ſelf. The various little Humours then working among the People, did not hinder the *Great and General Court* of the Province to appoint a Day of Solemn *THANKSGIVING* to Almighty God, for *Granting* (as the Printed Order expreſſed it) *a ſafe Arrival to his Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr.* Increaſe Mather, *who have induſtriouſly endeavoured the Service of this People, and have brought over with them a Settlement of Government, in which their Majeſties have graciouſly given us diſtinguiſhing Marks of their Royal Favour and Goodneſs.*

And as the obliged People thus gave *Thanks* unto the God of Heaven, ſo they ſent an Addreſs of *Thanks* unto Their Majeſties, with other Letters of *Thanks* unto ſome Chief Miniſters of State, for the *Favourable Aſpect* herein caſt upon the Province.

Nor were the People miſtaken, when they promiſed themſelves all the kindneſs imaginable from this *Governour*, and expected, *Under his ſhadow we ſhall live eaſie among the Heathen:* Why might they not look for *Halcyon*-days, when they had ſuch a *King's-Fiſher* for their Governour?

Governour *Phips* had, as every raiſed and uſeful Perſon muſt have, his *Envious Enemies*; but the paleſt Envy of them, who turned their worſt Enmity upon him, could not hinder them from confeſſing, *That according to the beſt of his Apprehenſion, he ever ſought the good of his Country*: His Country quickly felt this on innumerable Occaſions; and they had it eminently demonſtrated, as well in his promoting and approving the Council's choice of good *Judges*, *Juſtices* and *Sheriffs*, which being once eſtabliſhed, no *Succeſſor* could remove them, as in his urging the *General Aſſembly* to make themſelves happy by preparing a Body of good Laws as faſt as they could, which being paſſed by him in his time, could not be nulled by any other after him.

He would often ſpeak to the Members of the general Aſſembly in ſuch Terms as theſe, *Gentlemen, You may make your ſelves as eaſie as you will for ever; conſider what may have any tendency to your welfare; and you may be ſure, that whatever Bills you offer to me, conſiſtent with the Honour and Intereſt of the Crown, I'll paſs them readily; I do but ſeek Opportunities to ſerve you; had it not been for the ſake of this thing, I had never accepted the Government of this Province; and whenever you have ſettled ſuch a Body of good Laws, that no Perſon coming after me may make you uneaſie, I ſhall deſire not one Day longer to continue in the Government.* Accordingly he ever paſſed every Act for the welfare of the Province propoſed unto him; and inſtead of ever putting them upon Buying his Aſſent unto any good Act, he was much forwarder

forwarder to give it, than they were to ask it: Nor indeed, had the *Hunger of a Salary* any ſuch Impreſſion upon him, as to make him decline doing all poſſible Service for the Publick, while he was not ſure of having any Proportionable or Honourable Acknowledgments.

But yet he minded the Preſervation of the King's Rights with as careful and faithful a Zeal as became a good Steward for the Crown: And, indeed, he ſtudied nothing more than to obſerve ſuch a Temper in all things, as to extinguiſh what others have gone to diſtinguiſh; even the Pernicious Notion of a ſeparate Intereſt. There was a time when the *Roman* Empire was infeſted with a vaſt number of Governours, who were Infamous for Infinite Avarice and Villany; and referring to this time, the Apoſtle *John* had a Viſion of *People killed with the Beaſts of the Earth.*

But Sir *William Phips* was none of thoſe Governours; wonderfully contrary to this wretchedneſs was the Happineſs of *New-England*, when they had Governour *Phips*, uſing the tenderneſs of a Father towards the People; and being of the Opinion, *Ditare magis eſſe Regium quam Diteſcere*, that it was a braver thing to enrich the People, than to grow rich himſelf. A *Father*, I ſaid; and what if I had ſaid an *Angel* too? If I ſhould from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from *Theodoret*, and from *Jerom*, and and others among the Ancients, as well as from *Calvin*, and *Bucan*, and *Peter Martyr*, and *Chemnitius*, and *Bullinger*, and a Thouſand more among the *Moderns*, bring Authorities for the Aſſertion, *That each Country and Province is under the ſpecial Care of ſome Angel, by a ſingular Deputation of Heaven aſſigned thereunto*, I could back them with a far greater Authority than any of them all. The Scripture it ſelf does plainly aſſert it: And hence the moſt Learned *Grotius*, writing of *Commonwealths*, has a Paſſage to this purpoſe, *His ſingulis, ſuos Attributos, eſſe Angelos, ex Daniele, magno conſenſu, & Judæi & Chriſtiani veteres colligebant.*

But *New-England* had now, beſides the *Guardian-Angel*, who more inviſibly intended its welfare, a *Governour* that became wonderfully agreeable thereunto, by his whole Imitation of ſuch a Guardian-Angel. He employed his whole Strength to guard his People from all Diſaſters, which threatned them either by Sea or Land; and it was remark'd, that nothing remarkably Diſaſtrous did befal that People from the time of his Arrival to the Government, until there arrived an Order for his leaving it: (Except one thing which was begun before he entred upon the Government:) But inſtead thereof, the *Indians* were notably defeated in the Aſſaults which they now made upon the *Engliſh*, and ſeveral *French* Ships did alſo very advantageouſly fall into his Hands; yea, there was by his means a Peace reſtored unto the Province, that had been divers Years languiſhing under the Hectic Feaver of a lingring War.

And there was this one thing more that rendred his Government the more deſirable; that whereas 'tis impoſſible for a meer Man to govern without ſome *Error*; whenever this Governour was adviſed of any Error in any of his Adminiſtrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it with all poſſible Ingenuity; ſo that if any occaſion of juſt Complaint aroſe, it was uſually his endeavour that it ſhould not long be complain'd of.

——*O, Fœlices nimium, ſua ſi Bona, norant, Nov-Angli.*——

But having in a *Parentheſis* newly intimated, that his Excellency, when he entred on his Government, found one thing that was *remarkably Diſaſtrous* begun upon it: Of that one thing we will now give ſome account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained with as prodigious Matters as can be put into any Hiſtory! And let him that writes the next *Thaumatographia Pneumatica*, allow to theſe Prodigies the chief place among the Wonders.

§. 16. About the time of our Bleſſed Lord's coming to reſide on Earth, we read of ſo many *poſſeſſed with Devils*, that it is commonly thought the *Number* of ſuch miſerable *Energumens* was then encreaſed above what has been uſual in other Ages; and the *Reaſon* of that Increaſe has been made a Matter of ſome Enquiry. Now though the *Devils* might herein deſign by *Preternatural Operations* to blaſt the *Miracles* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which point they gained among the Blaſphemous *Phariſees*; and the *Devils* might herein alſo deſign a Villanous *Imitation* of what was coming to paſs in the *Incarnation* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, wherein *God* came to *dwell in Fleſh*; yet I am not without ſuſpicion, that there may be ſomething further in the Conjecture of the Learned *Bartholinus* hereupon, who ſays, It was *Quod judæi præter modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Dæmonem Advocaverint*, the *Jews*, by the frequent uſe of *Magical Tricks*, called in the *Devils* among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any People in the World grown more fond of *Sorceries*, than that unhappy People: The *Talmuds* tell us of the little *Parchments* with Words upon them, which were their common *Amulets*, and of the *Charms* which they mutter'd over *Wounds*, and of the various *Enchantments* which they uſed againſt all ſorts of Diſaſters whatſoever. It is affirmed in the *Talmuds*, that no leſs than Twenty-four Scholars in one School were killed by *Witchcraft*; and that no leſs than *Fourſcore* Perſons were Hanged for *Witchcraft* by one Judge in one Day. The

Gloſs adds upon it, *That the Women of* Iſrael *had generally fallen to the Practice of Witchcrafts*; and therefore it was required, that there ſhould be ſtill choſen into the Council one skilful in the *Arts of Sorcerers*, and able thereby to diſcover who might be guilty of thoſe *Black Arts* among ſuch as were accuſed before them.

Now the Arrival of Sir *William Phips* to the Government of *New-England*, was at a time when a Governour would have had Occaſion for all the Skill in *Sorcery*, that was ever neceſſary to a *Jewiſh Councellor*; a time when Scores of poor People had newly fallen under a prodigious *Poſſeſſion of Devils*, which it was then generally thought had been by *Witchcrafts* introduced. It is to be confeſſed and bewailed, that many Inhabitants of *New-England*, and Young People eſpecially, had been led away with little *Sorceries*, wherein they *did ſecretly thoſe things that were not right againſt the Lord their God*; they would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practiſe deteſtable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keys*, and *Peaſe*, and *Nails*, and *Horſe-ſhoes*, and other Implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious Curioſity. Wretched Books had ſtoln into the Land, wherein Fools were inſtructed how to become able Fortune-Tellers: Among which, I wonder that a blacker Brand is not ſet upon that Fortune-Telling Wheel, which that Sham-Scribler, that goes under the Letters of *R. B.* has promiſed in his *Delights for the Ingenious*, as an *honeſt and pleaſant Recreation*: And by theſe Books, the Minds of many had been ſo poiſoned, that they ſtudied this *Finer Witchcraft*; until, 'tis well, if ſome of them were not betray'd into what is Groſſer, and more Senſible and Capital. Although theſe *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the *whole World*, than they are in the Country of *New-England*, yet, that being a Country Devoted unto the Worſhip and Service of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* above the *reſt of the World*, *He* ſignalized his Vengeance againſt theſe Wickedneſſes, with ſuch extraordinary Diſpenſations as have not been often ſeen in other places.

The *Devils* which had been ſo play'd withal, and, it may be, by ſome few Criminals more Explicitely engaged and imployed, now broke in upon the Country, after as aſtoniſhing a manner as was ever heard of. Some Scores of People, firſt about *Salem*, the Centre and Firſt-Born of all the Towns in the Colony, and afterwards in ſeveral other places, were Arreſted with many *Preternatural Vexations* upon their Bodies, and a variety of cruel Torments, which were evidently inflicted from the *Dæmons*, of the *Inviſible World*. The People that were *Infected* and *Infeſted* with ſuch *Dæmons*, in a few Days time arrived unto ſuch a *Refining Alteration* upon their Eyes, that they could ſee their Tormentors; they ſaw a *Devil* of a Little *Stature*, and of a Tawny *Colour*, attended ſtill with *Spectres* that appeared in more Humane Circumſtances.

Theſe *Tormentors* tendred unto the afflicted a *Book*, requiring them to *Sign* it, or to *Touch* it at leaſt, in token of their conſenting to be Liſted in the Service of the *Devil*; which they refuſing to do, the *Spectres* under the Command of that *Blackman*, as they called him, would apply themſelves to Torture them with prodigious Moleſtations.

The afflicted Wretches were horribly *Diſtorted* and *Convulſed*; they were *Pinched* Black and Blue: *Pins* would be run every where in their Fleſh; they would be *Scalded* until they had *Bliſters* raiſed on them; and a Thouſand other things before Hundreds of Witneſſes were done unto them, evidently *Preternatural*: For if it were *Preternatural* to keep a rigid *Faſt* for *Nine*, yea, for *Fifteen* Days together; or if it were *Preternatural* to have one's Hands *ty'd* cloſe together with a *Rope* to be plainly ſeen, and then by *unſeen Hands* preſently pull'd up a great way from the Earth before a Croud of People; ſuch *Preternatural* things were endured by them.

But of all the *Preternatural* things which befel theſe People, there were none more *unaccountable* than thoſe, wherein the preſtigious *Dæmons* would ever now and then cover the moſt *Corporeal* things in the World with a *Faſcinating Miſt* of *Inviſibility*. As now; a Perſon was cruelly aſſaulted by a *Spectre*, that, ſhe ſaid, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body elſe in the room could ſee either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*: At laſt, in her Agonies, giving a ſnatch at the *Spectre*, ſhe pulled the *Spindle* away; and it was no ſooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then preſent beheld that it was indeed a Real, Proper, Iron *Spindle*; which when they locked up very ſafe, it was nevertheleſs by the *Dæmons* taken away to do farther Miſchief.

Again, a Perſon was haunted by a moſt abuſive *Spectre*, which came to her, ſhe ſaid, with a *Sheet* about her, though ſeen to none but her ſelf. After ſhe had undergone a deal of Teaze from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, ſhe gave a violent *Snatch* at the *Sheet* that was upon it; where-from ſhe tore a Corner, which in her Hand immediately was beheld by all that were preſent, a palpable Corner of a *Sheet*: And her Father, which was now holding of her, *catch'd*, that he might *keep* what his Daughter had ſo ſtrangely ſeized; but the *Spectre* had like to have wrung his Hand off, by endeavouring to wreſt it from him: However he ſtill held it; and ſeveral times this odd Accident was renewed in the Family. There wanted not the *Oaths* of good credible People to theſe particulars.

Alſo, it is well known, that theſe wicked *Spectres* did proceed ſo far as to ſteal ſeveral Quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Individual Money was dropt ſometimes out of the Air, before ſufficient *Spectators*,

into

into the Hands of the Afflicted, while the *Spectres* were urging them to ſubſcribe their *Covenant with Death*. Moreover, *Poiſons* to the Standers-by, wholly *Inviſibly*, were ſometimes forced upon the Afflicted; which when they have with much Reluctancy ſwallowed, they have *ſwoln* preſently, ſo that the common Medicines for *Poiſons* have been found neceſſary to relieve them: Yea, ſometimes the *Spectres* in the *ſtruggles* have ſo dropt the *Poiſons*, that the Standers-by have ſmelt them, and view'd them, and beheld the *Pillows* of the miſerable ſtained with them.

Yet more, the miſerable have complained bitterly of *burning Rags* run into their forceably diſtended *Mouths*; and though no Body could ſee any ſuch *Clothes*, or indeed any *Fires* in the Chambers, yet preſently the *ſcalds* were ſeen plainly by every Body on the Mouths of the Complainers, and not only the *Smell*, but the *Smoke* of the Burning ſenſibly fill'd the Chambers.

Once more, the miſerable exclaimed extreamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire on the Hearth to mark them; now though the Sanders-by could ſee no *Irons*, yet they could ſee diſtinctly the Print of them in the Aſhes, and *ſmell* them too as they were carried by the *notſeen Furies*, unto the Poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and thoſe Poor Creatures were thereupon ſo *Stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the *Marks* of them to their Dying Day. Nor are theſe the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the Inhabitants of *New-England*.

Flaſhy People may *Burleſque* theſe Things, but when Hundreds of the moſt ſober People in a Country, where they have as much *Mother-Wit* certainly as the reſt of Mankind, know them to be *True*, nothing but the abſurd and froward Spirit of *Sadduciſm* can Queſtion them. I have not yet mentioned ſo much as one Thing that will not be juſtified, if it be required by the *Oaths* of more conſiderate Perſons than any that can ridicule theſe odd *Phenomena*.

But the worſt part of this aſtoniſhing *Tragedy* is yet behind; wherein Sir *William Phips*, at laſt being dropt, as it were from the *Machin of Heaven*, was an Inſtrument of eaſing the Diſtreſſes of the Land, now *ſo darkned by the Wrath of the Lord of Hoſts*. There were very worthy Men upon the Spot where the *aſſault from Hell* was firſt made, who apprehended themſelves call'd from the *God of Heaven*, to ſift the buſineſs unto the bottom of it; and indeed, the continual *Impreſſions*, which the outcries and the havocks of the *afflicted People* that lived nigh unto them cauſed on their Minds, gave no little Edge to this Apprehenſion.

The Perſons were Men eminent for *Wiſdom* and *Virtue*, and they went about their enquiry into the matter, as *driven* unto it by a *Conſcience* of Duty to God and the World. They did in the firſt Place take it for granted, that there are *Witches*, or wicked Children of Men, who upon *Covenanting* with, and *Commiſſioning* of *Evil Spirits*, are attended by their Miniſtry to accompliſh the things deſired of them: To ſatiſfie them in which Perſwaſion, they had not only the *Aſſertions* of the *Holy Scripture*; Aſſertions, which the *Witch-Advocates* cannot evade without Shifts, too fooliſh for any *Prudent*, or too profane for any *Honeſt* Man to uſe; and they had not only the well-atteſted *Relations* of the graveſt Authors from *Bodin* to *Bovet*, and from *Binsfeld* to *Brombal* and *Baxter*; to deny all which, would be as reaſonable as to turn the Chronicles of all Nations into Romances of *Don Quixot* and the *Seven Champions*; but they had alſo an *Ocular Demonſtration* in one, who a little before had been executed for *Witchcraft*, when *Joſeph Dudley*, Eſq; was the Chief Judge. There was one whoſe *Magical Images* were found, and who *confeſſing her Deeds*, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her *Compos Mentis*) actually ſhewed the whole Court, by what *Ceremonies* uſed unto them, ſhe directed her *Familiar Spirits* how and where to Cruciate the Objects of her Malice; and the Experiments being made over and over again before the whole Court, the *Effect* followed exactly in the Hurts done to People at a diſtance from her. The Exiſtence of ſuch *Witches* was now taken for granted by thoſe good Men, wherein ſo far the generality of reaſonable Men have thought *they ran well*; and they ſoon received the *Confeſſions* of ſome *accuſed* Perſons to confirm them in it; but then they took one thing more for granted, wherein 'tis now as generally thought they *went out of the Way*. The Afflicted People vehemently accuſed ſeveral Perſons in ſeveral Places, that the *Spectres* which afflicted them, did exactly reſemble *them*; until the Importunity of the Accuſations did provoke the Magiſtrates to examine them. When many of the *accuſed* came upon their Examination, it was found, that the *Dæmons* then a thouſand ways abuſing of the poor *afflicted* People, had with a marvellous exactneſs *repreſented* them; yea, it was found, that many of the *accuſed*, but caſting their Eye on the *afflicted*, the *afflicted*, though their Faces were never ſo much another way, would fall down and lye in a ſort of a Swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever Hands were laid upon them, until the Hands of the *accuſed* came to touch them, and *then* they would revive immediately: And it was found, that various kinds of *natural Actions*, done by many of the *accuſed* in or to their own Bodies, as *Leaning*, *Bending*, *Turning* Awry, or *Squeezing* their Hands, or the like, were preſently attended with the like things *preternaturally* done upon the Bodies of the *afflicted*, though they were ſo far aſunder, that the *afflicted* could not at all obſerve the *accuſed*.

It was alſo found, that the Fleſh of the Afflicted was often *Bitten* at ſuch a rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Fleſh*, but the very *Slaver* of Spittle too: And there would appear juſt ſuch a *ſet of Teeth* as was in the *accuſed*, even ſuch as might be clearly diſtinguiſhed from other Peoples. And uſually the *afflicted* went through a

terrible

terrible deal of ſeeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and muſt be long waited on, before they could get a Breathing Space from their *Torments* to give in their Teſtimonies.

Now many good Men took up an Opinion, That the *Providence* of God would not permit an *Innocent Perſon* to come under ſuch a *Spectral Repreſentation*; and that a concurrence of ſo many Circumſtances would prove an *accuſed* Perſon to be in a *Confederacy* with the *Dæmons* thus afflicting of the Neighbours; they judged, that except theſe things might amount unto a *Conviction*, it would ſcarce be poſſible ever to *Convict* a *Witch*; and they had ſome *Philoſophical Schemes* of *Witchcraft*, and of the Method and Manner wherein *Magical Poiſons* operate, which further ſupported them in their Opinion.

Sundry of the *accuſed* Perſons were brought unto their *Trial*, while this Opinion was yet prevailing in the Minds of the *Judges* and the *Juries*, and perhaps the moſt of the People in the Country, then moſtly Suffering; and though againſt ſome of them that were Tried there came in ſo much *other Evidence* of their Diabolical Compacts, that ſome of the moſt *Judicious*, and yet *Vehement* Oppoſers of the Notions then in Vogue, publickly declared, *Had they themſelves been on the Bench, they could not have Acquitted them*; nevertheleſs, divers were Condemned, againſt whom the *chief Evidence* was founded in the *Spectral Exhibitions*.

And it happening, that ſome of the *Accuſed* coming to confeſs themſelves *Guilty*, their *Shapes* were no more ſeen by any of the *afflicted*, though the Confeſſion had been kept never ſo Secret, but inſtead thereof the *Accuſed* themſelves became in all Vexations juſt like the *Afflicted*; this yet more confirmed many in the Opinion that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickned them yet more to Act upon it, was, that the Afflicted were frequently entertained with *Apparitions* of *Ghoſts* at the ſame time that the *Spectres* of the ſuppoſed *Witches* troubled them: Which *Ghoſts* always caſt the Beholders into far more Conſternation than any of the *Spectres*; and when they exhibited themſelves, they cried out of being *Murdered* by the *Witchcrafts*, or other Violences of the Perſons repreſented in the *Spectres*. Once or Twice theſe Apparitions were ſeen by others at the very ſame time that they ſhew'd themſelves to the *afflicted*; and ſeldom were they ſeen at all, but when ſomething unuſual and ſuſpicious had attended the Death of the Party thus appearing.

The *afflicted* People many times had never heard any thing before of the Perſons appearing in *Ghoſt*, or of the Perſons *accuſed* by the *Apparitions*; and yet the accuſed upon Examination have confeſſed the Murders of thoſe very Perſons, though theſe *accuſed* alſo knew nothing of the *Apparitions* that had come in againſt them; and the *afflicted* Perſons likewiſe, without any private Agreement or Colluſion, when ſucceſſively brought into a Room, have all aſſerted the ſame *Apparitions* to be there before them: Theſe *Murders* did ſeem to call for an Enquiry.

On the other Part, there were many Perſons of great Judgment, Piety and Experience, who from the beginning were very much diſſatisfied at theſe Proceedings; they feared leſt the *Devil* would get ſo far into the *Faith* of the People, that for the ſake of many *Truths*, which they might find him telling of them, they would come at length to believe all his *Lies*, whereupon what a Deſolation of *Names*, yea, and of *Lives* alſo, would enſue, a Man might without much *Witchcraft* be able to Prognoſticate; and they feared, leſt in ſuch an extraordinary Deſcent of *Wicked Spirits* from their *High Places* upon us, there might ſuch *Principles* be taken up, as, when put into *Practice*, would unavoidably cauſe the *Righteous to periſh with the Wicked*, and procure the Blood-ſhed of Perſons like the *Gibeonites*, whom ſome learned Men ſuppoſe to be under a falſe Pretence of *Witchcraft*, by *Saul* exterminated.

However uncommon it might be for *guiltleſs Perſons* to come under ſuch unaccountable Circumſtances, as were on ſo many of the Accuſed, they held *ſome things there are, which if ſuffered to be Common, would ſubvert Government, and Diſband and Ruin Humane Society, yet God ſometimes may ſuffer ſuch Things to evene, that we may know thereby how much we are beholden to him for that reſtraint which he lays upon the Infernal Spirits, who would elſe reduce a World into a* Chaos. They had already known of one at the Town of *Groton* hideouſly agitated by *Devils*, who in her Fits cried out much againſt a very Godly Woman in the Town, and when that Woman approached unto her, though the Eyes of the Creature were never ſo ſhut, ſhe yet manifeſted a violent Senſe of her approach: But when the Gracious Woman thus Impeached, had prayed earneſtly with and for this Creature, then inſtead of crying out againſt her any more, ſhe owned, that ſhe had in all been deluded by the *Devil*. They now ſaw, that the more the *Afflicted* were Hearkned unto, the more the number of the *Accuſed* encreaſed; until at laſt many ſcores were *cried out* upon, and among them, ſome, who by the *Unblameableneſs*, yea, and *Serviceableneſs* of their whole Converſation, had obtained the Juſt Reputation of *Good People* among all that were acquainted with them. The Character of the *afflicted* likewiſe added unto the common Diſtaſte; for though ſome of *them* too were *Good People*, yet others of them, and ſuch of them as were moſt Flippent at *Accuſing*, had a far other Character.

In fine, the Country was in a dreadful *Ferment*, and wiſe Men foreſaw a long Train of Diſmal and Bloody Conſequences. Hereupon they firſt adviſed, that the *afflicted* might be kept aſunder in the cloſeſt Privacy; and one particular Perſon (whom I have cauſe to know) in

in purſuance of this Advice, offered himſelf ſingly to provide Accommodations for any *ſix* of them, that ſo the Succeſs of more than ordinary *Prayer* with *Faſting*, might, with *Patience*, be *experienced*, before any other Courſes were taken.

And Sir *William Phips* arriving to his Government, after this *enſnaring horrible Storm* was begun, did conſult the neighbouring Miniſters of the Province, who made unto his Excellency and the Council a return, (drawn up at their deſire by Mr. *Mather* the Younger, as I have been inform'd) wherein they declared.

We judge, that in the Proſecution of theſe and all ſuch Witchcrafts, *there is need of a very Critical and Exquiſite Caution: Leſt by too much Credulity for things received only upon the* Devil's Authority, *there be a Door opened for a long Train of miſerable Conſequences, and Satan get an Advantage over us; for* we ſhould not be Ignorant of his Devices.

As in complaints upon Witchcrafts, *there may be Matters of* Enquiry, *which do not amount unto Matters of* Preſumption; *and there may be Matters of* Preſumption, *which yet may not be reckoned Matters of* Conviction; *ſo 'tis neceſſary that all Proceedings thereabout be managed with an* exceeding Tenderneſs *towards thoſe that may be complained of; eſpecially if they have been Perſons formerly of an* unblemiſhed Reputation.

When the firſt Enquiry *is made into the Circumſtances of ſuch as may lye under any juſt Suſpicion of* Witchcrafts, *we could wiſh that there may be admitted as little as is poſſible of ſuch* Noiſe, Company, *and* Openneſs, *as may too haſtily expoſe them that are Examined; and that there may nothing be uſed as a* Teſt *for the Trial of the Suſpected, the lawfulneſs whereof may be doubted among the People of God: But that the Directions given by ſuch judicious Writers as* Perkins *and* Bernard, *be conſulted in ſuch a Caſe.*

Preſumptions, *whereupon Perſons may be committed, and much more* Convictions, *whereupon Perſons may be condemned as guilty of* Witchcrafts, *ought certainly to be more conſiderable, than barely the* accuſed *Perſons being* repreſented *by a* Spectre *to the afflicted: Inaſmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious Thing, that a* Dæmon *may, by God's Permiſſion, appear even to ill Purpoſes in the ſhape of an* Innocent, *yea, and a* Virtuous *Man: Nor can we eſteem* Alterations *made in the* Sufferers, *by a* look *or* touch *of the* accuſed, *to be an infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abuſed by the Devil's* Legerdemains.

We know not whether ſome remarkable Affronts *given to the* Devils, *by our diſ-believing of thoſe Teſtimonies whoſe whole Force and Strength is from* them *alone, may not put a Period unto the Progreſs of a direful Calamity begun upon us, in the* accuſation *of ſo many Perſons, whereof, we hope, ſome are yet* clear from the great Tranſgreſſion *laid unto their Charge.*

The Miniſters of the Province alſo being Jealous leſt this *Counſel* ſhould not be duly followed, requeſted the Preſident of *Harvard*-Colledge to Compoſe and Publiſh (which he did) ſome *Caſes of Conſcience* referring to theſe Difficulties: In which Treatiſe he did, with Demonſtrations of incomparable *Reaſon* and *Reading*, evince it, that *Satan* may appear in the Shape of an *Innocent* and a *Virtuous* Perſon, to afflict thoſe that ſuffer by the *Diabolical Moleſtations*: And that the *Ordeal* of the *Sight*, and the *Touch*, is not a Conviction of a *Covenant* with the Devil, but liable to great Exceptions againſt the *Lawfulneſs*, as well as the *Evidence* of it: And that either a Free and Fair *Confeſſion* of the Criminals, or the Oath of two Credible Perſons proving ſuch Things againſt the Perſon accuſed, as none but ſuch as have a Familiarity with the Devil can know, or do, is neceſſary to the Proof of the Crime. Thus,

Cum miſit Natura Feras, & Monſtra per Orbem,
Miſit & Alciden qui Fera Monſtra domet.

The *Dutch* and *French* Miniſters in the Province of *New York*, having likewiſe about the ſame time their Judgment asked by the *Chief Judge* of that Province, who was then a Gentleman of *New-England*, they gave it in under their Hands, that if we believe no *Veneſick Witchcraft*, we muſt Renounce the *Scripture* of God, and the *Conſent* of almoſt all the World; but that yet the *Apparition* of a Perſon afflicting another, is a very Inſufficient Proof of a *Witch*; nor is it Inconſiſtent with the Holy and Righteous Government of God over Men, to permit the Affliction of the Neighbours, by Devils in the *Shape* of *Good Men*; and that a *Good Name*, obtained by a *Good Life*, ſhould not be Loſt by Meer *Spectral Accuſations*.

Now upon a Deliberate Review of theſe things, his Excellency firſt *Reprieved*, and then *Pardoned* many of them that had been Condemned; and there fell out ſeveral ſtrange things that cauſed the Spirit of the Country to run as vehemently upon the *Acquitting* of all the *accuſed*, as it by miſtake ran at firſt upon the *Condemning* of them. Some that had been zealouſly of the Mind, that the *Devils* could not in the *Shapes* of good Men afflict other Men, were terribly Confuted, by having their own *Shapes*, and the *Shapes* of their moſt intimate and valued Friends, thus abuſed. And though more than twice Twenty had made ſuch voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontroulable Confeſſions, that if they were all *Sham*, there was therein the greateſt Violation made by the Efficacy of the *Inviſible World*, upon the *Rules of Underſtanding Humane Affairs*, that was ever ſeen ſince *God made Man upon the Earth*, yet they did ſo recede from their *Confeſſions*, that it was very clear, ſome of them had been hitherto, in a ſort of a *Preternatural Dream*, wherein they had ſaid *of themſelves*, they *knew not what themſelves*.

In

In fine, The laſt Courts that ſate upon this *Thorny Buſineſs*, finding that it was impoſſible to Penetrate into the whole Meaning of the things that had happened, and that ſo many *unſearchable Cheats* were interwoven into the *Concluſion* of a Myſterious Buſineſs, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the *Beginning* of it, they *cleared* the *accuſed* as faſt as they *Tried* them; and within a little while the *afflicted* were moſt of them delivered out of their *Troubles* alſo: And the Land had Peace reſtored unto it, by the *God of Peace, treading Satan under Foot. Eraſmus*, among other Hiſtorians, does tell us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a *Dæmon* appearing on the Top of a Chimney, threatned that he would ſet the Town on *Fire*, and at length ſcattering ſome Aſhes abroad, the whole Town was preſently and horribly Burnt unto the Ground.

Sir *William Phips* now beheld ſuch *Dæmons* hideouſly ſcattering *Fire* about the Country, in the Exaſperations which the Minds of Men were on theſe things riſing unto; and therefore when he had well Canvaſed a *Cauſe*, which perhaps might have puzzled the Wiſdom of the wiſeſt Men on Earth to have managed, without any *Error* in their Adminiſtrations, he thought, if it would be any *Error* at all, it would certainly be the *ſafeſt* for him to put a ſtop unto all future Proſecutions, as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did ſo, and for it he had not only the Printed Acknowledgments of the *New-Englanders*, who publickly thanked him, *As one of the Tribe of* Zebulun, *raiſed up from among themſelves, and* Spirited *as well as* Commiſſioned *to be the* Steers-man *of a Veſſel beſogg'd in the* Mare Mortuum *of* Witchcraft, *who now ſo happily* ſteered *her Courſe, that ſhe eſcaped Shipwrack, and was ſafely again Moored under the Cape of* Good Hope; *and cut aſunder the* Circæan *Knot of Enchantment, more difficult to be Diſſolved than the famous* Gordian *one of Old.*

But the QUEEN alſo did him the Honour to write unto him thoſe Gracious Letters, wherein her Majeſty commended his Conduct in theſe *Inexplicable* Matters. And I did right in calling theſe Matters *Inexplicable*. For if, after the Kingdom of *Sweden* (in the Year 1669, and 1670.) had ſome Hundreds of their Children by Night often carried away by *Spectres* to an *Helliſh Rendezvous*, where the Monſters that ſo *Spirited* them, did every way *Tempt* them to Aſſociate with them; and the Judges of the Kingdom, after *extraordinary Supplications* to Heaven, upon a ſtrict Enquiry, were ſo ſatisfied with the *Confeſſions* of more than Twenty of the *accuſed*, agreeing exactly unto the *Depoſitions* of the *afflicted*, that they put ſeveral Scores of *Witches* to Death, whereupon the Confuſions came unto a Period; yet after all, the chiefeſt Perſons in the Kingdom would Queſtion whether there were any *Witchcrafts* at all in the whole Affair; it muſt not be wondred at, if the People of *New-England* are to this Hour full of *Doubts*, about the *Steps* which were taken, while a *War* from the *Inviſible World* was Terrifying of them; and whether they did not kill ſome of their *own ſide* in the *Smoke* and *Noiſe* of this Dreadful *War*. And it will be yet leſs wondred at, if we conſider, that we have ſeen the whole *Engliſh Nation* alarumed with a *Plot*, and both *Houſes of Parliament*, upon good Grounds, Voting their Senſe of it, and many Perſons moſt juſtly *Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd*, for their ſhare in it: When yet there are enough, who to this Day will pretend, that they cannot comprehend how much of it is to be accounted *Credible*. However, having related theſe wonderful Paſſages, whereof, if the *Veracity* of the Relator in any one Point be conteſted, there are whole *Clouds of Witneſſes* to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the Matter with an wholeſome Caution of *Lactantius*, which, it may be, ſome other Parts of the World beſides *New-England* may have occaſion to think upon: *Efficiunt Dæmones, ut quæ non ſunt, ſic tamen, quaſi ſint, conſpicienda Hominibus exhibeant.*

But the *Devils* being thus vanquiſhed, we ſhall *next* hear, that ſome of his moſt devoted and reſembling *Children* are ſo too.

§. 17. As one of the firſt Actions *done* by Sir *William*, after he came to the Age of *Doing*, was to ſave the Lives of many poor People from the Rage of the *Diabolical Indians* in the *Eaſtern* Parts of the Country, ſo now he was come to the Government, his Mind was very vehemently ſet upon recovering of thoſe Parts from the Miſeries, which a New and a Long War of the *Indians* had brought upon them. His *Birth* and *Youth* in the *Eaſt*, had rendred him well known unto the *Indians* there; he had Hunted and Fiſhed many a weary Day in his Childhood with them; and when thoſe rude Savages had got the Story by the End, that *he had found a Ship full of Money, and was now become all one-a-King!* They were mightily aſtoniſhed at it: But when they farther underſtood that he was become the Governour of *New-England*, it added a further Degree of Conſternation to their Aſtoniſhment. He likewiſe was better acquainted with the Scituation of thoſe Regions than moſt other Men; and he conſider'd what vaſt Advantages might ariſe to no leſs than the whole *Engliſh* Nation, from the *Lumber*, and *Fiſhery*, and *Naval-ſtores*, which thoſe Regions might ſoon ſupply the whole Nation withal, if once they were well ſettled with good Inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour *Phips* took the firſt Opportunity to raiſe an Army, with which he Travelled in Perſon, under the *Eaſt Country*, to find out and cut off the Barbarous Enemy, which had continued for near four Years together, making horrible Havock on the Plantations that lay all along the Northern *Frontiers* of *New-England*: And having purſued thoſe worſe than *Scythian Wolves*, till they could be no longer followed, he did with a very laudable *Skill*, and unuſual *Speed*, and with leſs *Coſt* unto the

the Crown, than perhaps ever ſuch a thing was done in the World, erect a ſtrong *Fort* at *Pemmaquid.*

This *Fort* he contrived ſo much in the very Heart of the Country now poſſeſſed by the Enemy, as very much to hinder the ſeveral Nations of the Tawnies from *Clanning* together for the Common Diſturbance; and his Deſign was, that a ſufficient Garriſon being here poſted, they might from thence, upon Advice, iſſue forth to ſurprize that Ferocient Enemy. At the ſame time he would fain have gone in Perſon up the Bay of *Funda*, with a convenient *Force*, to have ſpoiled the Neſt of Rebellious *Frenchmen*, who being Rendezvouzed at St. *John's*, had a yearly Supply of Ammunition from *France*, with which they ſtill ſupplied the *Indians*, unto the extream Detriment of the *Engliſh*; but his Friends for a long time would not permit him to expoſe himſelf unto the Inconveniencies of that Expedition.

However, he took ſuch Methods, that the *Indian Kings of the* Eaſt, within a little while had their Stomachs brought down, to ſue and beg for a *Peace:* And making their appearance at the New-Fort in *Pemmaquid, Aug.* 11. 1693. they did there Sign an Inſtrument, wherein, lamenting the Miſeries which their Adherence to the *French Counſels* had brought them into, they did for themſelves, and with the Conſent of all the *Indians* from the River of *Merrimack*, to the moſt Eaſterly Bounds of all the Province, acknowledge their Hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and Solemnly Covenant, Promiſe and Agree, to and with Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the Province, and his Succeſſors in that place, *That* they would for ever ceaſe all Acts of Hoſtility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and hold a conſtant Friendſhip with all the *Engliſh. That* they would utterly abandon the *French* Intereſts, and not Succour or Conceal any Enemy *Indians*, from *Canada* or elſewhere, that ſhould come to any of their Plantations within the *Engliſh* Territories: *That* all *Engliſh* Captives, which they had among them, ſhould be returned with all poſſible ſpeed, and no Ranſom or Payment be given for any of them: *That* Their Majeſties Subjects the *Engliſh*, now ſhould quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and ſingular their Rights of Lands, and former Poſſeſſions, within the Eaſtern Parts of the Province, without any Claims from any *Indians* or being ever diſturbed therein: *That* all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, ſhould be under a Regulation ſtated by an Act of the *General Aſſembly*, or as limited by the Governour of the Province, with the Conſent and Advice of his Council. And *that* if any Controverſie hereafter happen between any of the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, no private Revenge was to be taken by the *Indians*, but proper Applications to be made unto His Majeſties Government, for the due remedy thereof: *Submitting themſelves herewithal to be Governed by His Majeſties Laws.*

And for the Manifeſtation of their *Sincerity* in the *Submiſſion* thus made, the *Hypocritical Wretches* delivered *Hoſtages* for their Fidelity; and then ſet their *Marks* and *Seals*, no leſs than Thirteen *Sagamores* of them, (with *Names* of more than a *Perſian* length) unto this Inſtrument.

The firſt Riſe of this *Indian War* had hitherto been almoſt as dark as that of the River *Nilus:* 'Tis true, if any *Wild Engliſh* did raſhly begin to provoke and affront the *Indians*, yet the *Indians* had a fairer way to obtain Juſtice than by Bloodſhed: However, upon the *New-Engliſh Revolution*, the State of the *War* became wholly *New:* The Government then employed all poſſible ways to procure a good Underſtanding with the *Indians*; but all the *Engliſh* Offers, Kindneſſes, Courteſies were barbarouſly requited by them, with New Acts of the moſt perfidious Hoſtility. Notwithſtanding all this, there were ſtill ſome *Nice People* that had their Scruples about the *Juſtice of the War*; but upon this New Submiſſion of the *Indians*, if ever thoſe *Rattle-ſnakes* (the only *Rattle-ſnakes*, which, they ſay, were ever ſeen to the Northward of *Merimack-River*) ſhould ſtir again, the moſt ſcrupulous Perſons in the World muſt own, *That it muſt be the moſt unexceptionable piece of Juſtice in the World for to extinguiſh them.*

Thus did the God of Heaven bleſs the unwearied Applications of Sir *William Phips*, for the reſtoring of *Peace* unto *New-England*, when the Country was quite *out of Breath*, in its Endeavours for its own Preſervation from the continual Outrages of an inacceſſible Enemy, and by the *Poverty coming in ſo like an armed Man*, from the unſucceſsfulneſs of their former *Armies*, that it could not imagine how to take one ſtep further in its Wars. The moſt happy Reſpite of *Peace* beyond *Merimack-River* being thus procured, the Governour immediately ſet himſelf to uſe all poſſible Methods, that it might be *Peace, like a River*, nothing ſhort of *Everlaſting*.

He therefore prevailed with Two or Three Gentlemen to join with him, in ſending a Supply of *Neceſſaries for Life* unto the *Indians*, until the General Aſſembly could come together to ſettle the *Indian-Trade* for the Advantage of the Publick, that the *Indians* might not by Neceſſity be driven again to become a *French* Propriety; altho' by this Action, as the Gentlemen themſelves were great *Loſers* in their Eſtates, thus *he* himſelf declared unto the Members of the General Aſſembly, that he would upon Oath give an Account unto them of all his own Gains, and count himſelf a Gainer, if in lieu of all they would give him *one Beaver-Hat*. The ſame Generoſity alſo cauſed him to take many a tedious Voyage, accompanied ſometimes with his *Fidus Achates*, and very dear Friend, Kinſman and Neighbour, Colonel *John Philips*, between *Boſton* and *Pemmaquid*; and this in the bitter Weeks of the *New-Engliſh*, which is almoſt a *Ruſſian* Winter.

He was a ſort of *Confeſſor* under ſuch Torments of *Cold*, as once made the *Martyrdom* of *Muria*, and others, Commemorated in Orations of the Ancients; and the *Snow* and *Ice* which *Pliny* calls, *The Puniſhment of Mountains*, he chearfully endured, without any other *Profit* unto himſelf, but only the *Pleaſure* of thereby eſtabliſhing and continuing unto the People the Liberty to *Sleep* quietly in their *warm Neſts* at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non mihi ſed Populo*, the Motto of the Emperor *Hadrian*, was Engraved on the Heart of Sir *William*: NOT FOR MY SELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE: Or that of *Maximin*, *Quo major, hoc Laborioſior*, the more Honourable, the more Laborious.

Indeed the *Reſtleſneſs* of his Travels to the *Southern* as well as the *Eaſtern* Parts of the Country, when the Publick Safety call'd for his Preſence, would have made one to think on the Tranſlation which the King of *Portugal*, on a very Extraordinary Occaſion, gave the Fourth Verſe in the Hundred and Twenty-firſt *Pſalm*. *He will not Slumber, nor will he ſuffer to Sleep the Keeper of* Iſrael. Nor did he only try to *Cicurate* the *Indians* of the *Eaſt*, by other Prudent and Proper Treatments; but he alſo furniſhed himſelf with an *Indian* Preacher of the Goſpel, whom he carried unto the *Eaſtward*, with an Intention to Teach them the Principles of the *Proteſtant Religion*, and Unteach them the mixt *Paganry* and *Popery* which hitherto *Diaboliz'd* them. To *Unteach* them, I ſay; for they had been *Taught* by the *French* Prieſts *this* among other things, that the Mother of our Bleſſed Saviour was a *French Lady*, and that they were *Engliſhmen* by whom our Saviour was Murdered; and that it was therefore a *Meritorious* thing to deſtroy the *Engliſh* Nation. The Name of the Preacher whom the Governour carried with him, was *Nahauton*, one of the Natives; and becauſe the paſſing of ſuch Expreſſions from the Mouth of a poor *Indian*, may upon ſome Accounts be worthy of *Remembrance*; let it be *Remembred*, that when the Governour propounded unto him ſuch a *Miſſion* to the *Eaſtern Indians*, he replied, *I know that I ſhall probably Endanger my Life, by going to Preach the Goſpel among the Frenchified* Indians; *but I know that it will be a Service unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and therefore I will venture to go.*

God grant that his *Behaviour* may be in all things, at all times, according to theſe his *Expreſſions!* While theſe things were doing, having Intelligence of a *French* Man of War expected at St. *John's*, he diſpatched away the *Non-ſuch-Frigat* thither to intercept him; nevertheleſs by the groſs *Negligence*, and perhaps *Cowardice* of the Captain, who had lately come from *England* with Orders to take the Command of her, inſtead of one who had been by Sir *William* a while before put in, and one who had ſignalized himſelf by doing of notable Service for the King and Country in it, the *Frenchman* arrived unladed, and went away untouch'd. The Governour was extreamly offended at this notorious *Deficiency*; it caſt him into a great Impatience to ſee the *Nation* ſo wretchedly ſerved; and he would himſelf have gone to Saint *John's* with a Reſolution to *Spoil* that Harbour of *Spoilers*, if he had not been taken off, by being ſent for home to *Whitehall*, in the very midſt of his Undertakings.

But the Treacherous *Indians* being *poiſoned* with the *French Enchantments*, and furniſhed with brave *New Coats*, and *New Arms*, and all new Incentives to *War*, by the *Man of War* newly come in; they preſently and perfidiouſly fell upon two *Engliſh* Towns, and Butchered and Captived many of the Inhabitants, and made a *New War*, which the *New-Englanders* know not whether it will end until either *Canada* become an *Engliſh Province*, or that State arrive, wherein they *ſhall beat Swords into Plough-ſhares, and Spears into Pruning-hooks.* And no doubt, the taking off Sir *William Phips* was no ſmall Encouragement unto the *Indians* in this Relapſe, into the Villanies and Maſſacres of a *New Invaſion* upon the Country.

§. 18. Reader, 'tis time for us to view a little more to the *Life*, the *Picture* of the Perſon, the *Actions* of whoſe *Life* we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, that for his *Exterior*, he was one *Tall*, beyond the common Set of Men, and *Thick* as well as *Tall*, and *Strong* as well as *Thick*: He was, in all reſpects, exceedingly *Robuſt*, and able to Conquer ſuch Difficulties of *Diet* and of *Travel*, as would have kill'd moſt Men alive: Nor did the *Fat*, whereinto he grew very much in his later Years, take away the Vigour of his Motions.

He was Well-ſet, and he was therewithal of a very *Comely*, though a very *Manly* Countenance: A Countenance where any true ſkill in *Phyſiognomy* would have read the Characters of a *Generous Mind*. Wherefore paſſing to his *Interior*, the very firſt thing which there offered it ſelf unto Obſervation, was a moſt Incomparable *Generoſity*.

And of this, beſides the innumerable Inſtances which he gave in his uſual Hatred of *Dirty* or *Little* Tricks, there was one Inſtance for which I muſt freely ſay, *I never ſaw Three Men in this World that Equall'd him*; this was his wonderfully *Forgiving Spirit*. In the vaſt Variety of *Buſineſs*, through which he *Raced* in his time, he met with many and mighty *Injuries*; but although I have heard all that the moſt venemous *Malice* could ever *Hiſs* at his Memory, I never did hear unto this Hour, that he did ever once deliberately *Revenge an Injury*.

Upon certain *Affronts* he has made ſudden *Returns* that have ſhewed *Choler* enough, and he has by *Blow*, as well as by *Word*, chaſtiſed *Incivilities*: He was, indeed, ſufficiently impatient of being *put upon*; and when *Baſe Men*, ſurprizing him at ſome *Diſadvantages* (for elſe few Men durſt have done it) have ſometimes

times drawn upon him, he has, without the *Wicked Madneſs* of a *Formal Duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *Correct Fools.* Nevertheleſs, he ever declined a *Deliberate Revenge* of a *Wrong* done unto him; though few Men upon *Earth* have, in their *Viciſſitudes*, been furniſhed with ſuch frequent *Opportunities* of *Revenge*, as *Heaven* brought into the Hands of this *Gentleman.*

Under great Provocations, he would commonly ſay, *'Tis no Matter, let them alone; ſome time or other they'll ſee their Weakneſs and Raſhneſs, and have occaſion for me to do them a Kindneſs: And they ſhall then ſee I have quite forgotten all their Baſeneſs.* Accordingly 'twas remarkable to ſee it, that few Men ever did *him* a *Miſchief*, but thoſe Men afterwards had occaſion for him to do *them* a *Kindneſs*; and he did the *Kindneſs* with as forgetful a *Bravery*, as if the *Miſchief* had never been done at all. The Emperor *Theodoſius* himſelf could not be readier to *Forgive*; ſo worthily did he verifie that Obſervation.

> *Quo quiſque eſt Major, magis eſt Placabilis Ira,*
> *Et Faciles Motus, Mens Generoſa capit.*

In thoſe Places of *Power* whereto the Providence of God by ſeveral *Degrees* raiſed him, it ſtill fell out ſo, that before his *Riſe* thereunto he underwent ſuch things as he counted very hard *Abuſes*, from thoſe very Perſons over whom the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *Aſcendant.*

By ſuch *Trials*, the Wiſdom of Heaven ſtill prepared him, as *David* before him, for *ſucceſſive Advancements*; and as he behaved himſelf with a marvellous *Long-ſuffering*, when he was *Tried*, by ſuch Mortifications, thus when he came to be *advanced*, he convinced all Mankind, that he had perfectly Buried all the old Offences in an Eternal *Amneſty.* I was my Self an *Ear-witneſs*, that one, who was an *Eye-witneſs* of his Behaviour under ſuch *Probations* of his Patience, did, long before his Arrival to that Honour, ſay unto him, *Sir, Forgive thoſe that give you theſe Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of* New-England! And when he did indeed become the *Governour of* New-England, he ſhew'd that he ſtill continued a *Governour of himſelf*, in his Treating all that had formerly been in ill Terms with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the leaſt Exaſperations: Though any Governour that Kens *Hobbianiſm*, can eaſily contrive Ways enough to wreak a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with ſome *Chriſtian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-ſtory* of the Renowned *Fabius Maximus*, who being preferred unto the higheſt Office in the Commonwealth, did, through a Zeal for his Country, overcome the greateſt Contempts that any Perſon of Quality could have received. *Minutius* the Maſter of the Horſe, and the next Perſon in Dignity to himſelf, did firſt privately Traduce him, as one that was *no Soldier*, and leſs *Politician*; and he afterwards did both by Speeches and Letters prejudice not only the *Army*, but alſo the *Senate* againſt him, ſo that *Minutius* was now by an unpreſidented Commiſſion brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius.*

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his Cares for the Commonwealth, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind* endured equally the Malice of the *Judges*, and the Fury of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius* a while after was with all his Forces upon the Point of periſhing by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not liſtening to the Dictates of *Revenge*, came in and helped him, and ſaved him; and ſo by a rare Virtue, he made his worſt *Adverſaries* the Captives of his *Generoſity.*

One of the Antients upon ſuch an Hiſtory, cried out, *If Heathens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what ſhall not Chriſtians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And Sir *William Phips* did ſo *much more* than *thus much*, that beſides his meriting the *Glory* of ſuch a *Name*, as *PHIPPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the Symptoms of a Title to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the *Seal* of his own *Pardon* from God. Nor was this *Generoſity* in His EXCELLENCY the Governour of *New-England*, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his Carriage towards *God* is worthy to be firſt Mentioned.

It is true, He was very Zealous for all Men to enjoy ſuch a *Liberty of Conſcience*, as he judged a *Native Right* of *Mankind:* And he was extreamly Troubled at the *over-boiling Zeal* of ſome good Men, who formerly took that wrong Way of reclaiming *Hereticks* by *Perſecution.* For this *Generoſity*, it may be, ſome would have compared him unto *Gallio*, the Governour of *Achaia*, whom our Preachers, perhaps with Miſtake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in Matters which indeed fell not under his Cognizance.

And I ſhall be content that he be compared unto that Gentleman; for that *Gallio* was the Brother of *Seneca*, who gives this Character of him, *That there was no Man who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more*; and, *That there was no Mortal ſo Dear to any, as he was to all*; and, *That he hated all Vices, but none more than* Flattery.

But while the *Generoſity* of Sir *William* cauſed him to deſire a *Liberty of Conſcience*, his *Piety* would not allow a *Liberty of Prophaneneſs*, either to himſelf or others. He did not affect any mighty *ſhow* of Devotion; and when he ſaw any that were *evidently careful* to make a *ſhow*, and eſpecially, if at the ſame Time they were notoriouſly Defective in the Duties of *Common Juſtice* or *Goodneſs*, or the Duties of the *Relations* wherein God had *ſtationed* them, he had an extream Averſion for them.

Nevertheleſs he did ſhow a Conſciencious Deſire to obſerve the Laws of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his *Converſation*; and he Conſcienciouſly attended upon the Exerciſes of *Devotion* in the Seaſons thereof, on *Lectures*, as well as on *Lord's Days*, and in the *Daily Sacrifice*, the Morning and Evening Service of his own Family; yea, and at the *Private Meetings* of the Devout People kept every *Fortnight* in the Neighbourhood.

Beſides all this, when he had *great Works* before him, he would invite good Men to come and *Faſt* and *Pray* with him at his Houſe for the Succeſs thereof; and when he had ſucceeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a Day of Solemn *Thanſgiving* with him. His *Love* to Almighty *God*, was indeed manifeſted by nothing more than his *Love* to thoſe that had the *Image* of God upon them; he heartily, and with real *Honour* for them, *Loved all Godly Men*; and in ſo doing, he did not confine *Godlineſs* to this or that Party, but where-ever he ſaw the *Fear of God*, in one of a *Congregational*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Antipædobaptiſt*, or *Epiſcopalian* Perſwaſion, he did, without any Difference, expreſs towards them a Reverent Affection.

But he made no Men more welcome than thoſe *good Men*, whoſe *Office* 'tis to promote and preſerve *Goodneſs* in all other Men; even the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel: Eſpecially when they were ſuch as faithfully diſcharged their Office: And from theſe at any time, the leaſt Admonition or Intimation of any good thing to be done by him, he entertained with a moſt obliging Alacrity. His *Religion* in truth, was one Principle that added *Virtue* unto that vaſt *Courage*, which was always in him to a Degree *Heroical*. Thoſe terrible Nations which made their Deſcents from the *Northern* on the *Southern* Parts of *Europe*, in thoſe Elder Ages when ſo to *ſwarm out* was more frequent with them, were inſpired with a *Valiant Contempt of Life*, by the Opinion wherein their Famous *Odin* inſtructed them. *That their Death was but an Entrance into another Life, wherein they who died in Warlike Actions, were bravely Feaſted with the God of War for ever*: 'Tis inexpreſſible how much the *Courage* of thoſe fierce Mortals was fortified by that Opinion.

But when Sir *William Phips* was asked by ſome that obſerved his *Valiant Contempt of Death*, what it was that made him ſo little afraid of *Dying*, he gave a better grounded Account of it than thoſe *Pagans* could; his Anſwer was, *I do humbly believe, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhed his Precious Blood for me, by his Death procuring my Peace with God: And what ſhould I now be afraid of dying for?*

But this leads me to mention the *Humble* and *Modeſt* Carriage in him towards other *Men*, which accompanied this his *Piety*. There were certain *Pomps* belonging unto the ſeveral *Places of Honour*, through which he paſſed; *Pomps* that are very taking to Men of *little Souls*: But although he roſe from ſo *little*, yet he diſcovered a Marvellous *Contempt* of thoſe Airy things, and as far as he handſomely could, he declined, being Ceremoniouſly, or any otherwiſe than with a *Dutch Modeſty* waited upon. And it might more truly be ſaid of him, than it was of *Ariſtides*, *He was never ſeen the Prouder for any Honour that was done him from his Countrymen.*

Hence, albeit I have read that Complaint, made by a Worthy Man, *I have often obſerved, and this not without ſome bluſhing, that even good People have had a kind of Shame upon them, to acknowledge their low beginning, and uſed all Arts to hide it.* I could never *obſerve* the leaſt of that Fault in this Worthy Man; but he would ſpeak of his own *low beginning* with as much Freedom and Frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an Humility in King *Agathocles*, the Son of a *Potter*, to be ſerved therefore in *Earthen Veſſels*, as *Plutarch* hath informed us: It was counted an Humility in Archbiſhop *Willigis*, the Son of a *Wheelwright*, therefore to have *Wheels* hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inſcription, *Recole unde Veneris*, i. e. *Remember thy Original.* But ſuch was the *Humility* and *Lowlineſs* of this *Riſing Man!* Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatneſs, one Day, make a ſplendid Feaſt for the *Ship-Carpenters* of *Boſton*, among whom he was willing at his Table to Commemorate the Mercy of God unto him, who had once been a *Ship-Carpenter* himſelf, but he would on all Occaſions *Permit*, yea, *Study* to have his *Meanneſſes* remembred.

Hence upon frequent Occaſions of Uneaſineſs in his Government, he would chuſe thus to expreſs himſelf, *Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do Service for the Publick, I ſhould be much eaſier in returning unto my broad Ax again!* And hence, according to the *Affable* Courteſie which he ordinarily uſed unto all ſorts of Perſons, (quite contrary to the *Aſperity* which the old Proverb expects in the *Raiſed*) he would particularly, when Sailing in ſight of *Kennebeck*, with Armies under his Command, call the Young *Soldiers* and *Sailors* upon Deck, and ſpeak to them after this Faſhion; *Young-Men, It was upon that Hill that I kept Sheep a few Years ago; and ſince you ſee that Almighty God has brought me to ſomething, do you learn to Fear God, and be Honeſt, and mind your Buſineſs, and follow no bad Courſes, and you don't know what you may come to!* A Temper not altogether unlike what the advanced *Shepherd* had, when he wrote the *Twenty-third* Pſalm; or when he Imprinted on the *Coin* of his Kingdom the Remembrance of his Old Condition: For *Chriſtianus Gerſon*, a Chriſtianized *Jew*, has informed us, That on the one ſide of *David*'s Coin were to be ſeen his old *Pouch* and *Crook*, the Inſtruments of *Shepherdy*; on the other ſide were enſtamped the Towers of *Zion*.

In

In fine, our Sir *William* was a Perſon of ſo ſweet a Temper, that they who were moſt intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, *The beſt Conditioned Gentleman in the World!* And by the continual Diſcoveries and Expreſſions of ſuch a *Temper*, he ſo gained the Hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his Expeditions, that they would commonly profeſs themſelves willing ſtill, *to have gone with him to the end of the World.*

But if all other People found him ſo kind a *Neighbour*, we may eaſily infer what an Husband he was unto his *Lady.* Leaving unmentioned that *Virtue* of his *Chaſtity*, which the Prodigious Depravation brought by the Late Reigns upon the Manners of the Nation, has made worthy to be mentioned as a *Virtue* ſomewhat *Extraordinary* ; I ſhall rather paſs on to ſay, That the *Love*, even to *Fondneſs*, with which he always treated her, was a Matter not only of *Obſervation*, but even of ſuch *Admiration*, that every one ſaid, *The Age afforded not a kinder Husband!*

But we muſt now return to our Story.

§. 19. When Perſons do by Studies full of *Curioſity*, ſeek to inform themſelves of things about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our *Curious Enquiries*, there is a marvellous *Impreſſion*, which the *Dæmons* do often make on the Minds of thoſe their Votaries, about the *Future* or *Secret* Matters unlawfully enquired after, and at laſt there is alſo an horrible *Poſſeſſion*, which thoſe *Fatidic Dæmons* do take of them. The *Snares* of Hell, hereby laid for miſerable Mortals, have been ſuch, that when I read the Laws, which *Angellius* affirms to have been made, even in *Pagan Rome*, againſt the *Vaticinatores* ; I wonder that no *Engliſh* Nobleman or Gentleman ſignalizes his regard unto *Chriſtianity*, by doing what even a *Roman Tully* would have done, in promoting *An Act of Parliament* againſt that *Paganiſh* Practice of *Judicial Aſtrology*, whereof, if ſuch Men as *Auſtin* were now living, they would aſſert, *The Devil firſt found it, and they that profeſs it are Enemies of Truth and of God.*

In the mean time, I cannot but relate a wonderful Experience of Sir *William Phips*, by the Relation whereof ſomething of an *Antidote* may be given againſt a *Poiſon*, which the Diabolical *Figure-Flingers* and *Fortune-Tellers* that ſwarm all the World over may inſinuate into the Minds of Men. Long before Mr. *Phips* came to be Sir *William*, while he ſojourned in in *London*, there came into his Lodging an Old *Aſtrologer*, living in the Neighbourhood, who making ſome *Obſervation* of him, though he had ſmall or no *Converſation* with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undeſired) one Day ſend him a Paper, wherein he had, with Pretences of a Rule in *Aſtrology* for each Article, diſtinctly noted the moſt material Paſſages that were to befal this our *Phips* in the remaining part of his Life ; it was particularly Aſſerted and Inſerted, That he ſhould be engaged in a Deſign, wherein by Reaſon of Enemies at *Court*, he ſhould meet with much delay ; that nevertheleſs in the *Thirty-Seventh* Year of his Life, he ſhould find a *mighty Treaſure* ; that in the *Forty-Firſt* Year of his Life, his *King* ſhould employ him in as great a *Truſt beyond Sea*, as a Subject could eaſily have : That ſoon after this he ſhould undergo an hard *Storm* from the Endeavours of his Adverſaries to *reproach* him and *ruin* him ; that his Adverſaries, though they ſhould go very *near* gaining the Point, ſhould yet *miſs* of doing ſo ; that he ſhould hit upon a vaſtly *Richer Matter* than any that he had hitherto met withal ; that he ſhould continue *Thirteen Years* in his *Publick Station*, full of Action, and full of Hurry ; and the reſt of his Days he ſhould ſpend in the Satisfaction of a *Peaceable Retirement.*

Mr. *Phips* received this undeſired Paper with Trouble and with Contempt, and threw it by among certain looſe Papers in the bottom of a Trunk, where his Lady ſome Years after accidentally lit upon it. His Lady with Admiration ſaw, ſtep after ſtep, very much of it accompliſhed ; but when ſhe heard from *England*, that Sir *William* was coming over with a Commiſſion to be Governour of *New-England*, in that very Year of his Life, which the Paper ſpecified ; ſhe was afraid of letting it lye any longer in the Houſe, but caſt it into the *Fire.*

Now the thing which I muſt invite my Reader to remark, is this, That albeit Almighty God may permit the *Devils* to *Predict*, and perhaps to *Perform* very many particular things to Men, that ſhall by ſuch a *Preſumptuous and Unwarrantable Juggle* as *Aſtrology* (ſo Dr. *Hall* well calls it!) or any other *Divination*, conſult them, yet the *Devil* which *foretel* many *True* things, do commonly *foretel* ſome that are *Falſe*, and it may be, propoſe by the things that are *True* to betray Men into ſome fatal Misbelief and Miſcarriage about thoſe that are *Falſe.*

Very ſingular therefore was the Wiſdom of Sir *William Phips*, that as he ever Treated theſe *Propheſies* about him with a moſt *Pious Neglect*, ſo when he had ſeen all but the *Two laſt* of them very punctually fulfilled, yea, and ſeen the beginning of a Fulfilment unto the *laſt but one* alſo, yet when I pleaſantly mentioned them unto him, on purpoſe to *Try* whether there were any occaſion for me humbly to give him the ſerious *Advice*, neceſſary in ſuch a Caſe to Anticipate the *Devices of Satan*, he prevented my Advice, by ſaying to me, *Sir, I do believe there might be a curſed Snare of Satan in thoſe Propheſies : I believe Satan might have leave to foretel many things, all of which might come to paſs in the beginning, to lay me aſleep about ſuch things as are to follow, eſpecially about the main Chance of all ; I do not know but I am to die this Year : For my part, by the help of the Grace of God, I ſhall endeavour to live as if I were this Year to die.* And let the Reader now attend the Event!

§. 20. 'Tis

§. 20. 'Tis a Similitude which I have Learned from no leſs a Perſon than the great *Baſil*: That *as* the *Eye* ſees not thoſe Objects which are applied cloſe unto it, and even lye upon it; but when the Objects are to ſome diſtance removed, it clearly diſcerns them: *So*, we have little ſenſe of the Good which we have in our Enjoyments, until God, by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoyed. It is true, the Generality of ſober and thinking People among the *New-Englanders*, did as highly value the *Government* of Sir *William Phips*, whilſt he lived, as they do his *Memory*, ſince his Death; nevertheleſs it muſt be confeſſed, that the Bleſſing which the Country had in his indefatigable Zeal, to ſerve the Publick in all it's Intereſts, was not ſo valued as it ſhould have been.

It was mention'd long ſince as a notorious Fault in *Old Egypt*, that it was *Loquax & Ingenioſa in Contumeliam Præfectorum Provincia*; *ſi quis forte vitaverit Culpam, Contumeliam non effugit*: And *New-England* has been at the beſt always too faulty, in that very Character, *A Province very Talkative, and Ingenious for the viliſying of its Publick Servants.*

But Sir *William Phips*, who might in a *Calm* of the Commonwealth have adminiſtred all things with as General an Acceptance as any that have gone before him, had the Diſadvantage of being ſet at *Helm* in a time as full of *Storm* as ever that *Province* had ſeen; and the People having their Spirits put into a *Tumult* by the diſcompoſing and diſtempering Variety of Diſaſters, which had long been rendring the time Calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all Men *then*, to be *complaining*; and you may be ſure, the *Rulers* muſt in ſuch Caſes be always *complained* of, and the chief Complaints muſt be heaped upon thoſe that are *Commanders in Chief*. Nor has a certain Proverb in *Aſia* been improper in *America*, *He deſerves no Man's good Word, of whom every Man ſhall ſpeak well.*

Sir *William* was very hardly *Handled* (or *Tongued* at leaſt) in the Liberty which People took to make moſt unbecoming and injurious Reflections upon his Conduct, and Clamour againſt him, even for thoſe very Actions which were not only *Neceſſary* to be done, but highly *Beneficial* unto themſelves; and though he would ordinarily ſmile at their *Frowardneſs*, calling it *his Country Pay*, yet he ſometimes reſented it with ſome uneaſineſs; he ſeem'd unto himſelf ſometimes almoſt as bad as Rolled about in *Regulus*'s Barrel; and had occaſion to think on the *Italian* Proverb, *To wait for one who does not come; to lye a Bed not able to ſleep; and to find it impoſſible to pleaſe thoſe whom we ſerve; are three Griefs enough to kill a Man.*

But as *Froward* as the People were, under the *Epedemical Vexations* of the Age, yet there were very few that would acknowledge unto the very Laſt, *It will be hardly poſſible for us to ſee another Governour that ſhall more intirely Love and Serve the Country*: Yea, had the Country had the Choice of their own *Governour*, 'tis judged their *Votes*, more than Forty to One, would have ſtill fallen upon him to have been the Man: And the *General Aſſembly* therefore on all occaſions renewed their Petitions unto the King for his Continuance.

Nevertheleſs, there was a little Party of Men, who thought they muſt not *ſleep till they had cauſed him to fall*: And they ſo vigorouſly proſecuted certain Articles before the Council-board at *Whitehall* againſt him, that they imagined they had gained an *Order* of His Majeſty in Council, to ſuſpend him immediately from his Government, and appoint a *Committee* of Perſons nominated by his Enemies, to hear all *Depoſitions* againſt him; and ſo a Report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council.

But His Majeſty was too well informed of Sir *William*'s Integrity to permit ſuch a ſort of Procedure; and therefore he ſignified unto His moſt Honourable Council, that nothing ſhould be done againſt Sir *William*, until he had Opportunity to clear himſelf; and thereupon he ſent His Royal Commands unto Sir *William* to come over. To give any retorting Accounts of the Principal Perſons who thus adverſaried him, would be a Thing ſo contrary to the Spirit of Sir *William Phips* himſelf, who at his leaving of *New-England* bravely declared that he *freely forgave them all*; and if he had returned thither again, would never have taken the leaſt revenge upon them, that *This* alone would oblige me, if I had no other Obligations of Chriſtianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be, for ſome of them, it would be *to throw Water upon a drowned Mouſe.*

Nor need I to produce any more about the *Articles* which theſe Men exhibited againſt him, than *This*; that it was by moſt Men believed, that if he would have connived at ſome *Arbitrary Oppreſſions* too much uſed by ſome kind of Officers on the King's Subjects, *Few* perhaps, of *None* of thoſe Articles had ever been formed; and that he apprehended himſelf to be provided with a full *Defence* againſt them all.

Nor did His Excellency ſeem loth to have had his Caſe Tried under the Brazen Tree of *Gariac*, if there had been ſuch an one, as that mentioned by the Fabulous *Murtadi*, in his Prodigies of *Egypt*, a Tree which had Iron Branches with ſharp *Hooks* at the end of them, that when any falſe Accuſer approached, as the Fabel ſays, immediately flew at him, and ſtuck in him, until he had ceaſed Injuring his Adverſary.

Wherefore in Obedience unto the King's Commands, he took his leave of *Boſton* on the ſeventeenth of *November*, 1694. attended with all proper Teſtimonies of Reſpect and Honour from the *Body* of the People, which he had been the *Head* unto; and with *Addreſſes* unto their Majeſties, and the Chief Miniſters of State from the General Aſſembly, humbly imploring,

ploring, that they might not be deprived of the Happineſs which they had in ſuch an *Head.*

Arriving at *Whitehall*, he found in a few Days, that notwithſtanding all the Impotent Rage of his Adverſaries particularly vented and printed in a *Villanous Libel*, as well as almoſt in as many other ways as there are Mouths, at which *Fyal* ſometimes has vomited out its Infernal Fires, he had all *Humane Aſſurance* of his returning in a very few Weeks again the Governour of *New-England.*

Wherefore there were eſpecially *two Deſigns*, full of Service to the whole *Engliſh* Nation, as well as his own particular Country of *New-England*, which he applied his *Thoughts* unto. *Firſt*, He had a new *Scene* of Action opened unto him, in an opportunity to ſupply the Crown with all *Naval Stores* at moſt *eaſie Rates*, from thoſe *Eaſtern* Parts of the *Maſſachuſet* Province, which through the Conqueſt that *he* had made thereof, came to be Inſerted in the *Maſſachuſet*-Charter. As no Man was more *capable* than *he* to improve this Opportunity unto a vaſt Advantage, ſo his *Inclination* to it was according to his *Capacity.*

And he longed with ſome Impatience to ſee the King furniſhed from his *own Dominions*, with ſuch floating and ſtately Caſtles, thoſe *Wooden-Walls* of Great *Britain*, for much of which he has hitherto Traded with *Foreign Kingdoms. Next*, if I may ſay *next* unto this, he had an Eye upon *Canada*; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved Abortive.

It was but a few Months ago that a conſiderable Fleet, under Sir *Francis Wheeler*, which had been ſent into the *Weſt-Indies* to ſubdue *Martenico*, was ordered then to call at *New-England*, that being recruited there, they might make a further Deſcent upon *Canada*; but Heaven frowned upon that Expedition, eſpecially by a terrible Sickneſs, the moſt like the *Plague* of any thing that has been ever ſeen in *America*, whereof there Died, e'er they could reach to *Boſton*, as I was told by Sir *Francis* himſelf, no leſs than *Thirteen* Hundred Sailers out of *Twenty One*, and no leſs than *Eighteen* Hundred Soldiers out of *Twenty-four.*

It was now therefore his deſire to have ſatisfied the King, that his whole Intereſt in *America* lay at Stake, while *Canada* was in *French* Hands: And therewithal to have laid before ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, how beneficial an Undertaking it would have been for them to have purſued the *Canadian*-Buſineſs, for which the *New-Englanders* were now grown too Feeble; their Country being too far now, as *Bede* ſays *England* once was, *Omni Milite & floridæ Juventutis Alacritate ſpoliata.*

Beſides theſe *two* Deſigns in the *Thoughts* of Sir *William*, there was a *Third*, which he had Hopes that the King would have given him leave to have purſued, after he had continued ſo long in his Government, as to have obtained the more *General Welfare* which he deſigned in the former Inſtances. I do not mean the making of *New-England* the Seat of a *Spaniſh Trade*, though ſo vaſtly profitable a thing was likely to have been brought about, by his being one of an Honourable Company engaged in ſuch a Project.

But the *Spaniſh Wreck*, where Sir *William* had made his firſt *good Voyage*, was not the *Only*, nor the *Richeſt* Wreck, that he knew to be lying under the Water. He knew particularly, that when the Ship which had Governour *Boadilla* Aboard, was caſt away, there was, as *Peter Martyr* ſays, an entire Table of *Gold* of *Three Thouſand Three Hundred and Ten Pound Weight.*

The Duke of *Albemarle*'s Patent for all ſuch *Wrecks* now expiring, Sir *William* thought on the *Motto* which is upon the Gold *Medal*, beſtowed by the late King, with his *Knighthood* upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat Hamus:* And ſuppoſing himſelf to have gained ſufficient Information of the right Way to ſuch a *Wreck*, it was his purpoſe upon his Diſmiſſion from his Government, once more to have gone unto his old *Fiſhing-Trade*, upon a mighty Shelf of Rocks and Bank of Sands that lye where he had informed himſelf.

But as the Prophet *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, in their *Pſalm* upon the Grants made unto their People by the Emperors of *Perſia* have that Reflection, *Man's Breath goeth forth, he returns to his Earth; in that very Day his thoughts periſh.* My Reader muſt now ſee what came of all theſe conſiderable *Thoughts.* About the middle of *February*, 1694. Sir *William* found himſelf indiſpoſed with a Cold, which obliged him to keep his Chamber; but under this Indiſpoſition he received the Honour of a Viſit from a very Eminent Perſon at *Whitehall*, who upon ſufficient Aſſurance, bad him *Get well as faſt as he could, for in one Months time he ſhould be again diſpatched away to his Government of* New-England.

Nevertheleſs his Diſtemper proved a ſort of *Malignant Feaver*, whereof many about this time died in the City; and it ſuddenly put an End at once unto his *Days* and *Thoughts*, on the Eighteenth of *February*; to the extream ſurprize of his Friends, who Honourably Interr'd him in the Church of St. *Mary Woolnoth*, and with him, how much of *New-England*'s Happineſs!

§. 21. Although he has now *no more a Portion for ever in any Thing that is done under the Sun*, yet Juſtice requires that *his Memory be not forgotten.* I have not all this while ſaid *He was Faultleſs*, nor am I unwilling to uſe for him the Words which Mr. *Calamy* had in his Funeral Sermon for the Excellent Earl of *Warwick*, *It muſt be confeſſed, leſt I ſhould prove a Flatterer, he had his Infirmities, which I truſt Jeſus Chriſt hath covered with the Robe of his Righteouſneſs: My Prayer to God is, that all his Infirmities may be Buried in the Grave of Oblivion, and that all his Virtues and Graces may Supervive*; although perhaps they were no *Infirmities*

firmities in that Noble Perſon, which Mr. *Calamy* counted ſo.

Nevertheleſs I muſt alſo ſay, That if the Anguiſh of his Publick Fatigues threw Sir *William* into any *Faults* of *Paſſion*; they were but *Faults* of *Paſſion* ſoon Recall'd: And *Spots* being ſooneſt ſeen in *Ermin*, there was uſually the *moſt* made of them that could be, by thoſe that were leaſt *Free* themſelves.

After all, I do not know that I have been, by any perſonal Obligations or Circumſtances, charmed into any *Partiality* for the *Memory* of this Worthy Man; but I do here, from a real Satiſfaction of Conſcience concerning him, declare to all the World, that I reckon him to have been really a very *Worthy Man*; that few Men in the World riſing from ſo mean an *Original* as he, would have acquitted themſelves with a Thouſand Part of his *Capacity* or *Integrity*; that he left unto the World a notable Example of a Diſpoſition to *do Good*, and encountred and overcame almoſt invincible *Temptations* in doing it.

And I do moſt ſolemnly Profeſs, that I have moſt conſcienciouſly endeavoured the utmoſt Sincerity and Veracity of a *Chriſtian*, as well as an *Hiſtorian*, in the *Hiſtory* which I have now given of him. I have not written of Sir *William Phips*, as they ſay *Xenophon* did of *Cyrus*, *Non ad Hiſtoriæ Fidem, ſed ad Effigiem veri imperii*; what *ſhould* have been, rather than what really *was*. If the *Envy* of his *few Enemies* be not now *Quiet*, I muſt freely ſay it, That for many Weeks before he died, there was not one Man among his *perſonal Enemies* whom *he* would not readily and chearfully have done all the kind Offices of a *Friend* unto: Wherefore though the Gentleman in *England* that once publiſhed a Vindication of Sir *William Phips* againſt ſome of his Enemies, choſe to put the Name of *Publicans* upon them, they muſt in *this* be counted worſe than the *Publicans* of whom our Saviour ſays, *They Love thoſe that Love him*.

And I will ſay this further, That when certain Perſons had found the *Skull* of a *Dead Man*, as a *Greek* Writer of Epigrams has told us, they all fell a Weeping, but only one of the Company, who Laughed and Flouted, and through an unheard-of Cruelty, threw *Stones* at it, which *Stones* wonderfully rebounded back upon the Face of him that threw them, and miſerably wounded him: Thus if any ſhall be ſo *Unchriſtian*, yea, ſo *Inhumane*, as libellouſly to throw Stones at ſo deſerved a Reputation as this Gentleman has died withal, they ſhall ſee a *Juſt Rebound* of all their Calumnies.

But the Name of Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* will be heard Honourably mentioned in the *Trumpets* of *Immortal Fame*, when the Names of many that *Antipathied* him will either be Buried in Eternal Oblivion, without any *Sacer Vates* to preſerve them; or be remembred, but like that of *Judas* in the Goſpel, or *Pilate* in the Creed, with Eternal Infamy.

The old *Perſians* indeed, according to the Report of *Agathias*, expoſed their *Dead* Friends to be Torn in Pieces by *Wild Beaſts*, believing that if they lay long *unworried*, they had been *unworthy* Perſons; but all attempts of ſurviving Malice to demonſtrate in that way the *worth* of this *Dead* Gentleman, give me leave to *Rate off* with Indignation.

And I muſt with a like Freedom ſay, That great was the Fault of *New-England* no more to value a Perſon, whoſe *Opportunities* to ſerve all their Intereſts, though very Eminent, yet were not ſo Eminent as his *Inclinations*. If this whole Continent carry in its very Name of *AMERICA*, an unaccountable *Ingratitude* unto that Brave Man who firſt led any numbers of *Europeans* thither, it muſt not be wondred at, if now and then a particular Country in that Continent afford ſome Inſtances of *Ingratitude*: But I muſt believe, that the Ingratitude of many, both to God and Man, for ſuch *Benefits* as that Country of *New-England* enjoy'd from a Governour of their own, by whom they enjoyed *great quietneſs, with very worthy Deeds done unto that Nation by his Providence*, was that which haſtned the Removal of ſuch a *Benefactor* from them.

However, as the *Cyprians* buried their Friends in *Honey*, to whom they gave *Gall* when they were Born; thus whatever *Gall* might be given to this Gentleman while he lived, I hope none will be ſo baſe, as to put any thing but *Honey* into their Language of him now after his Deceaſe. And indeed, ſince 'tis a frequent thing among Men to wiſh for the Preſence of our *Friends*, when they are *dead* and *gone*, whom, while they were preſent with us, we undervalued; there is no way for us to fetch back our Sir *William Phips*, and make him yet Living with us, but by ſetting up a *Statue* for him, as 'tis done in theſe Pages, that may out-laſt an ordinary *Monument*.

Such was the Original Deſign of erecting *Statues*, and if in *Venice* there were at once no leſs than an Hundred and Sixty-two Marble, and Twenty-three Brazen *Statues*, erected by the Order, and at the Expence of the Publick, in Honour of ſo many Valiant Soldiers, who had merited well of that Commonwealth, I am ſure *New-England* has had thoſe, whoſe Merits call for as good an acknowledgment; and, whatever they did *before*, it will be well, if *after* Sir *William Phips*, they find many as meritorious as he to be ſo acknowledged.

Now I cannot my ſelf provide a better *Statue* for this Memorable Perſon, than the *Words* uttered on the occaſion of his Death in a very great Aſſembly, by a Perſon of ſo Diffuſ'd and Embalm'd a Reputation in the Church of God, that ſuch a Character from *him* were enough to Immortalize the Reputation of the Perſon upon whom he ſhould beſtow it.

The *Grecians* employ'd ſtill the moſt Honourable and Conſiderable Perſons they had among them, to make a *Funeral Oration* in Commendation of Soldiers that had loſt their Lives

Lives in the Service of the Publick: And when Sir *William Phips*, the Captain General of *New-England*, who had often ventured his Life to ſerve the Publick, did expire, that Reverend Perſon, who was the Preſident of the only Univerſity then in the *Engliſh America*, Preached a Sermon on that Paſſage of the Sacred Writ, Iſa. 57. 1. *Merciful Men are taken away, none conſidering that the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come*; and in it gave Sir *William Phips* the following Teſtimony.

'This *Province* is Beheaded, and lyes a Bleeding. A GOVERNOUR is *taken away*, who was a *Merciful Man*; ſome think *too Merciful*: And if ſo, 'tis beſt Erring on *that* Hand; and a *Righteous Man*; who, when he had great Opportunities of gaining by *Injuſtice*, did refuſe to do ſo.

'He was a known Friend unto the beſt Intereſts, and unto the *Churches* of God: Not *aſhamed* of owning them: No, how often have I heard him expreſſing his Deſires to be an Inſtrument of *Good* unto them! He was a Zealous *Lover* of his *Country*, if any Man in the World were ſo: He expoſed *himſelf* to ſerve it; he ventured his *Life* to ſave it: In *that*, a true *Nehemiah*; a Governour that *ſought the welfare of his People*.

'He was one who did not *ſeek* to have the Government caſt upon him: No, but inſtead thereof to my Knowledge he did ſeveral times Petition the King, that this People might always enjoy the *great Priviledge of chuſing their own Governour*; and I have heard him expreſs his Deſires, that it might be ſo, to ſeveral of the Chief Miniſters of State in the Court of *England*.

'He is now Dead, and not capable of being *Flattered*: But this I muſt teſtifie concerning him, That though by the Providence of God I have been with him at Home and Abroad, near at Home, and afar off, by Land and by Sea, *I never ſaw him do any evil Action, or heard him ſpeak any thing unbecoming a Chriſtian*.

'The Circumſtances of his Death ſeem to intimate the *Anger* of God, in that he was *in the Midſt of his Days* removed; and I know (though *Few* did) that he had *great Purpoſes* in his Heart, which probably would have taken Effect, if he had lived a few Months longer, to the great Advantage of this Province; but now he is gone, there is not a Man Living in the World capacitated for thoſe Undertakings; *New-England* knows not yet what they have loſt!'

The Recitation of a Teſtimony ſo *great*, whether for the *Author*, or the *Matter* of it, has now made a *Statue* for the Governour of *New-England*, which

Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetuſtas.

And there now remains nothing more for *me* to do about it, but only to recite herewithal a well-known Story related by *Suidas*, That an *Envious* Man, once going to pull down a *Statue* which had been raiſed unto the Memory of one whom he maligned, he only got this by it, that the *Statue* falling down, knock'd out his Brains.

But *Poetry* as well as *Hiſtory* muſt pay it's Dues unto him. If *Cicero's* Poem, intituled *Quadrigæ*, wherein he did with a *Poetical Chariot* extol the Exploits of *Cæſar* in *Britain* to the very Skies, were now Extant in the World, I would have Borrowed ſome *Flights* of *That* at leaſt, for the Subject now to be Adorned.

But inſtead thereof, let the Reader accept the enſuing *Elegy*.

UPON THE DEATH OF Sir William Phips, Knt.

Late Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Province of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* in *New-England*, who Expired in London, *Feb.* 18. 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

And to Mortality *a Sacrifice*
Falls He, *whoſe Deeds muſt Him* Immortalize !

R*Ejoice* Meſſieurs; Netops *rejoice* ; *'tis true*,
Ye Philiſtines, *none will rejoice but* You :
Loving of All *He Dy'd* ; *who Love* him *not*
Now, have the Grace of Publicans *forgot.*
Our Almanacks *foretold a great* Eclipſe,
This they foreſaw not, of our greater PHIPS.
PHIPS *our great* Friend, *our Wonder, and our Glory*,
The Terror of our Foes, *the World's rare Story.*
England *will Boaſt him too, whoſe Noble Mind*
Impell'd by Angels, *did thoſe* Treaſures *find*,
Long in the Bottom of the Ocean *laid*,
Which her Three Hundred Thouſand *Richer made*,
By Silver *yet ne'er Canker'd, nor defil'd*
By Honour, *nor Betray'd when* Fortune *ſmil'd.*
Since this bright Phœbus *viſited our Shoar*,
We ſaw no Fogs *but what were rais'd before :*
Thoſe vaniſh'd too ; *harraſs'd by Bloody* Wars
Our Land ſaw Peace, *by his moſt generous Cares.*
The Wolviſh Pagans *at his dreaded Name*,
Tam'd, ſhrunk before him, and his Dogs became !
Felt Moxus *and fierce* Dockawando *fall*,
Charm'd at the Feet of our Brave General.

Fly-blow the Dead, *Pale* Envy, *let him not*
(What Hero *ever did?) eſcape a Blot.*
All is Diſtort *with an* Inchanted Eye,
And Heighth *will make what's* Right *ſtill ſtand* awry.
He was, *Oh that* He was ! *His* Faults *we'll tell*,
Such Faults *as theſe we* knew, *and* lik'd *them well.*

Juſt *to an Injury* ; *denying none*
Their Dues ; *but* Self-denying *oft his own.*

Good *to a Miracle* ; *reſolv'd to do*
Good *unto All, whether they would or no.*
To make Us *Good, Great, Wiſe, and all Things elſe*,
He wanted but the Gift of Miracles.
On him, vain Mob, *thy Miſchiefs ceaſe to throw* ;
Bad, *but alone in* This, *the* Times *were ſo.*

Stout *to a Prodigy* ; *living in Pain*
To ſend back Quebeck-Bullets *once again.*
Thunder, his Muſick, ſweeter than the Spheres,
Chim'd Roaring Canons *in his Martial Ears.*

*

Frigats

Frigats of armed Men could not withſtand,
'Twas try'd, the Force of his one Swordleſs
Hand:
Hand, which in one, all of Briareus had,
And Hercules's twelve Toils but Pleaſures made.

Too Humble; in brave Stature not ſo Tall,
As low in Carriage, ſtooping unto all.
Rais'd in Eſtate, in Figure and Renown,
Not Pride; Higher, and yet not Prouder grown.
Of Pardons full; ne'er to Revenge at all,
Was that which He would Satisfaction call.

True to his Mate; from whom though often
flown.
A Stranger yet to every Love but one.
Write Him not Childneſs, whoſe whole People
were
Sons, Orphans now, of His Paternal Care.

Now leſt ungrateful Brands we ſhould incur,
Your Salary we'll pay in Tears, GREAT SIR!

To England often blown, and by his Prince
Often ſent laden with Preferments thence.
Preferr'd each Time He went, when all was done
That Earth could do, Heaven fetch'd Him to a
Crown.

'Tis He: With Him Interr'd how great de-
ſigns!
Stand Fearleſs now, ye Eaſtern Firrs and Pines.
With Naval Stores not to enrich the Nation,
Stand, for the Univerſal Conflagration.
Mines, opening unto none but Him, now ſtay
Cloſe under Lock and Key, till the Laſt Day:
In this, like to the Grand Aurifick Stone,
By any but Great Souls not to be known.
And Thou Rich Table, with Bodilla loſt,
In the Fair Galeon, on our Spaniſh Coaſt.
In weight Three Thouſand and Three Hundred
Pound,
But of pure Maſſy Gold, lye Thou, not found,
Safe, ſince He's laid under the Earth aſleep,
Who learnt where Thou doſt under Water keep.

But Thou Chief Loſer, Poor NEW-ENGLAND,
ſpeak
Thy Dues to ſuch as did thy Welfare ſeek,
The Governour that vow'd to Riſe and Fall
With Thee, Thy Fate ſhows in His Funeral.
Write now His Epitaph, 'twill be Thine own,
Let it be this, A PUBLICK SPIRIT's GONE.
Or, but Name PHIPS; more needs not be ex-
preſt;
Both Englands, and next Ages, tell the Reſt.

The End of the Second BOOK.

POLYBIUS.

The Third BOOK
OF THE
New Engliſh Hiſtory:
CONTAINING THE
LIVES
OF MANY

Reverend, Learned, and Holy DIVINES, (arriving *ſuch* from *Europe* to *America*) by whoſe Evangelical Miniſtry the Churches of *NEW-ENGLAND* have been Illuminated.

By COTTON MATHER.

Teſtor, -- Chriſtianum de Chriſtiano vera proferre.

Πάντων κατὰ Θεὸν πολιτευσαμένων ὁ βίος τοῖς εὐσέβεσιν ὠφελιμώτατος, οὐχ' ὑπόδειγμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παράκλησις ὑπάρχων πρὸς ἀρετήν.

Simeon Metaphraſt. in Vitâ *Chryſoſtomi.*

Equidem efferor ſtudio Patres veſtros, quos colui, & dilexi, videndi.

Cic. de Senec.

LONDON:
Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns*, in *Cheapſide*. 1702.

INTRODUCTION.

W*Hat was it that obliged* Jerom *to write his Book,* De Viris Illuſtribus? *It was the common Reproach of old caſt upon the Chriſtians,* That they were all poor, weak, unlearned Men. *The ſort of Men ſometime called* Puritans, *in the* Engliſh Nation *have been reproached with the ſame Character; and as a malignant* Stapleton, *counted the Terms of* an Aſs, *and* a Fool, *good enough to treat our incomparable* Whitaker. *No leſs baſely are the beſt of* Proteſtants *often term'd and thought, by the Men, who know no* Chriſtianity *but* Ceremony. *There hath been too much of that Envy, that* Sapientior ſis *Socrate,* Doctior *Auguſtino, Calvenianus,* Si modò dicare, clam, vel propalam, mox Tartaris, Moſcis, Afris, Turciſque, ſævientibus, jacebis execratior. *A Wretchedneſs often ſeen in* Engliſh; *I ſhall not* Engliſh *it. This is one thing that has laid me under Obligation, here to write a Book,* De Viris Illuſtribus: *In the whole whereof, I will with a moſt Conſcientious and Religious Regard of Truth, ſave our* Hiſtory *from any ſhare, in that old Complaint of* Melchior Canus, Dolenter hoc dico, multò à Laertio ſeverius Vitas Philoſophorum ſcriptas eſſe, quàm à Chriſtianis, Vitas Chriſtianorum: *The* Lives *of* Philoſophers *more truly written, than the* Lives *of* Chriſtians.

Reader, Behold theſe Examples; *admire and follow what thou doſt behold* Exemplary *in them. They are offered unto the Publick, with the Intention ſometimes mentioned by* Gregory: Ut qui *Præceptis* non accendimur, ſaltem *Exemplis* incitemur; atque ac Appetitu Rectitudinis nil ſibi meus noſtra difficile æſtimet, quod perfectè peragi ab aliis videt: *That* Patterns *may have upon us the force which* Precepts *have not.*

If a Man were ſo abſurd, as to form his Ideas *of the* Primitive Chriſtians, *from the monſtrous Accuſations of their Adverſaries, he would ſoon perſwade himſelf, that their* God *was the* Deus Chriſtianorum Ononychites, *whoſe* Image *was erected at* Rome. *And if a Man ſhould have no other* Ideas *of the* Puritan Chriſtians *in our Days, than what the* Tory-Pens *of the Sons of* Bolſecus *have given them, we would think that it was a juſt thing to baniſh them into the cold Swamps of the* North America. *But when* Truth *ſhall have liberty to ſpeak, it will be known, that* Chriſtianity *never was more expreſſed unto the* Life, *than in the* Lives *of the Perſons that have been thus reproached, among the* Legions *of the* Accuſer of the Brethren. *It ſpeaks in the enſuing Pages!* Here, *behold* them, of whom the World was not worthy, wandring in Deſarts!

Arnobius *was put upon an Apology, againſt our particular Calumny, among the reſt,* That at the Meetings of the Chriſtians, a Dog ty'd unto the Candleſtick, drew away the Light, whereupon they proceeded unto the moſt Adulterous Confuſions in the World. *And a great Man in his Writings does affirm,* I have heard this very thing, told more than once, with no ſmall Confidence concerning the Puritans.

Reader, thou ſhalt now ſee, what ſort of Men they were: Zion *is not a* City of Fools. *As* Ignatius *in his famous Epiſtles to the* Trallians, *mentioning their Paſtor,* Polybius, *reports him,* A Man of ſo good and juſt a Reputation, that the very Atheiſts did ſtand in fear of him. *I hope our* POLYBIUS, *will afford many deſerving ſuch a Character.*

It was mentioned as the Buſineſs and Bleſſedneſs of John Baptiſt, To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children. *After a deal of more ado about the Sence of the paſſage thus tranſlated, I contented my ſelf with another Tranſlation,* To turn the Hearts of the Fathers WITH the Children; *becauſe I find the Prepoſition,* עם, *as well as the Præfix* ב, *in* Mal. 4. 6. *whence the paſſage is taken to be rendred* With, *rather than* To. *The Sence therefore I took to be, That* John *ſhould convert both* Old *and* Young. *But further Thought hath offered unto me a further Gloſs upon it:* To turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, *is to turn the* Children *by putting the* Hearts *of the* Fathers *into them; to give them ſuch* Hearts *as were in* Abraham, *and others of their famous and faithful* Fathers.

Reader, *The Book now in thy Hands, is to manage the Deſign of a* John Baptiſt, *and convey the* Hearts *of the* Fathers *unto the* Children.

Archilocus *being deſirous to give prevailing and effectual Advice unto* Lycambes, *by an elegant* Proſopopœia, *brought in his* dead Father, *as giving the Advice he was now writing, and as it were put his Pen into his* Father's Hand. Cicero *being to read a Lecture of Temperance and Modeſty unto* Clodia, *raiſed up her Father* Appius Caius *from the Grave, and in his Name delivered his Directions. And now, by introducing the* Fathers *of* New-England, *without the leaſt Fiction, or Figure of* Rhetorick, *I hope the plain* Hiſtory *of their Lives, will be a powerful way of propounding their* Fatherly Counſels *to their Poſterity. A Stroke with the Hand of a* dead Man, *has before now been a Remedy for a Malady not eaſily remedied.*

The Third BOOK.

De Viris Illuſtribus.

In Four PARTS.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of near Fifty Divines,

Conſiderable in the

Churches of New-England.

Credunt de nobis quæ non probantur, & nolunt inquiri, ne probentur non eſſe, quæ malunt credidiſſe. Tert. Apol.

HAving entertained my Readers with a more imperfect *Catalogue*, ‘Of ‘many Perſons whoſe Memories ‘deſerve to be embalmed in a ‘*Civil Hiſtory*; I muſt ſo far conſider, that it is an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, which I have undertaken, as to haſten unto a fuller and larger Account of thoſe Perſons who have been the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel, that fed the *Flocks in the Wilderneſs*: And indeed, *New-England* having been in ſome ſort an *Eccleſiaſtical Country* above any in this World, thoſe Men that have here appeared moſt conſiderable in an *Eccleſiaſtical Capacity*, may moſt reaſonably challenge the moſt Conſideration in our *Hiſtory*.

Take then a *Catalogue* of *New-England*'s firſt Miniſters, who tho' they did not generally affect the Exerciſe of *Church-Government*, as confined unto *Claſſes*, yet ſhall give me leave to uſe the Name of *Claſſes* in my marſhalling of them.

The Firſt CLASSIS.

IT ſhall be of ſuch as were in the *actual Exerciſe* of their Miniſtry, when they left *England*, and were the Inſtruments of bringing the *Goſpel* into this Wilderneſs, and of ſettling Churches here according to the Order of the *Goſpel*.

חסידים ראשונים: Or, Our *Firſt Good Men*.

1. MR. *Thomas Allen* of *Charles-Town*.
2. Mr. *John Allen* of *Dedham*.
3. Mr. *Avery* of *Marblehead*.
4. Mr. *Adam Blackman* of *Stratford*.
5. Mr. *Richard Blinman* of *Gloceſter*.
6. Mr. *Brucy* of *Brainford*.
7. Mr. *Edmund Brown* of *Sudbury*.
8. Mr. *Peter Bulkely* of *Concord*.
9. Mr. *Jonathan Burr* of *Dorcheſter*.
10. Mr. *Charles Chauncey* of *Scituate*.
11. Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* of *Lyn*.

12. Mr. *John*

12. Mr. *John Cotton* of *Boſton.*
13. Mr. *Timothy Dalton* of *Hampton.*
14. Mr. *John Davenport* of *New-Haven.*
15. Mr. *Richard Denton* of *Stamford.*
16. Mr. *Henry Dunſtar* of *Cambridge.*
17. Mr. *Samuel Eaton* of *New Haven.*
18. Mr. *John Elliot* of *Roxbury.*
19. Mr. *John Fisk* of *Chelmsford.*
20. Mr. *Henry Flint* of *Braintree.*
21. Mr. *Fordham* of *Southampton.*
22. Mr. *Green* of *Reading.*
23. Mr. *John Harvard* of *Charles-Town.*
24. Mr. *Francis Higginſon* of *Salem.*
25. Mr. *William Hook* of *New-Haven.*
26. Mr. *Thomas Hooker* of *Hartford.*
27. Mr. *Peter Hobart* of *Hingham.*
28. Mr. *Ephraim Huet* of *Windſor.*
29. Mr. *Hull* of the *Iſle of Sholes.*
30. Mr. *James* of *Charles Town.*
31. Mr. *Jones* of *Fairfield.*
32. Mr. *Knight* of *Topsfield.*
33. Mr. *Knowles* of *Water-Town.*
34. Mr. *Leverick* of *Sandwich.*
35. Mr. *John Lothrop* of *Barnſtable.*
36. Mr. *Richard Mather* of *Dorcheſter.*
37. Mr. *Maud* of *Dover.*
38. Mr. *Muverick* of *Dorcheſter.*
39. Mr. *John Mayo* of *Boſton.*
40. Mr. *John Millar* of *Yarmouth.*
41. Mr. *Moxon* of *Springfield.*
42. Mr. *Samuel Newman* of *Rehoboth.*
43. Mr. *Norris* of *Salem.*
44. Mr. *John Norton* of *Boſton.*
45. Mr. *James Noyſe* of *Newberry.*
46. Mr. *Thomas Parker* of *Newberry.*
47. Mr. *Ralph Partridge* of *Duxbury.*
48. Mr. *Peck* of *Hingham.*
49. Mr. *Hugh Peters* of *Salem.*
50. Mr. *Thomas Peters* of *Say-brook.*
51. Mr. *George Phillips* of *Watertown.*
52. Mr. *Philips* of *Dedham.*
53. Mr. *Abraham Pierſon* of *Southampton.*
54. Mr. *Peter Prudden* of *Milford.*
55. Mr. *Reyner* of *Plymouth.*
56. Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers* of *Rowly.*
57. Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* of *Ipſwich.*
58. Mr. *Saxton* of *Scituate.*
59. Mr. *Thomas Shepard* of *Cambridge.*
60. Mr. *Zachary Symms* of *Charles-Town.*
61. Mr. *Skelton* of *Salem.*
62. Mr. *Ralph Smith* of *Plymouth.*
63. Mr. *Smith* of *Wethersfield.*
64. Mr. *Samuel Stone* of *Hartford.*
65. Mr. *Nicholas Street* of *Newhaven.*
66. Mr. *William Thompſon* of *Braintree.*
67. Mr. *William Waltham* of *Marblehead.*
68. Mr. *Nathanael Ward* of *Ipſwich*, and his Son, Mr. *John Ward* of *Haverhil.*
69. Mr. *John Warham* of *Windſor.*
70. Mr. *Weld* of *Roxbury.*
71. Mr. *Wheelright* of *Salisbury.*
72. Mr. *Henry Whitfield* of *Guilford.*
73. Mr. *Samuel Whiteing* of *Lyn.*
74. Mr. *John Wilſon* of *Boſton.*
75. Mr. *Witherel* of *Scituate,*
76. Mr. *William Worceſter* of *Salisbury.*
77. Mr. *Young* of *Southold.*

Behold, one *Seven* more than *Seven Decads* of Perſons, who being devoted unto the *Sacred* Miniſtry of our Lord, were the firſt that *enlightned* the dark Regions of *America* with their Miniſtry! Know Reader, that it was by a particular *Diverſion* given by the Hand of Heaven, unto the *Intentions* of that Great Man, Dr. *William Ames*, that we don't now find his Name among the firſt in the Catalogue of our *New-Engliſh Worthies*. One of the moſt Eminent and Judicious Perſons that ever lived in this World, was *Intentionally* a *New-England-Man*, tho' not *Eventually*, when that *Profound*, that *Sublime*, that *Subtil*, that *Irrefragable*, yea that *Angelical Doctor*, was deſigning to tranſport himſelf into *New-England*; but he was hindred by that Providence, which afterwards permitted his *Widow*, his *Children*, and his *Library*, to be tranſlated hither. And now, *our Fathers, where are they? Theſe Prophets have they lived for ever?* 'Twas the Charge of the Almighty to other Kings, *Touch not mine Anointed, and do my Prophets no harm*: But the *King of Terrors* pleading an Exemption from that Charge, has now *touched* every one of theſe Holy Men; however, all the *harm* it has done unto them, has been to carry them from this *preſent evil World*, unto the *Spirits of juſt Men made perfect*. I may now write upon all theſe *Old* Miniſters of *New-England*, the Epitaph which the Apoſtle hath left upon the *Prieſts* of the *Old Teſtament*, *Theſe were not ſuffered to continue, by reaſon of Death*; adding the Clauſe which he hath left upon the *Patriarchs* of that Teſtament, *Theſe all died in Faith*.

Wherefore we paſs on to

The Second CLASSIS.

IT ſhall be of *Young Scholars*, whoſe *Education* for their deſigned Miniſtry, not being finiſhed, yet came over from *England* with their Friends, and had their Education perfected in this Country, before the *College* was come unto Maturity enough to beſtow its *Laurels*.

1. Mr. *Samuel Arnold* of *Marſhfield.*
2. Mr. *John Biſhop* of *Stamford.*
3. Mr. *Edward Bulkly* of *Concord.*
4. Mr. *Carter* of *Woburn.*
5. Mr. *Francis Dean* of *Andover.*
6. Mr. *James Fitch* of *Norwich.*
7. Mr. *Hunford* of *Norwalk.*
8. Mr. *John Higginſon* of *Salem.*
9. Mr. *Hough* of *Reading.*
10. Mr. *James* of *Eaſthampton.*
11. Mr. *Roger Newton* of *Milford.*
12. Mr. *John Sherman* of *Watertown.*
13. Mr. *Thomas Thacher* of *Boſton.*
14. Mr. *John Woodbridge* of *Newberry.*

Of

Of theſe *two Sevens*, almoſt All are gone, *where* to be is, *By far the Beſt of All*. But theſe were not come to an Age for Service to the Church of God, before the Wiſdom, and Prudence of the *New-Englanders*, did remarkably ſignifie it ſelf, in the Founding of a *COLLEGE*, from whence the moſt of their Congregations were afterwards ſupplied; *a River, the Streams whereof made glad the City of God*. From that Hour *Old-England* had more Miniſters from *New*, than our *New-England* had ſince *then*, from *Old*; nevertheleſs after a Ceſſation of Miniſters coming hither from *Europe*, for Twenty Years together, we had another ſet of *them*, *Coming over to help us*: Wherefore take yet the Names of *Two Sevens* more.

We will now proceed unto,

The Third Classis.

It ſhall be of ſuch *Miniſters*, as came over to *New-England* after the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Epiſcopal*-Church-Government in *England*, and the *Perſecution*, which then hurricano'd, ſuch as were *Non-Conformiſts* unto that Eſtabliſhment.

1. Mr. *James Allen* of *Boſton*.
2. Mr. *John Baily* of *Watertown*.
3. Mr. *Thomas Baily* of *Watertown*.
4. Mr. Barnet of *New-London*.
5. Mr. *James Brown* of *Swanſey*.
6. Mr. *Thomas Gilbert* of *Topsfield*.
7. Mr. *James Keith* of *Bridgwater*.
8. Mr. *Samuel Lee* of *Briſtol*.
9. Mr. *Charles Morton* of *Charleſtown*.
10. Mr. *Charles Nicholet* of *Salem*.
11. Mr. *John Oxenbridge* of *Boſton*.
12. Mr. *Thomas Thornton* of *Yarmouth*.
13. Mr. *Thomas Walley* of *Barnſtable*.
14. Mr. *William Woodrop* of *Lancaſter*.

It is well known, that quickly after the Revival of the Engliſh *Hierarchy*, thoſe, whoſe Conſciences did not allow them to worſhip God, in ſome Ways and Modes then by *Law eſtabliſhed*, were purſued with a Violence, which, doubtleſs many thouſands of thoſe whom the *Church of England*, in its National Conſtitution acknowledges for her *Sons*, were ſo far from *Approving* or *Aſſiſting*, that they *Abhorred it*. What *Spirit* acted the Party that Raiſed this Perſecution, one may gueſs from a Paſſage, which I find in a Book of Mr. *Giles Firmius*. A Lady aſſured him, that ſhe ſignifying unto a Parliament-Man, her Diſlike of the *Act of Uniformity*, when they were about it, and ſaying, *I ſee you are laying a Snare in the Gate*, he replied, *Ay, if we can find any way to catch the Rogues, we will have them!* It is well known that near *Five and Twenty Hundred* faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel, were now ſilenced in *One Black Day*, becauſe they could not comply with ſome things, by themſelves counted *ſinful*, but by the Impoſers confeſſed *Indifferent*. And it is affirmed, that by a modeſt Calculation, this Perſecution procured the Untimely Death of *Three Thouſand* Non-Conformiſts, and the Ruine of *Threeſcore Thouſand* Families, within Five and Twenty Years. Many retired into *New-England*, that they might have a little *Reſt at Noon*, with the *Flocks* of our Lord in this Wilderneſs: But ſetting aſide ſome Eminent Perſons of a *New Engliſh Original*, which were driven back out of *Europe* into their own Country again, by that Storm. *Theſe few* were the moſt of the Miniſters, that fled hither from it. I will not preſume to give the Reaſons, why, *No more*; but obſerving a Glorious Providence of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in moving the *Stars* to ſhine, where they were moſt wanted, I will conclude, lamenting the Diſaſter of *New-England*, in the Interruption, which a particular Providence of Heaven gave unto the Deſigns of that Incomparable Perſon Dr. *John Owen*, who had gone ſo far as to ſhip himſelf, with Intents to have taken this Country in his way to his Eternal Reſt: It muſt have been our ſingular Advantage and Ornament, if we had thus enjoyed among us, One of the *Greateſt Men*, that this laſt Age produced.

Remarks.

Eſpecially upon the Firſt Claſs, *in our* Catalogue *of Miniſters*.

I. All, or *Moſt*, of the Miniſters that make up our Two firſt *Claſſes*, came over from *England* within the Two firſt *Luſtres* of Years, after the firſt Settlement of the Country. After the Year 1640. that part of the Church of *England*, which took up Arms in the *Old Cauſe* of the *Long Parliament*, and which among all its *Parliament-Men*, Commanders, Lord-Lieutenants, Major-Generals, and Sea-Captains, had ſcarce any but *Conformiſts*; I ſay, *That part* of the Church of *England*, knowing the *Puritans* to be generally inclinable unto thoſe Principles of ſuch Writers as *Bilſon* and *Hooker*, whereupon the *Parliament* then acted; and ſeeing them to be generally of the trueſt *Engliſh* Spirit, for the Preſervation of the *Engliſh* Liberties and Properties, for which the *Parliament* then declared, (altho' there were ſome *Non-Conformiſts* in the King's Army alſo:) it was found neceſſary to have the Aſſiſtance of that conſiderable People. Whereupon enſued ſuch a *Change of Times*, that inſtead of *Old-England's* driving its beſt People into *New*, it was it ſelf turned into *New*. The Body of the *Parliament* and its Friends, which were *Conformiſts* in the beginning of that miſerable War, before the War was ended, became ſuch as thoſe Old *Non-Conformiſts*, whoſe Union with them in *Political* Intereſts produced an Union in *Religious*. The *Romanizing Laudians* miſcarried in their Enterprize; the *Anglicane Church* could not be carried over to the *Gallicane*. This was not

not the firſt Inſtance of a *Shipwrack* befalling a Veſſel bound for *Rome*; nor will it be the laſt: A Veſſel bound ſuch a Voyage, muſt be *Shipwrack'd*, tho' St. *Paul* himſelf were aboard.

II. The Occaſion upon which theſe Excellent *Miniſters* retired into an Horrid Wilderneſs of *America*, and encountred the diſmal Hardſhips of ſuch a Wilderneſs, was the Violent *Perſecution*, wherewith a prevailing *Party* in the Church of *England* haraſſed them. In their own Land they were hereby deprived, not only of their *Livings*, but alſo of their *Liberty* to exerciſe their Miniſtry, which was dearer to them than their *Livings*, yea, than their very *Lives*: And they were expoſed unto extreme *Sufferings*, becauſe they conſcientiouſly diſſented from the Uſe of ſome things in the Worſhip of God, which they accounted *Sins*. But I leave it unto the Conſideration of Mankind, whether this *forbidding of ſuch Men to do their Duty*, were no Ingredient of that Iniquity, which immediately upon the Departure of theſe Good Men brought upon Great *Britain*, and eſpecially upon the Greateſt Authors of this Perſecution, *A Wrath unto the uttermoſt*, in the enſuing Deſolations. All that I ſhall add upon it, is, That, I remember, the Prophet ſpeaking of what had been done of old, by the *Aſſyrians*, to the Land of the *Chaldæans*, uſes an Expreſſion, which we tranſlate, in *Iſa.* 23. 12. *He brought it unto Ruine*: But there is a *Punic* Word, *Mapatra*, which old *Feſtus* (and *Servius*) affirm to ſignify, *Cottages*; according to *Philargyrius*, it ſignifies, *Caſas in Eremo habitantium*: Now that is the very Word here uſed, מפלה and the Condition of *Cottagers in a Wilderneſs*, is meant, by *The Ruine*, there ſpoken of. Truly, ſuch was the *Ruine*, which the *Ceremonious* Perſecutors then brought upon the moſt Conſcientious *Non Conformiſts*, unto their Unſcriptural *Ceremonies*. But as the *Kingdom of Darkneſs* uſes to be always at length overthrown by its own Policy, ſo will be at laſt found no advantage unto that Party in the Church of *England*, that the *Orders* and *Actions* of the *Churches* by them thus produced, become an *Hiſtory*.

III. Theſe Miniſters of the Goſpel, which were (without any *Odious Compariſon*) as Faithful, Painful, Uſeful Miniſters, as moſt in the Nation, being thus *exiled* from a *Sinful Nation*, there were not known to be left ſo many *Non-Conformiſt* Miniſters, as there were Counties in *England*: And yet they were quickly ſo multiplied, that a Matter of *Twenty Years* after, there could be found far more than *Twenty Hundred*, that were ſo grounded in their *Non-Conformity*, as to undergo the Loſs of all things, rather than make *Shipwrack* of it. When *Antiochus* commanded all the *Books* of Sacred Scripture to be burnt, they were not only preſerved, but preſently after they appeared out of their hidden Places, being Tranſlated into the Greek Tongue, and carried abroad unto many other Patrons. It was now thought, there was effectual Care taken, to deſtroy all thoſe *Men*, that made theſe *Books* the only Rule of their Devotions; but behold, they preſently appeared in greater Numbers, and many other Nations began to be Illuminated by them.

IV. *Moſt*, if not *All*, of the Miniſters, who then viſited theſe Regions, were either attended or followed, with a Number of pious People, who had lived within the reach of their Miniſtry in *England*. Theſe, who were now alſo become generally *Non-Conformiſts*, having found the powerful Impreſſions of thoſe Good Mens Miniſtry upon their Souls, continued their ſincere Affections unto that Miniſtry, and were willing to accompany it unto thoſe utmoſt *Ends of the Earth*. Indeed, the Miniſters of *New-England* have this always to recommend them unto a Good Regard with the Crown of *England*, that the moſt flouriſhing Plantation in all the *American* Dominions of that Crown, is more owing to *them*, than to any ſort of Men whatſoever.

V. Some of the *Miniſters*, and many of the *Gentlemen*, that came over with the *Miniſters*, were Perſons of conſiderable Eſtates; who therewith charitably brought over many *poor Families* of Godly People, that were not of themſelves able to bear the Charges of their Tranſportation; and they were generally careful alſo to bring over none but *Godly Servants* in their *own Families*, who, afterwards by God's Bleſſing on their Induſtry have arrived, many of them, unto ſuch plentiful Eſtates, that they have had Occaſion to think of the Advice, which a famous Perſon, gave in a Publick Sermon, at their firſt coming over; *You* (ſaid he) *that are Servants, mark what I ſay; I deſire and exhort you to be kind a while hence, unto your Maſter's Children. It won't be long before, you that came with nothing into the Country, will be rich Men, when your Maſters, having buried their Rich Eſtates in the Country, will go near to leave their Families in a mean Condition; wherefore, when it ſhall be well with you, I charge you to remember them.*

VI. The *Miniſters* and *Chriſtians*, by whom *New-England* was firſt planted, were a *choſen Company* of Men; picked out of, perhaps, all the Counties in *England*, and this by no *Human Contrivance*, but by a ſtrange *Work of God* upon the *Spirits* of Men that were, no ways, acquainted with one another, inſpiring them, as *one Man*, to *ſecede* into a Wilderneſs, they knew not *where*, and *ſuffer* in that Wilderneſs they know not *what*. It was a reaſonable Expreſſion once uſed by that eminent Perſon, the preſent Lieutenant-Governour of *New-England* in a very great Aſſembly, *God ſifted three Nations, that he might bring choice Grain into this Wilderneſs*.

VII. The *Deſign* of theſe *Refugees*, thus carried into the *Wilderneſs*, was, that they might there, *ſacrifice unto the Lord their God*: It was, that they might maintain the *Power of Godlineſs* and practiſe the *Evangelical Worſhip* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in all the Parts of it, without any *Human* Innovations and Impoſitions: Defended by *Charters*, which at once gave them

them ſo far the *Protection* of their King, and the *Election* of ſo many of their own Subordinate Rulers under him, as might ſecure them the *Undiſturbed Enjoyment* of the *Church-Order* eſtabliſhed amongſt them. I ſhall but repeat the Words once uſed in a Sermon preached unto the *General Court* of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, at one of their Anniverſary Elections. 'The 'Queſtion was often put unto our Predeceſſors, '*What went ye out into the Wilderneſs to ſee?* 'And the Anſwer to it, is not only too *Excellent*, but alſo too *Notorious*, to be diſſembled. 'Let all Mankind know, that we came into the '*Wilderneſs*, becauſe we would worſhip God 'without that *Epiſcopacy*, that *Common Prayer*, 'and thoſe unwarrantable *Ceremonies*, with 'which the *Land of our Fore Fathers Sepulchres* 'has been defiled; we came hither becauſe we 'would have our Poſterity ſettled under the 'pure and full *Diſpenſations* of the Goſpel; de'fended by *Rulers, that ſhould be of our ſelves.*

VIII. None of the leaſt Concerns, that lay upon the Spirits of theſe *Reformers*, was the Condition of their *Poſterity:* For which cauſe in the Firſt Conſtitution of their *Churches*, they did more generally with more or leſs *Expreſſiveneſs* take in their Children, as under the *Church-watch* with themſelves. They alſo did betimes endeavour the Erection of a *College*, for the training up of a ſucceſſive Miniſtry in the Country; but becauſe it was likely to be ſome while before a Conſiderable Supply could be expected from the *College*, therefore they took notice of the younger, hopeful *Scholars*, who came over with their Friends from *England*, and aſſiſted their liberal Education; whereby being fitted for the Service of the *Churches*, they were in an orderly manner called forth to that Service. Of theſe we have given you a Number; whereof, I think, all but *One* or *Two* are now gone unto their *Fathers*.

IX. Of theſe Miniſters, there were ſome few, ſuppoſe *Ten* or a *Dozen*, that after divers Years, returned into *England*, where they were eminently ſerviceable unto their Generation; but, by far, the biggeſt part of them, continued in this Country, *ſerving their Generation by the Will of God*. Moreover, I find near *half* of them ſignally Bleſſed with *Sons*, who did work for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, yea ſome of them as Mr. *Chancy*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Hobart*, Mr. *Mather*, had (tho' not like *R. Joſe*, a wiſe Man among the Jews, of whom they report, that he had *Eight Sons*, who were alſo celebrated for wiſe Men among them; yet) not leſs than *Four or Five* Sons a piece thus employed: And though Mr. *Parker*, living always a *ſingle Man*, had no Children, yet he was inſtrumental to bring up no leſs than *Twelve* uſeful Miniſters. Among the Jews they that have been inſtructed by another, are called, *The Sons* of their Inſtructor. We read, *Theſe are the Generations of* Aaron *and* Moſes; when we find none but the Sons of *Aaron* in the enumerated *Generations*. But in the *Talmud*, it is thus expounded, *Hos Aaron genuit, Moſes verò docuit, ideoq; ejus Nomine cenſentur.* (Thus the Sons of *Merob*, are called the Sons of *Michal*, as the the *Talmud* judges, becauſe by her educated) And on this account no leſs than Twelve, were the *Sons* of Mr. *Parker*. I may add, that ſome of our Miniſters, having their *Sons* comfortably ſettled, at, or near, the Place of their own Miniſtry, the People have thereby ſeen a comfortable *Succeſſion* in the Affairs of Chriſtianity; thus, the Writer of this Hiſtory, hath, he knows not how often, ſeen it; that his *Grandfather* baptized the *Grand-Parent*, his *Father* baptized the *Parent*, and *He* himſelf has baptized the *Children* in the ſame Family.

X. In the Beginning of the Country, the *Miniſters* had their frequent *Meetings*, which were moſt uſually after their Publick and Weekly or Monthly *Lectures*, wherein they conſulted for the Welfare of their Churches; nor had they ordinarily any Difficulty in their Churches, which were not in theſe *Meetings* offered unto Conſideration; for their mutual Direction and Aſſiſtance: And theſe *Meetings* are maintained unto this Day. The *private Chriſtians* alſo had their *private Meetings*, wherein they would ſeek the *Face*, and ſing the *Praiſe* of God; and *Confer* upon ſome Queſtions of *Practical Religion*, for their mutual Edification. And the Country ſtill is full of thoſe *Little Meetings*; yet they have now moſtly left off one Circumſtance, which in thoſe our *primitive Times*, was much maintained; namely, their concluding of their more Sacred Exerciſes with *Suppers*; whereof, I ſincerely think, I cannot give a better Account, than *Tertullian* gives of the *Suppers* among the Faithful, in his more *primitive Times*; *Therein their Spiritual Gains countervailed their Worldly Coſts; they remembred the Poor, they ever began with Prayer*; [and other Devotions] *In Eating and Drinking they relieved Hunger, but ſhow'd no Exceſs. In feeding at Supper they remembred they were to pray in the Night. In their Diſcourſe they conſidered that God heard them: And when they departed, their Behaviour was ſo Religious and modeſt, that one would have thought, we had rather been at a Sermon, than at a Supper.* Our *Private Meetings* of good People to *pray* and *praiſe* God, and hear *Sermons*, either *preached* perhaps by the younger *Candidates* for the Miniſtry, (who here uſe to *form* themſelves, at their Entrance into their Work,) or elſe *repeated* by exact Writers of *Short-Hand* after their *Paſtors*; and ſometimes to ſpend whole Days in *Faſting* and *Prayer*, eſpecially when any of the Neighbourhood are in *Affliction*, or when the Communion of the *Lord's Table* is approaching; thoſe do ſtill abound among us; but the *Meals* that made *Meatings* of them, are generally laid aſide. I ſuppoſe, 'twas with ſome Eye to what he had ſeen in this Country, that Mr. *Firmin* has given this Report in a Book Printed 1681. 'Plain Mechanicks have I known, well Catechiſed, and Humble Chriſtians, excellent in 'Practical Piety: They kept their Station, did 'not

'not aſpire to be Preachers, but for Gifts of 'Prayer, few Clergy-Men muſt come near them. 'I have known ſome of them, when they did 'keep their Faſts, (as they did often) they di'vided the Work of Prayer: The firſt begun with '*Confeſſion*; the ſecond went on with *Petition* 'for themſelves; the third with Petition for '*Church and Kingdom*; the fourth with *Thankſgiving*: Every one kept his own part, and did 'not meddle with another part. Such excel'lent Matter, ſo compacted without Tautolo'gies; each of them for a good time, about an 'Hour, if not more, apiece; to the wondering 'of thoſe which joined with them. Here was 'no reading of *Liturgies*: Theſe were old *Ja*'*cob*'s Sons; they could wreſtle and prevail with 'God.

XI. Beſides the Miniſters enumerated in the three *Claſſes* of our Catalogue, there might a fourth *Claſs* be offered, under the Name of the *Anomalies of New-England.* There have at ſeveral times arrived in this Country, more than a Score of Miniſters from other parts of the World; who proved either ſo *erroneous* in their Principles, or ſo *ſcandalous* in their Practices, or ſo diſagreeable to the *Church Order*, for which the Country was planted, that I cannot well croud them into the Company of our *Worthies*:

Non benè conveniunt, nec in una ſede morantur.

And, indeed, I had rather my *Church Hiſtory* ſhould ſpeak *nothing*, than ſpeak *not well* of them that might elſe be mentioned in it: Being entirely of *Plutarch*'s Mind, That it is better it ſhould never be ſaid, there was ſuch a Man as *Plutarch* at all, than to have it ſaid, that he was not an *honeſt*, and a *worthy* Man. I confeſs, there were ſome of thoſe Perſons, whoſe Names deſerve to live in our *Book* for their *Piety*, altho' their particular *Opinions* were ſuch, as to be diſſerviceable unto the declared and ſuppoſed *Intereſts* of our Churches. Of theſe there were ſome Godly *Anabaptiſts*; as namely, Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, (whom one of his Adverſaries called, *Abſurd Knowleſs*) of Dover, who afterwards removing back to *London*, lately died there, *a good Man, in a good old Age.* And Mr. *Miles* of *Swanſey*, who afterwards came to *Boſton*, and is now gone to his *Reſt*. Both of theſe have a reſpectful Character in the Churches of this Wilderneſs. There were alſo ſome Godly *Epiſcopalians*; among whom has been commonly reckoned Mr. *Blackſtone*, who, by happening to ſleep firſt in an Hovel, upon a Point of Land there, laid claim to all the Ground, whereupon there now ſtands the *Metropolis* of the whole *Engliſh America*, until the Inhabitants gave him Satisfaction. This Man was, indeed, of a particular Humour, and he would never join himſelf to any of our Churches, giving this Reaſon for it: *I came from* England, *becauſe I did not like the* Lord-Biſhops; *but I can't join with you, becauſe I would not be under the* Lord-Brethren. There were ſome likewiſe that fell into groſs *Miſcarriages*, and the *Hunter* of Souls having ſtuck the *Darts* of ſome extreme Diſorder into thoſe poor *Hearts*, the whole Flock puſhed them out of their Society. Of theſe, tho' there were ſome ſo recovered, that they became true *Penitents*; yet inaſmuch as the *Wounds* which they received by their *Falls*, were not in all regards throughly cured, I will chooſe rather to forbear their *Names*, than write them with any *Blots* upon them. For the ſame Cauſe, tho' I have his *Name* in our Catalogue, yet I will not ſay *which* of them it was, that for a while became a *Seeker*, and almoſt a *Quaker*, and ſeduced a great part of his poor People, into his *bewildring Errors*: At laſt the Grace of God recovered this Gentleman out of his *Errors*, and he became a very good and ſound Man, after his Recovery: But alas, it was a perpetual *Sting* unto his penitent *Soul*, that he could not now *reduce* his wandring Flock, which he had himſelf ſeduced into the moſt unhappy Aberrations. They wandred on obſtinately ſtill in their Errors; and being irrecoverable, he was forced thereby unto a Removal from them, taking the Charge of a more Orthodox Flock, upon *Long-Iſland.*

Nor know I where better than among theſe *Anomalies*, to mention one Mr. *Lenthal*, whom I find a Miniſter at *Weymouth*, about the Year 1637.

He had been one of good Report and Repute in *England*; whereas, here, he not only had imbibed ſome *Antinomian* Weakneſſes, from whence he was by Conference with Mr. *Cotton* ſoon recovered; but alſo he ſet himſelf to oppoſe the way of *gathering Churches.* Many of the common People eagerly fell in with him, to ſet up a *Church State*, wherein all the *Baptiſed* might be *Communicants*, without any further *Trial* of them; for which end many Hands were procur'd unto an *Inſtrument*, wherein they would have declared againſt the *New-England* Deſign of *Church-Reformation*, and would have invited Mr. *Lenthal* to be their *Paſtor*, in oppoſition thereunto.

Mr. *Lenthal*, upon the Diſcourſes of the Magiſtrates and Miniſters before the *General Court*, who quickly check'd theſe Diſturbances, by ſending for him, as quickly was convinced of his Error and Evil, in thus diſturbing the *good Order* of the Country. His *Conviction* was followed with his *Confeſſion*; and in open Court, he gave under his Hand a laudable *Retractation*: Which *Retractation* he was ordered alſo to utter in the Aſſembly at *Weymouth*, and ſo no further *Cenſure* was paſſed upon him.

In *Four Parts* we will now purſue the Deſign before us.

JOHANNES in Eremo.

MEMOIRS, relating to the LIVES,

Of the Ever-MEMORABLE

Mr. JOHN COTTON, *who Died* 23. *D.* 10. *M.* 1652.
Mr. JOHN NORTON, *who Died* 5. *D.* 2. *M* 1663.
Mr. JOHN WILSON, *who Died* 7. *D.* 6. *M.* 1667.
Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT, *who Died* 15. *D.* 1. *M.* 1670.

Reverend and Renowned MINISTERS of the GOSPEL, *All*, in the more Immediate Service of One Church, in *Boſton*.

AND

Mr. THOMAS HOOKER, *who Died* 7. *D.* 5. *M.* 1647.

Paſtor of the Church at *Hartford*, *New-England*.

Preſerv'd by *COTTON MATHER*.

The First Part.

Forte nimis Videor Laudes Cantare M E O R *U* M;
Forte nimis cineres Videor celebrare repoſtos;
Non ita me Facilem Sine Vero Credite! ——

To the *READER*.

THat little part of the Earth which this Age has known by the Name of *New-England*, has been an Object of very ſignal, both *Frowns* and *Favours* of Heaven. Beſides thoſe *Stars of the firſt Magnitude*, which did ſometimes *ſhine*, and at laſt *ſet* in this Horizon, there have been ſeveral Men of Renown, who were preparing and fully reſolved to tranſport themſelves hither, had not the Lord ſeen us unworthy of more ſuch Mercies. It is ſtill freſh in the Memory of many yet living, that that Great Man, Dr. *John Owen*, had given order for his paſſage in a Veſſel bound for *Boſton*; being invited to ſucceed the other famous *Johns*, who had been *burning* and *ſhining Lights* in that which was the firſt Candleſtick, ſet up in this populous Town; but a ſpecial Providence diverted him. Long before that, Dr. *Ames*, (whoſe Family, and whoſe Library *New-England* has had) was upon the Wing for this *American Deſart*: But God then took him to the *heavenly Canaan*. Whether he left his Fellow upon Earth I know not: Such Acuteneſs of *Judgment*, and affectionate *Zeal*, as he excelled in, ſeldom does meet together in the ſame Perſon. I have often thought of Mr. *Paul Bayne*, his Farewel Words to Dr. *Ames*, when going for *Holland*; Mr. *Bayne* perceiving him to be a Man of extraordinary Parts,

Parts, *Beware* (ſaid he) *of a Strong Head, and a Cold Heart.* It is rare for a *Scholaſtical Wit*, to be joined with an *Heart warm in Religion* : But in him it was ſo. He has ſometimes ſaid, that he could be willing to walk twelve Miles on his Feet, on condition he might have an Opportunity to *preach* a Sermon: And he ſeldom did preach a Sermon without *Tears.* When he lay on his Death-bed, he had ſuch Taſts of the *Firſt-fruits of Glory*, as that a Learned Phyſitian (who was a Papiſt) wondring, ſaid, *Num Proteſtantes ſic ſolent mori* : Is the Latter End of *Proteſtants* like this Man's? But altho' ſome excellent Perſons, have, by a Divine Hand been kept from coming into theſe *Ends of the Earth*, yet there have been others, who whilſt living made this *Land* (which before their Arrival was an *Hell of Darkneſs*) to be a place full of *Light* and *Glory*; amongſt whom the Champions, whoſe Lives are here deſcribed, are worthy to be reckoned as thoſe that have *attained to the Firſt Three.*

There are many who have (and ſome to good purpoſe) endeavoured to collect the memorable Paſſages that have occurred in the *Lives* of eminent Men, by means whereof Poſterity has had the knowledge of them. *Hierom* of old, wrote *De Viris Illuſtribus* : The like has been done by *Gennadius*, *Epiphanius*, *Iſidore*, *Prochorus*, and other ancient Authors. Of later Times, *Schopfius*, his *Academia Chriſti*; *Meurſius*, his *Athenæ Batavæ*; *Verheiden*, his *Elogia Theologorum*, *Melchier Adams*, Lives of Modern Divines, have preſerved the Memories of ſome that did worthily, and were in their Day famous. There are two learned Men who have very lately engaged in a Service of this nature, *viz.* *Paulus Freherus*, who has publiſhed two Volumes in *Folio*, with the Title of, *Theatrum virorum Eruditione clarorum, ad hæc uſque Tempora.* He proceeds as far as the Year 1680. The other is *Henningus Witten*, who has written, *Memoriæ Theologorum noſtri ſeculi.* It is a *trite* (yet a *true*) Aſſertion, that *Hiſtorical Studies* are both profitable and pleaſant. And of all Hiſtorical Narratives, thoſe which give a faithful Account of the *Lives* of eminent Saints, muſt needs be the moſt edifying. The greateſt part of the *Sacred Writings* are *Hiſtorical*; and a conſiderable part of them is taken up in relating the Actions, Speeches, exemplary *Lives*, and *Deaths*, of ſuch as had been choice Inſtruments in the Hand of the Lord, to promote his Glory in the World. No doubt but that the Commemoration of the *remarkable Providences* of God towards his Servants, will be ſome part of their Work in Heaven for ever, that ſo he may have Eternal Praiſes for the Wonders of his Grace in Chriſt towards them. It muſt needs therefore be in it ſelf, a thing pleaſing to God, and a ſpecial Act of *Obedience* to the *Fifth Commandment*, to endeavour the preſervation of the Names, and Honour of them, who have been *Fathers* in *Iſrael.* On which account, I cannot but rejoice in what is here done. Altho' *New-England* has been favoured with many faithful and eminent Miniſters of God, there are only *Three* of them all, whoſe *Lives* have been as yet publiſhed, *viz.* Mr. *Cotton*, whoſe Life was written by his immediate Succeſſor Mr. *Norton*; and my Father *Mather*, whoſe was done by another Hand, and is Republiſhed in Mr. *Sam. Clark*'s laſt Volume; and Mr. *Eliot*, whoſe was done by the ſame Hand which did theſe, and has been ſeveral times Reprinted in *London.* Here the Reader has preſented to him *Five* of them, who were amongſt the chief of the *Fathers*, in the Churches of *New-England.* The ſame Hand has done the like Office of Love and Duty, for many others who were the *Worthies* of *New England*, not only in the Churches, but in the *Civil State*, whom the Lord Chriſt ſaw meet to uſe as Inſtruments, in planting the *Heavens*, and laying the Foundation of the *Earth*, in this *New World.* If *theſe* find a candid Acceptance, *thoſe* may poſſibly ſee the Light in due time.

Whether what is herewith emitted and written by my *Son*, be as to the *Manner* of it, well performed, I have nothing to ſay, but ſhall leave it unto others to judge, as they ſhall ſee cauſe; only as to the *Matter* of the Hiſtory, I am aſcertained that things are truly related. For altho' I had little of Perſonal Acquaintance with Mr. *Cotton*, being a Child not above Thirteen Years old when he died. I ſhall never forget the laſt Sermon which he preached at *Cambridge*, and his particular Application to the Scholars there, amongſt whom I was then a Student newly admitted; and my Relation to his Family ſince, has given me an opportunity to know many obſervable things concerning him. Both *Boſtons* have reaſon to Honour his Memory; and *New-England-Boſton* moſt of all, which oweth its Name and Being to him, more than to any one Perſon in the World: He might ſay of *Boſton*, much what as *Auguſtus* ſaid of *Rome*, *Lateritiam reperi, marmoream reliqui* : He found it little better than a Wood or Wilderneſs, but left it a famous Town with two Churches in it. I remember, Dr. *Lightfoot*, in Honour to his Patron, Sir *Roland Cotton*, called one of his Sons, *Cotton* : It doth not repent me, that I gave my Eldeſt Son that Name, in Honour to his Grandfather: And the Lord grant that both of us may be *Followers of him, as he followed Chriſt.*

As for the other three Worthies who have taught the Word of God in this place, they had their peculiar Excellencies.

Mr. *Wilſon* (like *John* the Apoſtle) did excel in *Love*; and he was alſo ſtrong in *Faith.* In the time of the *Pequod War*, he did not only hope, but had aſſurance, that God would make the *Engliſh* Victorious. He declared, That he was as certain of it, as if he had with his Eyes ſeen the Victories obtained; which came to paſs according to his Faith. I well remember, that I heard him once ſay, that when one of his Daughters was ſick, and given up as dead, paſt recovery, he deſired Mr. *Cotton* to pray with that Child; *And* (ſaid he) *whileſt Mr.* Cotton *was praying, I was ſure that Child ſhould not then die, but live.* That Daughter did live to be the Mother of many Children;

Children; two of which are now uſeful Miniſters of Chriſt: And ſhe is ſtill living, a pious Widow, another *Anna*, *ſerving God day and night*. When Mr. *Norton* was called from the Church of *Ipſwich* to *Boſton*, Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* (that excellent Man, who was Son to the famous Mr. *Rogers* of *Dedham*, in *Eſſex*, and Paſtor of the Church of *Ipſwich*, in *N. E.*) oppoſed Mr. *Norton's* removal from *Ipſwich*: Some ſaying, that Mr. *Wilſon* would by his Argument, or Rhetorick, or both, get Mr. *Norton* from them at laſt; Mr. *Rogers* replied, *That he was afraid of his Faith, more than his Arguments*. Sometimes he was tranſported with a Prophetical *Afflatus*, of which there were marvellous Inſtances. His Converſation was both pleaſant and profitable; in that he could relate many *Memorable Providences*, which he himſelf had the certain knowledge of. Whilſt I am writing this, there comes to my mind, one very pleaſant, and yet very ſerious Story, which he told me, and I do not remember that ever I met with it any where but from him. It was this: There was one Mr. *Snape*, a Puritan Miniſter, who was by the Biſhops caſt into Priſon, for his *Nonconformity*; when his Money was ſpent, the Jailor was unkind to him: But one Day as Mr. *Snape* was on his Knees at Prayer, the Window of his Chamber being open, he perceived ſomething was thrown into his Chamber; but reſolved he would finiſh his Work with God, before he would divert to ſee what it was. When he aroſe from his Knees, he ſaw a *Purſe* on the Chamber-floor, which was full of *Gold*, by which he could make his Keeper better natured than he had been. Many ſuch Paſſages could that good Man relate.

Mr. *Norton* was one whoſe Memory, I muſt acknowledge, I have peculiar cauſe to love and honour. I was his Pupil ſeveral Years. He had a very *Scholaſtical Genius*. In the Doctrine of *Grace* he was exceeding clear; indeed another *Auſtin*. He loved and admired Dr. *Twiſs* more than any Man that this Age has produced. He has ſometimes ſaid to me, Dr. *Twiſs* is *Omni Exceptione Major*. He was much in *Prayer*: He would very often ſpend whole *Days* in *Prayer*, with *Faſting* before the Lord alone in his Study. He kept a ſtrict daily *Watch* over his own Heart. He was an *hard Student*. He took Notice in a private *Diary*, how he ſpent his time every day: If he found himſelf not ſo much inclined to Diligence and Study, as at other times, he would reflect on his Heart and Ways, leſt haply ſome unobſerved Sin ſhould provoke the Lord to give him up to a ſlothful liſtleſs Frame of Spirit. In his *Diary*, he would ſometimes have theſe Words, *Leve deſiderium ad ſtudendum: Forſan ex peccato admiſſo*. I bleſs the Lord that ever I knew Mr. *Norton*, and that I knew ſo much of him as I did.

As for Mr. *Davenport*, I have in a Preface to his Sermon on the *Canticles*, which are tranſcribed for the Preſs, and now at *London*, given what Account I could then obtain, concerning the remarkable Paſſages of his Life. I ſeveral times deſired him to imitate *Junius*, and ſome others, who had written their own *Lives*. He told me, he did intend it: But I could not find any thing of that nature among his Manuſcripts, when many Years ago I had an occaſion to ſeek after it. He was a *Princely Preacher*. I have heard ſome ſay, who knew him in his *younger Years*, that he was then very fervent and vehement, as to the manner of his Delivery: But in his *later Times*, he did very much imitate Mr. *Cotton*, whom in in the Gravity of his Countenance, he did ſomewhat reſemble. *Sic ille manus, ſic ora ferebat.*

The Reader will find many obſervable Things in what is here related concerning Mr. *Hooker*. Yet great pity it is, that no more can be collected of the *Memorables* relating to ſo good and ſo great a Man as he was; then whom *Connecticut* never *did*, and perhaps never *will*, ſee a greater Perſon. Mr. *Cotton*, in his Preface to Mr. *Norton's* Anſwer to *Apollonius*, ſays of Mr. *Hooker*, *Dominatur in Concionibus*. Dr. *Ames* uſed to ſay, *He never knew his Equal*: There was a great Intimacy between them two. I remember my Father told me, That Mr. *Hooker* was the Author of that large Preface which is before Dr. *Ames*, his *Freſh Suit againſt Ceremonies*. He would ſometimes ſay, That *next to converting Grace*, *he bleſſed God for his Acquaintance with the Principles and Writings of that Learned Man*, Mr. *Alexander Richardſon*. It was a *Black Day* to *New-England*, when that great Light was removed.

There are ſome who will not be pleaſed, that any Notice is taken of the hard Meaſure which theſe excellent Men had from thoſe *perſecuting Prelates*, who were willing to have the World rid of them. But it is impoſſible to write the Hiſtory of *New-England*, and of the *Lives* of them who were the chief in it, and yet be wholly ſilent in that matter. That eminent Perſon, Dr. *Tillotſon* (the late Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*) did, not above four Years ago, ſometimes expreſs to me, his Reſentments of the Injury which had been done to the firſt Planters of *New-England*, and his great diſlike of Arch-Biſhop *Laud's* Spirit towards them. And to my knowledge, there are *Biſhops* at this Day, of the ſame Chriſtian *Temper* and *Moderation* with that Great and Good Man, lately dead. Had the *Sees* in *England*, fourſcore Years ago, been filled with ſuch Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, as thoſe which King *William* (whom God grant long to Live and to Reign) has preferred to Epiſcopal Dignity, there had never been a *New-England*. It was therefore neceſſary that it ſhould be otherwiſe then, than at this Day, that ſo the Goſpel in the Power and Purity of it, might come into theſe dark Corners of the Earth, and that here might be ſeen a *Specimen* of the *New Heavens* and a *New Earth*, wherein *dwells Righteouſneſs*, which ſhall e'er long be ſeen all the World over, and which, *according to his Promiſe we look for*.

Boſton, New-England,
May 16. 1695.

INCREASE MATHER.

The

The INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. WHen the God of Heaven had carried a Nation into a *Wilderneſs*, upon the Deſigns of a Glorious Reformation, he there gave them a ſingular Conduct of his *Preſence* and *Spirit*, in a certain *Pillar*, which by Day appear'd as a *Cloud*, and by Night as a *Fire* before them; and the Report of the Reſpect paid by the *Iſraelites* unto this *Pillar*, became ſo noiſed among the Gentiles, that the Pagan Poets derided them on this Account,

Nil præter Nubes & cæli Lumen adorant,

[Which is, I ſuppoſe, the true Reading of that famous Verſe in *Juvenal*: And I thus tranſlate it,]

Only the Clouds *and* Fires *of Heav'n they do worſhip at all Times.*

But I muſt now obſerve unto my Reader, that more than a Score of Years, after the beginning of the *Age* which is now expiring, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with a thouſand Wonders of his Providence, carried into an *American* Wilderneſs, a People perſecuted for their deſire to ſee, and ſeek a Reformation of the Church, according to the Scripture: Of which matter I cannot give a *briefer*, and yet *fuller* Hiſtory, than by reciting the memorable Words of that Great Man, Dr. *John Owen*, who in his Golden Book of *Communion with God*, thus expreſſes it: 'They who 'hold *Communion* with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'will admit *nothing*, practice *nothing*, in the 'Worſhip of God, but what they have his Warrant for; unleſs it comes in his Name, with 'a, *Thus ſaith the Lord Jeſus*, they will not hear 'an *Angel from Heaven*: They know, the *Apoſtles* themſelves were to teach the Saints, only '*what he commanded them*: And *you* know, how 'many in this very Nation, in the Days not long 'ſince paſſed, yea how many *Thouſands*, left 'their *Native Soyl*, and went into a vaſt and 'howling *Wilderneſs*, in the uttermoſt parts of 'the World, to keep their Souls undefiled and 'chaſt unto their dear Lord Jeſus, as to this of 'his Worſhip and Inſtitutions. Now tho' the *Reformed Church* thus *fled into the Wilderneſs*, enjoy'd not the miraculous *Pillar*, vouchſafed unto the *Erratick Church of Iſrael*, for about forty Years together; yet for that Number of Years, we enjoy'd many a *Perſon*, in whom the good *Spirit* of God, gave a Conduct unto us, and mercifully diſpenſed thoſe directing, defending, refreſhing Influences, which were as neceſſary for us, as any that the celebrated *Pillar* of *Cloud*, and *Fire*, could have afforded. The *great* and *good Shepherd* of the Church, favoured his diſtreſſed *Flocks in the Wilderneſs*, with many *Paſtors*, that were learned, prudent, and holy, beyond the common Rates, and *Men after his own Heart*: And it would be an Ingratitude many ways pernicious, if the Churches of *New-England* ſhould not, like thoſe of the Primitive Times, have their *Diptychs*, wherein the Memory of thoſe Eminent Confeſſors, may be recorded and preſerved.

§ 2. Four or five of thoſe eminent Perſons are now to have their Lives deſcribed unto us, and offered unto the Contemplation and Imitation, eſpecially of the *Generation* which are now riſing up, *after the Death of* Cotton, *and of the Elders that out-lived him, and had ſeen all the Great Works of the Lords, which he did for* New-England. I ſaw a fearful *Degeneracy*, creeping, I cannot ſay, but ruſhing in upon theſe Churches; I ſaw to multiply continually our Dangers, of our loſing no ſmall Points in our *firſt Faith*, as well as our *firſt Love*, and of our giving up the *Eſſentials* of that *Church Order*, which was the very End of theſe Colonies; I ſaw a viſible *ſhrink* in all Orders of Men among us, from that *Greatneſs*, and that *Goodneſs*, which was in the *firſt Grain*, that our God brought from *Three ſifted Kingdoms*, into this Land, when it was a *Land not ſown*; that while the *Papiſts* in *Europe* have grown better of late Years, by the Growth of *Janſeniſm* among them, the *Proteſtants* have prodigiouſly *waxed worſe*, for a Revolt unto *Pelagianiſm*, and *Socinianiſm*, or what is *half way* to it, has not been more ſurpriſing to me, than to ſee that in *America*, while thoſe parts which were at firſt Peopled by the *Refuſe* of the *Engliſh* Nation, do ſenſibly amend in the Regards of Sobriety and Education, thoſe Parts which were *planted with a more noble Vine*, do ſo faſt give a Proſpect of affording only the *degenerate Plants of a ſtrange Vine*. What ſhould be done for the ſtop, the turn of this *Degeneracy*? It is reported of the *Scythians*, who were, doubtleſs, the Anceſtors of the *Indians* firſt inhabiting theſe Regions, that in Battels, when they came to ſtand upon the *Graves* of their *dead Fathers*, they would there ſtand immovable, 'till they dy'd upon the ſpot: And, thought I, why may not ſuch a Method now effectually engage the *Engliſh* in theſe Regions, to *ſtand faſt* in their *Faith* and their *Order*, and in the *Power of Godlineſs*? I'll ſhew them, the *Graves* of their *dead Fathers*; and if any of them do retreat unto a Contempt or Neglect of *Learning*, or unto the *Errors of another Goſpel*, or unto the Superſtitions of *Will Worſhip*, or unto a *worldly*, a *ſelfiſh*, a *little* Converſation, they ſhall undergo the irreſiſtible Rebukes of their Progenitors, here fetch'd from the dead, for their Admonition; and I'll therewithal advertiſe my *New-Englanders*, that if a Grand child of a *Moſes* become an *Idolater*, he ſhall, [as the Jews remark upon *Judg*. 18. 30.] be deſtroy'd, as if not a *Moſes*, but a *Manaſſeh*, had been his Father. Beſides, *Plus Vivitur Exemplis quam Præceptis!*

§ 3. Good Men in the Church of *England*, I hope,

hope, will not be offended at it, if the *Unreaſonable Impoſitions*, and *Intolerable Perſecutions*, of certain Little-Soul'd *Ceremony-Mongers*, which drove theſe worthy Men out of their Native Country, into the horrid Thickets of *America*, be in their *Lives* complained and reſented. For, diſtinguiſhing between a *Romanizing Faction in the Church of* England, and the *True* Proteſtant Reforming *Church of* England, (Things as different as a *Jewel*, from an *Heylin*, or a *Grindal*, from a *Laud!*) the Firſt Planters of *New England*, at their firſt coming over, did in a Publick and a Printed Addreſs, call the Church of *England*, their *Dear Mother*, deſiring their Friends therein, *To recommend them unto the Mercies of God, in their conſtant Prayers, as a Church now ſpringing out of their own Bowels:* Nor did they think, that it was their *Mother* who turned them out of Doors, but ſome of their angry *Brethren*, abuſing the Name of their *Mother*, who ſo harſhly treated them. As for the *Romanizing* Faction in the *Church of* England, or, that Party, who reſolving (altogether contrary to the Deſire of the moſt Eminent Perſons, by whom the *Common-Prayer* was made *Engliſh)* that the *Reformation* ſhould never proceed one Jot further than the *Firſt Eſſay* of it, in the former Century, did make certain Unſcriptural *Canons*, whereby all that could not approve, ſubſcribe, and practiſe, a multitude of, (by themſelves confeſſed purely *Humane)* Inventions in the Worſhip of God, were accurſed, and *Ipſo Facto* Excommunicate; and by the Ill-obtained Aid of Bitter *Laws* to back theſe *Canons*, did by Fines and Goals and innumerable Violences, contrary to the very *Magna Charta* of the Nation, ruine many Thouſands of the ſobereſt People in the Kingdom; and who continually made as many *Shibboleths* as they could, for the *Diſcovering* and the *Extinguiſhing* of all real *Godlineſs*, and never gave over proſecuting their *Tripartite Plot*, of *Arminianiſm*, and a Conciliation with the *Patriarch* of the *Weſt*, and *Arbitrary Government* in the *State*, until at laſt they threw all into the lamentable Confuſions of a *Civil War*; the Churches of *New-England* ſay, *Come not into their Secret, O my Soul.* We dare not be guilty of the *Schiſm*, which we charge upon that *Party in the Church of* England: And if any Faction of Men will require the *Aſſent* and *Conſent* of other Men, to a vaſt Number of *Diſputable* and *Uninſtituted* things, and, it may be, a *Mathematical Falſhood*, among the firſt of them, and utterly renounce all *Chriſtian Communion* with all that ſhall not give that *Aſſent* and *Conſent*, we look upon thoſe to be Separatiſts; *we* dare not be ſo Narrow-Spirited: The Churches of *New-England* profeſs to make only the *Subſtantials* of the *Chriſtian Religion* to be the *Terms* of our Sacred Fellowſhip: We dare make no Difference between a *Presbyterian*, a *Congregational*, an *Epiſcopalian*, and an *Antipædo baptiſt*, where their *Viſible Piety*, makes it probable, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has received them. And ſuch Reverend Names, as *Hall*, and *Kidder*, moſt Worthy *Biſhops* now adorning the *Engliſh* *Church*, as well as the Names of ſuch Reverend and Excellent Perſons among the *Diſſenters*, as *Bates*, *Anneſly*, *How*, *Mead*, and *Alſop*, (with many *Others*) are, on *that Score*, together Precious unto this part of the Chriſtian *America*. On the other ſide, the *True Proteſtant Reforming Church of* England, contains the whole *Body of the Faithful*, ſcatterred through the *Engliſh* Dominions, though of different Perſwaſions about ſome *Rites* and *Modes*, and leſſer Points of Religion: And all the Friends of the laſt *Reformation*, who, whether they think there needs a *further Progreſs* in that Work or no, yet are willing to make the Word of God the *Rule* of their ſerving him, do come under this Denomination. Thoſe Divines, who, with Arch-Biſhop *Uſher* in the Head of them, did more than Fifty Years ago, give in a Paper touching the *Innovations* of Doctrine and of Diſcipline in the *Church of England*, and make near Forty Exceptions againſt things in the *Liturgy*, were ſtill as good Members of that Church, as they that *Hated to be Reformed*; and the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, which made the Catechiſms now uſed among us, were as genuine *Sons of the Church* after they became *Non-Conformiſts*, as while they lived in *Conformity*, which every one of them, except *Eight* or *Nine*, did when they firſt came together. One who is at this Day a Right Reverend Biſhop, has in his *Irenicum*, well expreſſed the Senſe which I believe, the biggeſt Party of Chriſtians in the Realm, Three to One have of thoſe matters, which have been, *The Apples of Strife* among us: 'That Chriſt, who came to take away the Inſupportable Yoke of the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, 'certainly did never intend to gall the Necks 'of the *Diſciples* with *another* inſtead of it; 'and it would be ſtrange, the *Church* would 'require more than *Chriſt* himſelf did, and 'make more Terms of *Communion*, than our 'Saviour did of *Diſciple-ſhip*. The Grand *Commiſſion* the Apoſtles were ſent out with, was 'only to *Teach*, *What Chriſt had commanded them*; not the leaſt Intimation of any *Power*, 'given them to impoſe or require any thing, 'beyond what he *himſelf* had ſpoken to them, 'or they were directed to, by the immediate 'Guidance of the *Spirit* of God. —— And, [Speaking of the Reaſon, why our firſt Compilers of the *Common-Prayer*, took in ſo much of the *Popiſh Service*] 'Certainly, thoſe Holy 'Men, who did ſeek by any means, to draw in 'others, at ſuch a diſtance from their Principles, 'as the Papiſts were, did never intend, by what 'they did for that end, to exclude any truly 'tender Conſciences, from their Communion; 'That which they laid as a *Bait* for them, was 'never intended by them as an *Hook* for thoſe 'of our own Profeſſion. And if this be the *True Church of England*, give me leave to ſay, The Churches of *New England*, are no inconſiderable part of *it*; and that accordingly we may have a Room in it, I may ſafely in the Name of them all, offer, (as did the Renowned Author of our *Martyr-Books*, when they demanded

manded *Subſcription* from him,) *To ſubſcribe the New Teſtament.*

Upon the whole then, if any be diſpleaſed at my Report of the Unjuſt *Impoſitions* and *Perſecutions*, which drove into *America*, as Good *Chriſtians*, and *Proteſtants*, as any that were left behind them, it will not be the *True Church of England*; for why ſhould *That* be called, *The Church of England*, which has cauſed Thouſands of as real and thorough *Chriſtians*, as any upon Earth, to ſay, *It is no better to dwell in the Wilderneſs, than with ſuch an Contentious and Angry One!* That *Church of England*, which alone is worthy to be called *ſo*, will bewail, as I know divers Excellent Perſons now in the *Epiſcopal Sees* have done, the Injuries offered unto our *Puritan* Fathers.

§ 4. Let my Reader, thus prepared, now entertain himſelf, as far as he pleaſes, with our Four *Johns*, to whoſe *Lives*, I have upon the Counſel and Command of an Ever-Honoured Parent, Appendiced the *Life* of a Famous *Thomas* in this Publication; *Johns*, with whom among the Five or Six Hundred Noted Perſons of *that Name*, celebrated by *One* Hiſtorian, I find not many that were worthy to be compared; *Johns*, fuller of Light and Grace and the Good Spirit, than all thoſe Four or Five and Twenty of *that Name*, who have ſat in the Chair that pretends to *Infallibility*. And, if he pleaſes, let him ſee that Old Little Obſervation confirmed, that as the Name *Henry* has been happy in Kings, *Elizabeth* in Queens, *Edward* in Lawyers, *William* in Phyſicians, *Francis* in Scolars, *Robert* in Souldiers and State-men, ſo *John* has been happy in *Divines*. Even a Divine *Jehojadah*, when he comes to be reckon'd among the *Prieſts* of the Lord, muſt have put upon him, the Name of *John* [1 Chron. 6. 9.] But let him conſider theſe *Lives*, as tendered unto the Publick, upon an Account no leſs than that of keeping *Alive*, as far as this poor *Eſſay* may contribute thereunto, the Intereſts of *Dying Religion* in our Churches. I remember a Learned Man's Conjecture, That [in 1 Tim. 3. 15.] it is *Timothy*, and not *The Church*, which is called, *The Pillar and Ground of Faith*: Such Able, Holy, and Faithful Miniſters as *Timothy*, are the Great *Proclaimers* and *Preſervers* of *Truth*, for the Church of God: *Such* were theſe Famous *Johns* while they *Lived*, and now they are *Dead*, I have done my Endeavour that they may ſtill be *Such* unto the Churches, unto whom I owe my *All*. I'll ſay but this, the laſt Words of the moſt Renowned Prebend of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Peter du Moulin*, who died a very Old Man, about Eleven Years ago, were, *Since Calviniſm is cried down* [Actum eſt de Religione Chriſti apud Anglos] *Chriſtianity is in Danger to be loſt in the Engliſh Nation.* Alluding to what *he* ſaid, about his *John Calvin*, I will take leave to ſay with reſpect unto our *John Cotton*, and the reſt that here accompany him, *Chriſtianity will be loſt among us; if their Faith and Zeal, muſt all be buried with them:* Which, God forbid! As there would be an hazard, that the Early and Better Times of *New-England* would have the *True Story* thereof, within a while, as irrecoverably loſt, as the Story of the World, relating to thoſe Times, which *Varro* diſtinguiſhed unto *Incognit*, and *Fabulous*, preceding the *Hiſtorical*; and we ſhould ſhortly have as wretched Narratives of the firſt *Perſons* and *Actions* in this Land, as *Juſtin* gives of the *Jews*, when he makes *Moſes* the Son of their *Joſeph*, and the Sixth of their *Kings*, or when he makes *Them* Expell'd from *Egypt*, becauſe the Gods would not otherwiſe allay a Plague that raged there, or ſuch as are given by *Pliny*, when he makes *Moſes* a Magician, or *Strabo*, that makes him an *Egyptian* Prieſt; if no ſpeedy *Care* be taken to preſerve the *Memorables* of our *Firſt Settlement*; ſo I wiſh, the Laudable *Principles* and *Practices* of that *Firſt Settlement*, may be kept from utterly being loſt in our Apoſtaſies, by the *Care* which is now taken thus to preſerve what was *Memorable*, of the *Men* that have delivered them down unto us.

§ 5. Finally; When the Apoſtles had ſet before Chriſtians the Saints, which were a *Cloud of Witneſſes*, by imitating of whoſe Exemplary Behaviour we might *Enter into Reſt*, he concludes with a *Looking unto Jeſus*; or, according to the Emphaſis of the Original, *A Looking off* (from them) *unto Jeſus*, as the incomparably moſt perfect of all. So, Let my Reader do, when all that was *Imitable* in the *Lives* of theſe Worthy Men, has had his Contemplation and Admiration; They all yet had their *Defects*, and therefore, *Look off unto Jeſus*; *Following Them* no farther than they *Followed Him*. It is a notable Paſſage, [in Luk. 7. 28.] which we miſ-tranſlate; *The Leaſt in the Kingdom of God, is Greater than* John. In the Greek, what we tranſlate, *The Leaſt*, is, *He that is Leſſer*; that is, *He that is Younger*. [*Minor* ſtill has been the ſame with *Junior*.] Our Lord means *Himſelf*, who was *Leſſer*, that is, *Younger* than *John* his *Fore-runner*; but, *Greater than He!* Truly, whatever was Excellent in theſe our *Johns*, I would pray, that the Minds of all that ſee it, may be raiſed ſtill to think, *Our Precious Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is greater than theſe* Johns: All their *Excellencies* are in him Tranſcendently, Infinitely; as they were from *Him* derived. *High Thoughts* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, provoked by *Reading* the Deſcriptions of theſe his *Excellent* Servants, that had in them a little of *Him*, and were no farther *Excellent* than as they had ſo, will make me an abundant Recompence, for all the Difficulties, and all the Temptations, with which my *Writing* is attended. And as it quickens the *Joys* of my haſtening *Death*, when I have through Grace, a Proſpect of being then in that State whereto the *Spirits* of theſe *Juſt Men made Perfect*, are all of them *Gathered*, ſo I would have *This* now to out-do all thoſe *Joys*, *To be with Jeſus Chriſt, That* ſurely, *is by far the beſt of all.*

Monumenta Sepulchralia Juſtis non faciunt; nam Dicta eorum Sunt Memoriæ Eorum.

Sentent. Judaic. in *Bereſchit. Rabba.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

COTTONUS *Redivivus:* Or, *The* LIFE *of* Mr. *JOHN COTTON.*

In quo Lumen Religionis & Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientiæ non extinguit, ille perfectus eſt: Sed Quis eſt Hic, ut adoremus eum? Algazel, in Libro Stateræ. *Reſp.* Hic eſt!——

§ 1. WERE I Maſter of the Pen, wherewith *Palladius* embalmed his *Chryſoſtom*, the Greek Patriark, or *Poſidonius* Eternized his *Auſtin*, the Latin Oracle, among the Ancients; Or, were I owner of the Quill wherewith among the Moderns, *Beza* celebrated his Immortal *Calvin*, or *Fabius* Immortalized his Venerable *Beza*; the Merits of *John Cotton* would oblige me to employ it, in the preſerving his Famous Memory. If *Boſton* be the chief Seat of *New-England*, it was *Cotton* that was the Father and Glory of *Boſton:* Upon which account it becomes a piece of pure *Juſtice*, that the *Life* of him, who above all Men gave *Life* to his Country, ſhould bear no little Figure in *its* intended Hiſtory; and indeed if any Perſon in this Town or Land, had the *Bleſſedneſs* which the *Roman* Hiſtorian long ſince pronounced *ſuch*, even, *To do things worthy to be Writ, and to Write Things worthy to be Read,* it was *He*; who now claims a Room in our Pages. If it were a Compariſon ſometimes made of the Reformers, *Pomeranus* was a Grammarian, *Juſtus Jonas* was an Orator, *Melancthon* was a Logician, but *Luther* was *All*: Even that Proportion, it may without *Envy* be acknowledged, that *Cotton* bore to the reſt of our *New Engliſh* Divines; He that, whilſt he was *Living* had this Vertue extraordinarily Conſpicuous in him, *That it was his delight always, to acknowledge the Gifts of God, in other Men,* muſt now he is *Dead*, have other Men to acknowledge of him what *Eraſmus* does of *Jerom*, *In hoc uno conjunctum fuit & Eximium, quicquid in aliis partim admiramur.*

§ 2. There was a good *Heraldry* in that Speech of the Noble *Romanus*, *It is not the Blood of my Progenitors, but my Chriſtian Profeſſion that makes me Noble.* But our *John Cotton*, beſides the Advantage of his *Chriſtian Profeſſion*, had a Deſcent from Honourable *Progenitors*, to render him *doubly* Honourable. His immediate *Progenitors* being by ſome Injuſtice, deprived of great Revenues, his Father Mr. *Roland Cotton* had the Education of a *Lawyer* beſtowed by his Friends upon him, in hopes of his being the better capacitated thereby to recover the Eſtate, whereof his Family had been wronged; and ſo the Profeſſion of a *Lawyer*, was that unto which this Gentleman applied himſelf all his Days. But our *John Cotton*, in this Happier than *Auſtin*, whoſe *Father* was carefuller to make an *Orator* than a *Chriſtian* of him, while his Gracious *Mother* was making him on greater *Accounts*, *A Son of her many Tears*, had a very pious *Father* in this worthy *Lawyer*, as well as a pious *Mother*, to Intereſt him in the *Covenant* of God. That worthy Man was indeed very ſingular in two moſt Imitable *Practices*. One was, that when any of his Neighbours deſirous to ſue one another, adreſſed him for *Counſel*, it was his manner, in the moſt perſwaſive and obliging Terms that could be, to endeavour a *Reconciliation* between both Parties; preferring the *Conſolations* of a *Peace maker*, before all the *Fees*, that he might have got by blowing up of *Differences*. Another was, that every *Night* it was his Cuſtom to *Examine himſelf*, with Reflections on the Tranſactions of the Day paſt; wherein, if he found that he had not either *Done* good unto others, or *Got* good unto his own Soul, he would be as much grieved as ever the Famous *Titus* was, when he could complain in the Evening, *Amici Diem Perdidi!* Of ſuch Parents was Mr. *John Cotton* born, at the Town of *Derby*, on the Fourth of *December*, in the Year 1585.

§ 3. The Religious Parents of Mr. *Cotton*, were ſolicitous to have him indued with a *Learned* as well as a *Pious* Education; and being neither ſo *Rich*, that the *Mater Artis* could have no room to do her part, nor ſo *Poor* that the *Res Anguſta Domi*, ſhould clog his Progreſs, they were well fitted thereby, to beſtow ſuch an Education upon him. His firſt Inſtruction was under a good School-Maſter, one Mr. *Johnſon*, in the Town of *Derby:* Whereon the Intellectual Endowments of all ſorts, with which the *God of our Spirits* adorned him, ſo diſcovered themſelves, that at the Age of *Thirteen*, his Proficiency procured him Admiſſion into *Trinity-College* in *Cambridge*. Indeed the Proverb, *Soon Ripe ſoon Rotten*, has often been too *haſtily* applied unto *Rathe ripe Wits*, in young People; not only *Oecolampadius* and *Melancthon*, who commenced *Batchelours of Arts*, at *Fourteen* Years of Age, and *Luther*, who commenced *Maſter of Arts* at Twenty; but alſo our Dr. *Juel* ſent unto *Oxford*, our Dr. *Uſher* ſent unto *Dublin*, and our Mr. *Cotton* ſent unto *Cambridge*, all at the Age of *Thirteen*, do put in a *Bar* to the Univerſal Application of that Proverb. While Mr. *Cotton* was at the Univerſity, his *Diligent Head*, with *Gods Bleſſings*, made him a *Rich Scholar*; and his generous Mind found no little *Nouriſhment* by that *Labour*, which like the Sage Philoſopher, he found *ſweeter than Idleneſs:* Inſomuch that his being Elected Fellow of *Trinity Colledge*, as the Reward of his quick Proficiency, was diverted by nothing but this, that the extraordinary Charges for their

their Great *Hall* then in Building, did put by their *Election*. And there was this Remarkable in the Education of this *Choſen Veſſel*, at the Univerſity: That while he continued *there*, his Father's Practice was, by the ſpecial Providence of God, augmented ſo much beyond what it been *before*, as was enough to maintain him there: Upon which Obſervation Mr. *Cotton* afterwards would ſay, *'Twas God that kept me at the Univerſity!* Indeed ſome have ſaid, That the great Notice quickly taken of the Eminency in the *Son*, was one Reaſon, why his *Father* not only came to be complemented on all ſides, and *Omnes Omnia Bona dicere, & laudare Fortunas ejus, qui Filium haberet Tali Ingenio præditum*, but alſo had his *Clients* more than a little multiplied.

§ 4. Upon the Deſires of *Emanuel*-Colledge, Mr. *Cotton* was not only *removed* unto that Colledge, but alſo *preferred* unto a *Fellowſhip* in it; in order whereunto, he did according to the Critical and Laudable *Statutes* of the Houſe, go through a very ſevere *Examen* of his Fitneſs for ſuch a Station; wherein 'twas particularly remarked, that the *Poſer* trying his *Hebrew* Skill by the Third Chapter of *Iſaiah*, a Chapter which, containing more hard Words than any one *Paragraph* of the Bible, might therefore have puzled a very good Hebrician, yet *he* made nothing of it. He was afterwards the *Head Lecturer*, the *Dean*, the *Catechiſt*, in that Famous Colledge; and became a *Tutor* to many Scholars, who afterwards proved Famous Perſons, and had cauſe to bleſs God for the Faithful, and Ingenious and Laborious *Communicativeneſs* of this their *Tutor*. *Here*, all his Academical Exerciſes, whether in *Diſputations* or in *common Places*, or whatever elſe did ſo *ſmell of the Lamp*, that the Wit, the Strength, the Gravity, and the Fulneſs, both of *Reaſon* and of *Reading* in them, cauſed him to be much admired by the Sparkling Wits of the Univerſity. But *One* thing among the reſt, which cauſed a great Notice to be taken of him, throughout the whole Univerſity, was his *Funeral Oration* upon Dr. *Some*, the Maſter of *Peter Houſe*, wherein he approved himſelf ſuch a Maſter of *Periclæan*, or *Ciceronian* Oratory, that the Auditors were even ready to have acclaimed, *Non Vox Hominem Sonat!* And that which added unto the Reputation, thus raiſed for him, was an *Univerſity Sermon*, wherein aiming more to preach *Self* than *Chriſt*, he uſed ſuch Florid Strains, as extremely recommended him unto *the moſt*, who reliſhed the *Wiſdom of Words* above the *Words of Wiſdom*: Though the pompous Eloquence of that Sermon, afterwards gave ſuch a Diſtaſt unto his own *Renewed Soul*, that with a Sacred Indignation he threw his Notes into the Fire.

§ 5. Hitherto we have ſeen the *Life* of Mr. *Cotton*, while he was not yet *Alive!* Though the Reſtraining and Preventing *Grace* of God, had kept him from ſuch Out-breakings of Sin, as Defile the Lives of moſt in the World, yet like the *Old Man*, who for ſuch a cauſe ordered this Epitaph to be written on his Grave, *Here lies an Old Man, who lived but Seven Years*, he reckoned himſelf to have been but a *Dead Man*, as being *Alienated from the Life of God*, until he had experienced that *Regeneration*, in his own Soul, which was *thus* accompliſhed. The Holy Spirit of God had been at work upon his *Young Heart*, by the Miniſtry of that Reverend and Renowned *Preacher of Righteouſneſs*, Mr. *Perkins*; but he reſiſted and ſmothered thoſe *Convictions*, through a vain *Perſwaſion*, that if he became a *Godly* Man, 'twould ſpoil him for being a *Learned* One. Yea, ſuch was the Secret Enmity and Prejudice of an *Unregenerate Soul*, againſt *Real Holineſs*, and ſuch the *Torment*, which our Lords *Witneſſes* give to the Conſciences of the *Earthly-minded*, that when he heard the Bell toll for the Funeral of Mr. *Perkins*, his Mind ſecretly rejoiced in his Deliverance, from that Powerful Miniſtry, by which his Conſcience had been ſo oft Beleagured: The Remembrance of which thing afterwards, did break his Heart exceedingly! But he was, at length, more effectually awakened, by a Sermon of Dr. *Sibs*, wherein was diſcourſed the Miſery of thoſe, who had only a *Negative Righteouſneſs*, or a Civil, Sober, Honeſt *Blameleſneſs* before Men. Mr. *Cotton* became now very ſenſible of his own miſerable Condition before God; and the *Arrows* of theſe Convictions, did ſtick ſo faſt upon him, that after no leſs *Three Years* Diſconſolate Apprehenſions under them, the *Grace* of God made him a throughly *Renewed Chriſtian*, and filled him with a Sacred *Joy*, which accompanied him unto the *Fulneſs of Joy* for ever. For this Cauſe, as Perſons truly converted unto God have a mighty and laſting Affection for the Inſtruments of their Converſion; thus Mr. *Cotton*'s Veneration for Dr. *Sibs*, was after this very particular and perpetual; and it cauſed him to have the *Picture* of that Great Man, in that part of his Houſe, where he might ofteneſt look upon it. But ſo the *Yoke* of ſore Temptations and Affictions and long ſpiritual Trials, fitted him to be an eminently uſeful Servant of God in his Generation!

§ 6. Some time after this Change upon the Soul of Mr. *Cotton*, it came unto his turn again to preach at St. *Maries*; and becauſe *he* was to preach, an High Expectation was raiſed, through the *whole Univerſity*, that they ſhould have a Sermon, flouriſhing indeed, with all the *Learning* of the *whole Univerſity*. Many Difficulties had Mr. *Cotton* in his own Mind now, what Courſe to ſteer. On the one ſide he conſidered, That if he ſhould preach with a Scriptural and Chriſtian *Plainneſs*, he ſhould not only wound his own *Fame* exceedingly, but alſo tempt Carnal Men to revive an Old Cavil, *That Religion made Scholars turn Dunces*, whereby the Name of God might ſuffer not a little. On the other ſide, he conſidered, That it was his Duty to preach with ſuch a *Plainneſs*, as became the *Oracles* of God, which are intended for the Conduct of Meu in the

Paths of Life, and not for *Theotrical* Oſtentations and Entertainments, and the Lord needed not any *Sin* of ours to maintain his own Glory. Hereupon Mr. *Cotton* reſolved, that he would preach a plain Sermon, even ſuch a Sermon, as in his own Conſcience he thought would be moſt pleaſing unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and he diſcourſed practically and powerfully, but very ſolidly upon the plain Doctrine of Repentance. The vain Wits of the Univerſity, diſappointed thus, with a more excellent Sermon, that ſhot ſome troubleſome Admonitions into their Conſciences, diſcovered their Vexation at this Diſappointment, by their not *Humming*, as according to their ſinful and abſurd Cuſtom, they had formerly done; and the Vice-Chancellor, for the very ſame Reaſon alſo, graced him not, as he did others that pleaſed him. Nevertheleſs, the Satisfaction which he enjoyed in his own *faithful Soul*, abundantly compenſated unto him, the loſs of any Human Favour or Honour; nor did he go without many Encouragements from ſome Doctors, then having a better Sence of *Religion* upon them, who prayed him to perſevere in the *good way of Preaching*, which he had now taken. But perhaps the greateſt Conſolation of all, was a notable Effect of the Sermon then preached! The famous Dr. *Preſton*, then a Fellow of *Queen's Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and of Great Note in the Univerſity, came to hear Mr. *Cotton* with the ſame *itching Ears*, as others were then led withal. For ſome good while after the beginning of the Sermon, his fruſtrated Expectation cauſed him to manifeſt his Uneaſineſs all the ways that were then poſſible; but before the Sermon was ended, like one of *Peter*'s Hearers, he found himſelf *pierced at the Heart*: His Heart within him was now ſtruck with ſuch Reſentments of his own *interior ſtate* before the God of Heaven, that he could have no Peace in his own Soul, till with a *wounded Soul*, he had repaired unto Mr. *Cotton*; from whom he received thoſe further Aſſiſtances, wherein he became a *Spiritual Father*, unto one of the greateſt Men in his Age.

§ 7. The well-diſpoſed People of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, after this, invited Mr. *Cotton* to become their Miniſter; with which Invitation, out of a ſincere and ſerious deſire to ſerve our Lord in his Goſpel, after the ſolemneſt Addreſſes to Heaven for Guidance in ſuch a ſolemn Affair, he complied. At this time the Mayor of the Town, with a more corrupt Party, having procured another Scholar from *Cambridge*, more agreeable to them, would needs have him to preach before Mr. *Cotton*: But the *Church-Warden* pretending to more of Influence upon their Eccleſiaſtical Matters, over ruled it. However when the matter came to a *Vote*, amongſt thoſe to whom the Right of Election did by Charter belong, there was an *Equi-Vote* for Mr. *Cotton*, and that other Perſon; only the Mayor, who had the Caſting Vote, by a ſtrange Miſtake pricked for Mr. *Cotton*. When the Mayor ſaw his Miſtake, a new Vote was urged and granted; wherein it again proved an *Equi-Vote*; but the Mayor moſt unaccountably miſtook again, as he did before. Extreamly diſpleas'd hereat, he preſſed for a *Third Vote*; but the reſt would not conſent unto it; and ſo the Election fell upon Mr. *Cotton*, by the *involuntary Caſt* of that very Hand, which had moſt oppoſed it. This Obſtruction to the Settlement of Mr. *Cotton* in *Boſton*, being thus conquered, another follow'd: For the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, having underſtood that Mr. *Cotton* was infected with *Puritaniſm*, ſet himſelf immediately to diſcourage his being there; only he could object nothing, but, *That Mr.* Cotton *being a Young Man, he was not ſo fit upon that Score, to be over ſuch a numerous and ſuch a factious People.* And Mr. *Cotton* having learned no otherwiſe to value himſelf, than to concur with the Apprehenſions of the Biſhop; intended therefore to return unto *Cambridge*: But ſome of his Friends, againſt his Inclination, knowing the *true way of doing it*, ſoon charmed the *Biſhop* into a declared Opinion, that Mr. *Cotton* was an Honeſt, and a Learned Man. Thus the Admiſſion of Mr. *Cotton* unto the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in *Boſton*, was accompliſhed.

§ 8. Mr. *Cotton* found the more *peaceable* Reception among the People, through his own want of internal *Peace*; and becauſe his continual Exerciſes, from his *Internal* Temptations and Afflictions, made all People ſee, that inſtead of ſerving this or that Party, his chief care was about the Salvation of his *own Soul*. But the Stirs, which had been made in the Town, by the *Arminian Controverſies*, then raging, put him upon further Exerciſes; whereof he has himſelf given us a Narrative in the enſuing Words: 'When I was firſt called to *Boſton* in '*Lincolnſhire*, ſo it was, that Mr. *Baron*, Son 'of Dr. *Baron*, (the Divinity-Reader of *Cambridge*) firſt broached, that which was then 'called *Lutheraniſm*, ſince *Arminianiſm*; as 'being indeed himſelf, Learned, Acute, Plauſible in Diſcourſe, and fit to inſinuate into the 'Hearts of his Neighbours. And tho' he were 'a *Phyſitian* by Profeſſion (and of good Skill in 'that Art) yet he ſpent the greateſt Strength 'of his Studies, in clearing and promoting the '*Arminian* Tenents. Whence it came to paſs, 'that in all the great *Feaſts* of the Town, the 'chiefeſt Diſcourſe at the Table, did ordinarily 'fall upon *Arminian* Points, to the great Offence of Godly Miniſters, both in *Boſton*, and 'Neighbour-Towns. I coming among them, a '*young Man*, thought it a part both of Modeſty and Prudence, not to ſpeak much to the 'Points, at firſt, among Strangers and Ancients: 'Until afterwards, after hearing of many Diſcourſes, in Publick Meetings, and much private Diſcourſe with the Doctor, I had learned 'at length, where all the great *Strength* of the 'Doctor lay. And then obſerving (by the '*Strength* of Chriſt) how to avoid ſuch Expreſſions as gave him any advantage in the 'Expreſſions of *others*, I began publickly to 'preach, and in private Meetings to defend the 'Doctrine of God's *Eternal Election*, before all

Fore-

'*Foreſight* of *Good* or *Evil*, in the Creature; 'and the *Redemption* (*ex gratia*) only of the '*Elect*; the effectual *Vocation* of a Sinner, *Per* '*irreſiſtibilem Gratiæ vim*, without all reſpect 'of the Preparations of *Free Will*; and finally, 'the Impoſſibility of the Fall of a ſincere Believer, either totally or finally from a *State of* '*Grace*. Hereupon, when the Doctor had objected many things, and heard my Anſwers to 'thoſe *Scruples*, which he was wont moſt plauſibly to urge; preſently after our Publick 'Feaſts, and Neighbourly Meetings, were ſilent 'from all further Debates about *Predeſtination*, 'or any of the Points which depend thereupon, 'and all Matters of Religion were carried on 'calmly and peaceably.

About half a Year after, Mr. *Cotton* had been at *Boſton*, thus uſefully employ'd, he viſited *Cambridge*, that he might then and there proceed *Batchellor of Divinity*; which he did: And his *Concio ad Clerum*, on *Mat.* 5. 13. *Vos eſtis Sal Terræ*, was highly eſteemed by the Judicious. Nor was he leſs admired for his very ſingular Acuteneſs in *Diſputation*, when he anſwered the *Divinity Act* in the Schools; wherein he had for his Opponent a moſt acute Antagoniſt, namely Dr. *Chappel*, who was afterwards Provoſt of *Trinity* Colledge in *Dublin*; and one unhappily ſucceſsful in promoting the *New Pelagianiſm*.

§ 9. Settled now at *Boſton*, his dear Friend, holy Mr. *Bayns*, recommended unto him a pious Gentlewoman, one Mrs. *Elizabeth Horrocks*, the Siſter of Mr. *James Horrocks*, a famous Miniſter in *Lancaſhire*, to become his Conſort in a *Married Eſtate*. And it was remarkable, that on the very *Day* of his *Wedding* to that eminently Vertuous Gentlewoman, he firſt received that Aſſurance of God's *Love* unto his own *Soul*, by the *Spirit* of God, effectually applying his *Promiſe* of *Eternal Grace* and *Life* unto him, which happily kept with him all the reſt of his Days: For which cauſe he would afterwards often ſay, *God made that Day, a Day of double Marriage to me!* The *Wife*, which by the *Favour of God* he had now *found*, was a very great *help* unto him, in the Service of God; but eſpecially upon *this*, among many other Accounts, that the People of her own Sex, obſerving her more than ordinary *Diſcretion*, *Gravity*, and *Holineſs*, would ſtill improve the Freedom of their Addreſs unto *her*, to acquaint her with the Exerciſes of their own Spirits; who acquainting her Husband with convenient Intimations thereof, occaſioned him in his Publick Miniſtry more *particularly* and *profitably*, to diſcourſe thoſe things that were of everlaſting Benefit.

§ 10. After he had been three Years in *Boſton*, his careful Studies and Prayers brought him to apprehend more of *Evil* remaining *Unreformed* in the Church of *England*, than he had heretofore conſidered; and from this time he became a Conſcientious *Non-Conformiſt*, unto the *Unſcriptural* Ceremonies and Conſtitutions, yet maintained by that Church; but ſuch was his Intereſt in the Hearts of the People, that his *Non Conformity* inſtead of being *diſturbed*, was indeed *embraced* by the greateſt part of the Town. However, at laſt, Complaints being made againſt him unto the *Biſhops Courts*, he was for a *while*, then put under the Circumſtances of a *ſilenced Miniſter*; in all which *while*, he would ſtill give his Preſence at the *Publick Sermons*, tho' never at the *Common Prayers* of the *Conformable*. He was now offered, not only the *Liberty* of his Miniſtry, but very great *Preferment* in it alſo, if he would but Conform to the *Scrupled Rites*, tho' but in *one Act*, and but for *one Time*: Nevertheleſs, his tender Soul, afraid of being thereby *polluted*, could not in the leaſt comply with ſuch Temptations. A *Storm* of many Troubles upon him, was now *gathering*; but it was very ſtrangely diverted! For that very Man who had occaſioned this Affliction to *him*, now became heartily afflicted for his own Sin in doing of it; and a ſtedfaſt, conſtant, prudent Friend, preſenting a *Pair of Gloves* to a *Proctor* of an higher Court, then appeal'd unto that *Proctor* without Mr. *Cotton*'s knowledge, ſwore, *In Animam Domini*, that Mr. *Cotton* was a *Conformable Man*: Which things iſſued in Mr. *Cotton*'s being reſtored unto the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry.

§ 11. The *Storm of Perſecution* being thus blown over, Mr. *Cotton* enjoyed *Reſt* for many Years. In which time he faithfully employed his great Abilities, not in gaining Men to this or that *Party* of *Chriſtians*, but in acquainting them with the more eſſential and ſubſtantial Points of *Chriſtianity*. In the ſpace of Twenty Years that he lived at *Boſton*, on the *Lord's Days* in the *Afternoons*, he thrice went over the *Body of Divinity* in a *Catechiſtical way*; and gave the Heads of his Diſcourſe to young Scholars, and others in the Town, that they might anſwer to his Queſtions in the Congregation; and the Anſwers he opened and applied unto the general Advantage of the Hearers. Whilſt he was in this way handling the *Sixth Commandment*, the Words of God which he uttered were ſo quick and powerful, that a Woman among his Hearers, who had been married ſixteen Years to a *Second Husband*, now in Horror of Conſcience, openly confeſſed her murdering her former Husband, by Poiſon, tho' thereby ſhe expoſed her ſelf to the Extremity of being burned. In the Forenoons of the *Lord's Days*, he preached over the firſt ſix Chapters in the Goſpel of *John*, the whole Book of *Eccleſiaſtes*; the Prophecy of *Zephaniah*, the Prophecy of *Zechariah*, and many other Scriptures. When the Lord's Supper was adminiſtred, which was once a Month, he handled the Eleventh Chapter in the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and the Thirteenth Chapter in the Second Book of the *Chronicles*; and ſome other pertinent Paragraphs of the Bible. In his *Lectures*, he went through the whole Firſt and Second Epiſtles of *John*; the whole Book of *Solomon's Song*; the *Parables* of our Saviour to the Seventeenth Chapter of *Matthew*. His Houſe alſo was full of young Students; whereof ſome were ſent unto him out of *Germany*, ſome out of *Holland*, but moſt out of *Cambridge*: For Dr. *Preſton* would ſtill adviſe his

his near-fledg'd Pupils, to go live with Mr. *Cotton*, that they might be fitted for Publick Service; inſomuch, that it was grown almoſt a Proverb, *That Mr.* Cotton *was Dr.* Preſton's *Seaſoning Veſſel:* And of thoſe that iſſued from this learned Family, famous and uſeful in their Generation, the well-known Dr. *Hill* was not the leaſt. Moreover, he kept a *Daily Lecture* in his Houſe, which, as very Reverend Ear-Witneſſes have expreſſed it, *He performed with much Grace, to the Edification of the Hearers:* And unto this Lecture many pious People in the Town, would conſtantly reſort, until upon a ſuſpicion of ſome Inconveniency, which might ariſe from the growing *Numerouſneſs* of his Auditory, he left it off. However, beſides his Ordinary Lecture every *Thurſday*, he preached *thrice* more; every Week, on the *Week-Days*; namely on *Wedneſdays* and *Thurſdays*, early in the Morning, and on *Saturdays* at Three in the Afternoon. And beſides theſe immenſe Labours, he was frequently employ'd on *extraordinary Days*, kept *Pro Temporis & Cauſis*, whereon he would ſpend ſometimes no leſs than *Six Hours* in the *Word and Prayer*. Furthermore, 'twas his Cuſtom, once a Year, to viſit his Native-Town of *Derby*, where he was a notable Exception to the General Rule of, *A Prophet without Honour in his own Country*; and by his vigilant Cares, this Town was for many Years kept ſupplied with able and faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel. Thus was this *good Man* a moſt indefatigable *Doer of Good*.

§ 12. The good *Spirit* of God, ſo plentifully and powerfully accompanied the Miniſtry of this excellent Man, that a great *Reformation* was thereby wrought in the Town of *Boſton*. *Profaneneſs* was extinguiſhed, *Superſtition* was abandoned, *Religion* was embraced and practiſed among the *Body* of the People; yea, the *Mayor*, with moſt of the Magiſtrates, were now called *Puritans*, and the *Satanical Party* was become inſignificant. As to the matter of *Non-Conformity*, Mr. *Cotton* was come to forbear the *Ceremonies* enjoyned in the Church of *England*; for which he gave this Account. 'The Grounds 'were two: *Firſt*, The *Significacy* and *Efficacy* 'put upon 'em, in the Preface to the Book of '*Common-Prayer:* That *they were neither dumb* '*nor dark, but apt to ſtir up the dull Mind of* '*Man, to the remembrance of his Duty to God,* '*by ſome notable and ſpecial ſignification, where-* '*by he may be edified*; or Words to the like 'purpoſe. The *Second* was the Limitation of '*Church-Power*, even of the higheſt Apoſtolical 'Commiſſion, to the *Obſervation of the Com-* '*mandments of Chriſt*, Mat. 28. 20. Which 'made it appear to me utterly unlawful for any '*Church-Power* to enjoyn the Obſervation of *in-* '*different Ceremonies*, which Chriſt had *not* '*commanded:* And all the *Ceremonies* were alike 'deſtitute of the *Commandment* of Chriſt, tho' 'they had been *indifferent* otherwiſe; which, 'indeed *others* have juſtly pleaded they were 'not. But this was not all: For Mr. *Cotton* was alſo come to believe, That *Scripture-Biſhops* were appointed to rule no larger a Dioceſs than a *particular Congregation*; and that the *Miniſters of the Lord*, with the *Keys* of Eccleſiaſtical Government, are given by him to a *Congregational Church*. It hence came to paſs, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was now worſhipped in *Boſton*, without the uſe of the *Liturgy*, or of thoſe *Veſtments*, which are by *Zanchy* called *Execrabiles Veſtes*; yea, the Sign of the *Croſs* was laid aſide, not only in *Baptiſm*, but alſo in the *Mayor's Mace*, as worthy to be made a *Nehuſhtan*, becauſe it had been ſo much abuſed unto *Idolatry*. And beſides all this, there were ſome Scores of pious People in the Town, who more exactly formed themſelves into an *Evangelical Church-State*, by entring into *Covenant* with God, and with one another, *To follow after the Lord, in the Purity of his Worſhip*. However, the main Bent and Aim of Mr. *Cotton's* Miniſtry was, *To preach a crucified Chriſt*; and the Inhabitants of *Boſton* obſerved, that God bleſſed them in their *Secular* Concernments, remarkably the more, through his dwelling among them: For many *Strangers*, and ſome too, that were Gentlemen of good Quality, reſorted unto *Boſton*, and ſome removed their Habitations thither, on his Account; whereby the Proſperity of the place was very much promoted.

§ 13. As his *Deſert* of it was very high, ſo the *Reſpect* which he met withal was far from *low*. The beſt of his Hearers *loved* him greatly, and the worſt of them *feared* him, as *knowing that he was a righteous and an holy Man*. Yea, ſuch was the *Greatneſs* of his Learning, his Wiſdom, his Holineſs, that *Great Men* took no little notice of him. A very Honourable Perſon rode thirty Miles to ſee him; and afterwards profeſſed, *That he had as lieve hear Mr.* Cotton's *ordinary Expoſition in his Family, as any Miniſters publick Preaching that he knew in* England. Whilſt he continued in *Boſton*, Dr. *Preſton* would conſtantly come once a Year to viſit him, from his exceeding Value for Mr. *Cotton's* Friendſhip. Arch-Biſhop *Williams* did likewiſe greatly eſteem him for his incomparable Parts; and when he was *Keeper of the Great Seal*, he recommended Mr. *Cotton* to the Royal Favour. Moreover, the Earl of *Dorcheſter* and of *Lindſey*, had much regard unto him; which happened partly on this occaſion: The Earl's coming into *Lincolnſhire*, about the Dreining of ſome Fenny Grounds. Mr. *Cotton* was then in his Courſe of Preaching on *Gal.* 2. 20. Intending to preach on the Duties of *living by Faith in Adverſity*; but conſidering that theſe Noblemen were not much acquainted with *Afflictions*, he altered his Intentions, and ſo ordered it, that when they came to *Boſton*, he diſcourſed on the Duties of *living by Faith in Proſperity:* When the Noble-men were ſo much taken with what they *heard*, that they aſſured him, If at any time he ſhould want a *Friend* at Court, *they* would improve all their Intereſt for him. And when Mr. *Cotton* did plainly, but wiſely admoniſh them, of certain *Paſtimes on the Lord's Day*, whereby they gave ſome Scandal, they took it

moſt kindly from him, and promiſed a *Reformation*. But none of the *Roſes* caſt on this applauded *Actor*, *ſmothered* that humble, that loving, that gracious Diſpoſition, which was his perpetual *Ornament*.

§ 14. At length, doubtleſs to chaſtiſe the ſeldom unchaſtiſed Evils of *Diviſions*, crept in among the Chriſtians of *Boſton*, it pleaſed the God of Heaven to deprive them of Mr. *Cotton*'s Miniſtry, by laying a *Tertian Ague* upon him for a Year together. But being invited unto the Earl of *Lincoln*'s, in purſuance to the Advice of his Phyſicians, that he ſhould *change the Air*, he removed thither; and thereupon he happily recovered. Nevertheleſs, by the ſame Sickneſs he then loſt his excellent Wife; who having lived with him *Childleſs* for Eighteen Years, went from him now, to be *for ever with the Lord*; whereupon he travelled further a field, unto *London*, and ſome other places, whereby the recovery of his loſt Health was further perfected. About a Year after this, he practically appeared in oppoſition to *Tertullianiſm*, by proceeding unto a *Second Marriage*; wherein one Mrs. *Sarah Story*, a vertuous Widow, very dear to his former Wife, became his Conſort; and by her he had both *Sons and Daughters*.

§ 15. Altho' our Lord had hitherto made the Diſcretion and Vigilancy of Mr. *Thomas Leveret* (afterwards a *doubly honoured* Elder of the Church, in another Land) the happy occaſion of diverting many Deſigns to moleſt Mr. *Cotton* for his *Non Conformity*, yet when the Sins of the place had ripened it, for ſo *dark* a Vengeance of Heaven, as the *removing of this eminent Light*, a Storm of Perſecution could no longer be avoided. A debauch'd Fellow in the Town, who had been puniſhed by the Magiſtrates for his Debaucheries, contrived and reſolved a *Revenge* upon them, for their *Juſtice*: And having no more effectual way to vent the curſed Malice of his Heart, than by bringing them into Trouble at the *High Commiſſion Court*, up he goes to *London*, with Informations to that Court, that the Magiſtrates did not *kneel at the Sacrament*, nor obſerve ſome other *Ceremonies* by Law impoſed. When ſome that belonged unto the Court ſignified unto this Informer, that he muſt put in the *Miniſter's Name*: *Nay*, (ſaid he) *the Miniſter is an honeſt Man, and never did me any wrong*: But it being further preſſed upon him, that all his Complaints would be inſignificant, if the *Miniſter's Name* were not in them, he then did put it in: And *Letters Miſſive* were diſpatched incontinently, to Convent Mr. *Cotton*, before the infamous *High Commiſſion Court*. But before we relate what became of Mr. *Cotton*, we will enquire what became of his Accuſer. The Renowned Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, having been on his Lecture-Day, juſt before his going to preach, adviſed, that Mr. *Cotton* was brought into this trouble, he took occaſion to ſpeak of it in the *Sermon*, with juſt *Lamentations* for it; and among others, he uſed Words to this purpoſe: *As for that Man, who hath cauſed a faithful Paſtor, to be driven from his Flock, he is a Wiſp, uſed by the Hand of God, for the ſcowring of his People: But mark the Words now ſpoken by a Miniſter of the Lord! I am verily perſwaded, the Judgments of God, will overtake the Man that has done this thing: Either he will die under an Hedge, or ſomething elſe, more than the ordinary Death of Men ſhall befal him.* Now behold, how this Prediction was accompliſhed: This miſerable Man quickly after this, dy'd of the *Plague*, under an *Hedge*, in *Yorkſhire*; and it was a long time, e'er any could be found, that would bury him. *This 'tis to turn Perſecutor.*

§ 16. Mr. *Cotton* knowing that *Letters Miſſive* were out againſt him, from the *High Commiſſion Court*, and knowing, that if he appeared there, he could expect no other, than to be choaked with ſuch a *perpetual Impriſonment*, as had already murdered ſuch Men as *Bates* and *Udal*, he concealed himſelf as well as he could, from the raging *Purſevants*. Application was made, in the mean time, to the Earl of *Dorſet*, for the Fulfilment of his old Engagement unto Mr. *Cotton*; and the Earl did indeed intercede for him, until the Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who would often wiſh, *Oh! that I could meet with* Cotton! rendred all his Interceſſions both ineffectual and unſeaſonable. Hereupon that Noble Perſon ſent word unto him, That if he had been guilty of *Drunkenneſs*, or *Uncleanneſs*, or any ſuch *leſſer Fault*, he could have obtained his Pardon; but inaſmuch as he had been guilty of *Non-Conformity*, and *Puritaniſm*, the Crime was unpardonable; and therefore, ſaid he, *You muſt fly for your Safety*. Doubtleſs, it was from ſuch unhappy *Experiments*, that Mr. *Cotton* afterwards publiſhed this Complaint: *The Eccleſiaſtical Courts, are like the Courts of the High-Prieſts and Phariſees, which* Solomon *by a Spirit of Prophecy ſtileth,* Dens of Lions, and Mountains of Leopards. *And thoſe who have to do with them, have found them Markets of the Sins of the People, the Cages of Uncleanneſs, the Forges of Extortion, the Tabernacles of Bribery, and they have been contrary to the End of Civil Government, which is,* The *Puniſhment* of Evil-Doers, and the *Praiſe* of them which do well.

§ 17. Mr. *Cotton*, therefore, now, with *Supplications* unto the *God* of *Heaven* for his Direction, joined *Conſultations* of good *Men* on Earth; and among others, he did with ſome of his *Boſton* Friends, viſit old Mr. *Dod*, unto whom he laid open the difficult Caſe now before him, without any Intimation of his own Inclination, whereby the Advice of that holy Man, might have been at all foreſtalled. Mr. *Dod* upon the whole, ſaid thus unto him: *I am old* Peter, *and therefore muſt ſtand ſtill, and bear the Brunt; but you being young* Peter, *may go whether you will, and ought, being perſecuted in one City, to flee unto another.* And when the *Boſton* Friends urged, *That they would ſupport and protect Mr.* Cotton, *tho' privately; and that if he ſhould leave them, very many of them would be expoſed unto extreme Temptation:* He readily anſwered,

anſwered, *That the removing of a Miniſter, was like the draining of a Fiſh-pond; the good Fiſh will follow the Water, but Eels, and other Baggage Fiſh, will ſtick in the Mud.* Which things when Mr. *Cotton* heard, he was not a little confirmed in his Inclination to leave the Land. Nor did he forget the Conceſſion of *Cyprian*, That a ſeaſonable Flight, is in effect, *a Confeſſion of our Faith*: For it is a *Profeſſion* that our *Faith* is dearer unto us, than all the *Enjoyments* from which we *fly*. But that which is further memorable in this matter, is, That as the Great God often makes his *Truth* to ſpread by the Sufferings of them that profeſs the *Truth*; Four hundred were converted by the Death of one perſecuted *Cecilia*: And the *Scotch* Biſhop would leave off burning of the Faithful, becauſe the Smoke of *Hamilton* infected as many as it blew upon. Thus the Silencing and Removing of Mr. *Cotton*, which was to him, a thing little ſhort of Martyrdom, was an occaſion of more thorough *Repentance* in ſundry of his bereived People, who now began to conſider, that God by taking away their Miniſter, was puniſhing their former *Unfruitfulneſs* under the moſt fruitful Miniſtry, which they had thus long enjoyed. And there was yet another ſuch effect of the matter, which is now to be related.

§ 18. To avoid them that thirſted for his Ruine, Mr. *Cotton* travelled under a chang'd *Name* and *Garb*, with a full purpoſe of going over for *Holland*; but when he came near the place, where he would have ſhipped himſelf, he met with a Kinſman, who vehemently and effectually perſwaded him to divert into *London*. Here the Lord had a *Work* for him to do, which he little thought of. Some Reverend and Renowned Miniſters of our Lord in that Great City, who yet had not ſeen ſufficient Reaſon to expoſe themſelves unto *Perſecutions* for the ſake of *Non-Conformity*, but look'd upon the impoſed *Ceremonies* as indifferent and ſufferable Trifles, and weigh'd not the Aſpect of the *Second Commandment*, upon all the *Parts* and *Means* of *Inſtituted Worſhip*, took this Opportunity for a *Conference* with Mr. *Cotton*; being perſwaded, That ſince he was *no Paſſionate, but a very Judicious Man*, they ſhould prevail with him rather to *conform*, than to leave his *Work* and his *Land*. Unto the Motion of a *Conference* Mr. *Cotton* moſt readily yielded: And firſt, all *their* Arguments for *Conformity*, together with Mr. *Byfield*'s, Mr. *Whately*'s, and Mr. *Sprint*'s, were produced; all of which Mr. *Cotton* anſwered, unto their wonderful Satisfaction. *Then* he gave his Arguments for his *Non-Conformity*, and the Reaſons why he muſt rather forgo his *Miniſtry*, or at leaſt his *Country*, than wound his *Conſcience* with unlawful Compliances: The Iſſue whereof was, that inſtead of bringing Mr. *Cotton* back to what he had now forſaken, he brought them off altogether from what they had hitherto practiſed: Every one of thoſe eminent Perſons, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Davenport*, now became all that he was, and at laſt left the Kingdom for their being ſo. But Mr. *Cotton* being now at *London*, there were three places which offered themſelves to him for his Retreat; *Holland*, *Barbadoes*, and *New-England*. As for *Holland*, the Character and Condition, which famous Mr. *Hooker* had reported thereof, took off his Intentions of removing thither. And *Barbadoes* had not near ſuch encouraging Circumſtances, upon the beſt Accounts, as *New England*; where our Lord Jeſus Chriſt had a more than ordinary thing to be done for his Glory, in an *American* Wilderneſs, and ſo would ſend over a more than ordinary Man, to be employed in the doing of it. *Thither*, even to that Religious and Reformed Plantation, after the ſolemneſt Applications to Heaven for Direction, this great Perſon bent his Reſolutions: And Letters procured from the Church of *Boſton*, by Mr. *Winthrop*, the Governour of the Colony, had their Influence on the matter.

§ 19. The God that had carried him through the *Fire of Perſecution*, was now graciouſly with him in his Paſſage through the *Water* of the *Atlantic* Ocean, and he enjoyed a comfortable Voyage over the *great and wide Sea*. There were then three eminent Miniſters of God in the Ship; namely, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, and Mr. *Stone*; which glorious *Triumvirate* coming together, made the poor People in the Wilderneſs, at their coming, to ſay, That the God of Heaven had ſupplied them, with what would in ſome ſort anſwer their three great Neceſſities; *Cotton* for their *Cloathing*, *Hooker* for their *Fiſhing*, and *Stone* for their *Building*: But by one or other of theſe *three Divines* in the Ship, there was a Sermon preached every Day, all the while they were aboard, yea they had three Sermons, or Expoſitions, for the moſt part every Day: Of Mr. *Cotton* in the Morning, Mr. *Hooker* in the Afternoon, Mr. *Stone* after Supper in the Evening. And after they had been a Month upon the Seas, Mr. *Cotton* received a Mercy, which God had now for Twenty Years denied unto him, in the Birth of his Eldeſt Son, whom he called *Sea-born*, in the Remembrance of the never-to-be-forgotten Bleſſings, which he thus enjoyed upon the Seas. But at the end of *Seven Weeks* they arrived at *New-England*, *September* 3. in the Year 1633. Where he put a-ſhore at *New-Boſton*, which in a few Years, by the Smile of God; eſpecially upon the Holy Wiſdom, Conduct, and Credit of our Mr. *Cotton*, upon ſome Accounts of Growth, came to exceed *Old Boſton* in every thing that renders a Town conſiderable. And it is remarkable, that his Arrival at *New-England*, was juſt after the People there, had been by ſolemn Faſting and *Prayer* ſeeking unto God, that inaſmuch as they had been engaging to walk with him in his Ordinances, according to his Word, he would mercifully ſend over to them, ſuch as might be *Eyes unto them in the Wilderneſs*, and ſtrengthen them in diſcerning and following of that Word.

§ 20. There were divers Churches gathered in the Country, before the Arrival of Mr. *Cotton*; but upon his Arrival, the Points of *Church-*

Order

Order, were with more of Exactneſs revived, and received in them, and *further* obſerved in ſuch as were gathered after them. He found the whole Country in a perplexed and a divided Eſtate, as to their *Civil Conſtitution*, but at the Publick Deſires, preaching a Sermon on thoſe words, *Hag.* 2.4. *Be ſtrong, O Zerubbabel, ſaith the Lord; and be ſtrong, O Joſhua, Son of Joſedech the High-Prieſt; and be ſtrong all ye People of the Land, ſaith the Lord, and work: For I am with you, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* The good *Spirit* of God, by that Sermon, had a mighty Influence upon all Ranks of Men, in the *Infant-Plantation*; who from this time carried on their Affairs, with a new Life, Satisfaction, and Unanimity. It was then requeſted of Mr. *Cotton*, That he would, from the Laws wherewith God governed his ancient People, form an *Abſtract* of ſuch as were of a Moral and a Laſting *Equity*: Which he performed as acceptably as judiciouſly. But inaſmuch as very much of an *Athenian Democracy*, was in the Mould of the *Government*, by the *Royal Charter*, which was then acted upon, Mr. *Cotton* effectually recommended it unto them, that none ſhould be *Electors*, nor *Elected* therein, except ſuch as were *viſible Subjects* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, perſonally *confederated* in our Churches. In theſe, and many other ways, he propounded unto them, an Endeavour after a *Theocracy*, as near as might be, to that which was the Glory of *Iſrael*, the *peculiar People*.

But the *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution* of the Country, was that on which he employ'd his peculiar Cares; and he was one of thoſe *Olive-Trees*, which afforded a ſingular Meaſure of *Oyl*, for the Illumination of our *Sanctuary*.

§ 21. *The Churches now had Reſt, and were edified: And there were daily added unto the Churches, thoſe that were to be ſaved.* Now, tho' the poor People were fed with *the Bread of Adverſity, and the Waters of Affliction*, yet they counted themſelves abundantly compenſated by this, that *their Eyes might ſee ſuch Teachers*, as were now to be ſeen among them. The *Faith* and the *Order* in the Churches, was generally glorious, whatever little *popular Confuſions*, might in ſome few places eclipſe the *Glory*. But the warm *Sun ſhine* will produce a Swarm of *Inſects*; whilſt Matters were going on thus proſperouſly, the Cunning and Malice of Satan, to break the *Proſperity* of the Churches, brought in a Generation of *Hypocrites*, who *crept in unawares, turning the Grace of our God into Laſciviouſneſs*. A Company of *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical Sectaries*, were ſtrangely crouded in among our more Orthodox Planters; by the Artifices of which buſie *Opinioniſts*, there was a dangerous Blow given, firſt unto the *Faith*, and ſo unto the *Peace* of the Churches. In the Storm thus raiſed, it is incredible what Obloquy came to be caſt upon Mr. *Cotton*, as if he had been the *Patron* of theſe *Deſtroyers*; merely becauſe they willing to have a *great Perſon in admiration, becauſe of advantage*, falſly uſed the Name of this *great Perſon*, by the Credit thereof to diſſeminate and diſſemble their *Errors*; and becauſe the chief of them in their private Conferences with him, would make ſuch fallacious *Profeſſion of Goſpel-Truths*, that his Chriſtian and abuſed *Charity*, would not permit him to be ſo haſty as many others were, in *Cenſuring* of them. However, the Report given of Mr. *Cotton* on this occaſion, by one *Baily*, a *Scotchman*, in a moſt ſcandalous Pamphlet, called, *A Diſſwaſive*, written to caſt an *Odium* on the Churches of *New England*, by vilifying *him*, that was one of their moſt eminent Servants, are moſt horrid Injuries: For there being upon the Encouragement of the Succeſs which the old *Nicene*, *Conſtantinopolitan*, *Epheſine*, and *Chalcedonian* Councils had, in the extinguiſhing of ſeveral ſucceſſive Hereſies, a *Council* now called at *Cambridge*, Mr. *Cotton*, after ſome Debates with the Reverend Aſſembly, upon ſome controverted Points of *Juſtification*, moſt vigorouſly joined with the other Miniſters of the Country, in teſtifying againſt the *hateful Doctrines*, whereby the Churches had been troubled. Indeed there did happen *Paroxiſms* in this *Hour of Temptation*, between Mr. *Cotton*, and ſome other zealous and worthy Perſons, which tho' they did not amount unto the *heat* and *heighth* of thoſe that happened between *Chryſoſtom* and *Epiphanius*, or between *Hierom* and *Ruffinus*, yet they inclined him to meditate a *Removal* into another *Colony*. But a certain ſcandalous Writer, having publickly reproached Mr. *Cotton*, with his former Inclination to *Remove*, there was thereby provoked his publick and patient Anſwer; which being a ſummery Narrative of this whole Buſineſs, I ſhall here tranſcribe it.

'There was a Generation of *Familiſts* in our 'own, and other Towns, who under pretence 'of holding forth what I had taught, touching 'Union with Chriſt, and *evidencing* that Union, 'did ſecretly vent ſundry and dangerous Errors and Hereſies, denying all *inherent Righteouſneſs*, and all evidencing of a *good Eſtate* 'thereby in any ſort, and ſome of them alſo 'denying *the Immortality of the Soul*, and *the Reſurrection of the Body*. When they were 'queſtioned by ſome Brethren about thoſe 'things, they carried it, as if they had held 'forth nothing, but what they had received 'from me: Whereof, when I was adviſed to 'clear my ſelf, I publickly preached againſt 'thoſe Errors. Then ſaid the Brethren to the 'Erring Party, *See your Teacher declares himſelf clearly to differ from you. No matter* (ſay 'the other) *what he ſaith in publick, we underſtand him otherwiſe, and we know what he ſaith to us in private*. Yea, and I my ſelf could 'not eaſily believe, that thoſe Erring Brethren 'and Siſters, were ſo corrupt in their Judgments 'as they were reported; they ſeeming to me 'forward Chriſtians, and utterly denying any 'ſuch Tenents, or any thing elſe, but what they 'received from my ſelf. All which bred in ſundry of the Country, a Jealouſie that I was in 'ſecret *a Fomentor of the Spirit of Familiſm*, if 'not *leavened* my ſelf that way. Which I 'diſcern-

'diſcerning, it wrought in *me* Thoughts (as it did in many other ſincerely and Godly Brethren of our Church) not of a *Separation* from the Churches, but of a *Removal* to *Newhaven*, as being better known to the Paſtor, and ſome others *there*, than to ſuch as were at that time jealous of me *here*. The true Ground whereof was an *Inward Loathneſs to be Troubleſome unto Godly Minds*, and a Fear of the Unprofitableneſs of my *Miniſtry* there, where my *way* was ſuſpected to be Doubtful and Dangerous. I choſe therefore rather to meditate a *Silent Departure* in Peace, than by tarrying here, to make way for the breaking forth of *Temptations*. But when, at the *Synod*, I had diſcovered the Corruption of the Judgment of the *Erring Brethren*, and ſaw their Fraudulent Pretence of holding forth no other, but what they received from *me* (when as indeed they plead for Groſs Errors contrary unto *my* Judgment) I thereupon did bear Witneſs againſt them; and when in a private Conference with ſome Chief *Magiſtrates* and *Elders*, I perceived, that my Removal upon ſuch Differences was unwelcome to them, and that ſuch Points need not to occaſion any *Diſtance* (neither in *Place* nor in *Heart*) amongſt Brethren, I then reſted ſatisfied in my abode amongſt them, and ſo have continued, by the Grace of Chriſt unto this Day.

'Tis true, ſuch was Mr. *Cotton*'s Holy *Igenuity*, that when he perceived the Advantage, which Erroneous and Heretical Perſons in his Church, had from his abuſed Charity, taken to ſpread their Dangerous Opinions, before he was *aware* of them, he did publickly ſometimes with *Tears* bewail it, *That the Enemy had ſown ſo many Tares whilſt he had been aſleep*. Nevertheleſs 'tis as true, that nothing ever could be *Baſer* than the Diſingenuity of thoſe *Pamphletteers*, who took Advantage *hence*, to catch theſe *Tears* in their Venemous *Ink-horns*, and employ them for ſo many *Blots* upon the Memory of a *Righteous Man, worthy to be had in Everlaſting Remembrance*.

§ 22. When the Virulent and Violent *Edwards* had been after a moſt Unchriſtian manner, beſpattering the Excellent *Burroughs*, That Reviled Saint, in his Anſwer, had that Paſſage; *The Extreme Eagerneſs of ſome to aſperſe our Names, makes us to think, that God hath made more uſe of our Names, than we were aware of,* ——*We ſee by their Anger even almoſt to Madneſs, bent that way, that they had little Hope, to prevail with all their Argument againſt the Cauſe we profeſs, till they could get down our Eſteem (ſuch as it was) in the Hearts of the People* —— *But our Names are not in the Power of their Tongues and Pens; they are in the Hands of God, who will preſerve them ſo far, as he hath uſe of them; and further, we ſhall have no uſe of them our ſelves.* That Bitter Spirit in *Baily*, muſt for ſuch Cauſes expoſe Name of the Incomparable *Cotton*, unto Irreparable Injuries: For, from the meer *Hearſays* of that *Uncharitable* Writer, haſtily Publiſhed unto the World, the Learned and Worthy Dr. *Hoornbeck*, not much leſs againſt the Rules of *Charity*, Printed a Short Account of Mr. *Cotton*, whereof an Ingenious Author truly ſays, There was in it, *Quot fere Verba, tot Errores famoſiſſimi; neque tantum quot Capita, tot Carpenda, ſed quot fere Sententiarum punctula, tot Diſpungenda.* That Scandalous Account, it is pity it ſhould be Read in *Engliſh*, and greater pity that ever that Reverend Perſon ſhould make it be Read in *Latin*; but this it was; Cottonus, *horrore Ordinis Epiſcopalis, in Aliud Extremum prolapſus, Omnia plebi abſque Vinculo Eccleſiarum concedebat.* —— Cottonus *iſte, primum in Anglia, alterius Longe Sententiæ fuerat, unde, & plurimorum Errorum Hereſiumque Reus, Maximus Ordinis iſtius, vel potius* ATAXIAS, *promotor extitit; habuitque ſecum, quemadmodum* Montanus *olim* Maximillam, *Suam* Hutchinſonam, *de quavari & prodigioſa multa referunt.* From theſe miſerable *Hiſtorians*, who would Imagine what a *Slur* has been abroad caſt upon the Name of as Holy, as Learned as Orthodox, and Eminent a Servant of our Lord, in his *Reformed Churches*, as was known in his Age! Among the reſt, it is particularly obſervable how a Laborious and Ingenious Foreigner, in his *Bibliotheca Anglorum Theologica*, having in his *Index* mentioned a *Book* of this our Mr. *Cotton*'s, under the Style of *Johannis Cottoni*, Via Vitæ, *Liber Utiliſſimus*, preſently adds, *Alius Johannes Cottonus malæ Notæ Homo:* Whereas 'twas only by the Miſrepreſentations of contentious and unadviſed Men, that *John Cotton*, the Experimental Author of ſuch an uſeful *Book*, muſt be branded with a *Note* of Infamy. But if the Reader will deal juſtly, he muſt join theſe Groſs Calumnies upon *Cotton*, with the Fables of *Luthers* Devil, *Zuinglius*'s Dreams, *Calvin*'s Brands, and *Junius*'s Cloven Foot. If *Hoornbeck* ever ſaw *Cotton*'s mild, but full Reply to *Baily*, which as the Good Spirited *Beverly* ſays, would have been eſteemed a ſufficient Refutation of all theſe wretched Slanders, *Niſi Fratrum quorundam aures erunt ad veritatem, tanquam Aſpidum, obturatæ*, 'tis impoſſible to excuſe his wrongful Dealings with a *Venerable* Miniſter of our Lord! Pray, Sir, charge not our *Cotton* with an *Horror Ordinis Epiſcopalis*; until you have chaſtiſed your Friend *Honorius Reggius*, that is *Georgius Hornius*, for telling us, as *Voetius* quotes it; *Multorum Animos Subiit Recordatio illius, quod Venerabilis* Beza, *non ſine Prophetiæ Spiritu, olim reſcripſit* Knoxo, *Eccleſiæ Scoticæ Reformatori: Sicut Epiſcopi Papatum pepererunt, ita Oculis pæne ipſis jam cernitur, Pſuedo Epiſcopos, papatus Reliquias, Epicureiſmum Terris Invecturos. Atque hæc præmittere Viſum, ut eo manifeſtius eſſet Britanniam diutius Epiſcopos non potuiſſe ferre, niſi in Papiſmum & Atheiſmum Labi vellet.* Charge not our *Cotton* with an *Omnia Plebi abſque Vinculo Aliarum Eccleſiarum concedebat*; until, beſides the whole Scope and Scheme of his Eccleſiaſtical Writings, which allow no more ſtill unto the *Fraternity*, than

Parker.

Parker, *Ames*, *Cartwright*; and advance no other than that *Ariſtocraſie*, that *Beza*, *Zanchy*, *Whitaker*, *Bucer*, and *Blondel* pleaded for; you have better conſtrued his Words in his Golden Preface to *Norton*'s Anſwer unto the *Sylloge Quæſtionum*, *Neque nos Regimen proprie dictum alibi quam penes Presbyteres ſtabiliendum Cupimus: Convenimus ambo in Subjecto Regiminis Eccleſiaſtici: Convenimus etiam in Regula Regiminis, ut Adminiſtrentur Omnia Juxta Canonem Sacrarum Scriptarum: Convenimus etiam in Fine Regiminis, ut Omnia Tranſigantur ad Edificationem Eccleſiæ, non ad Pompam aut Luxum Secularem: Synodos nos, una Vobiſcum, cum opus fuerit, & Suſcipimus & veneramur. Quantillum eſt, quod Reſtat, quod Diſtat! Actus Regiminis, quos vos a Synodis peragi Velletis, eos a Synodis porrigi Eccleſiis, & ab Eccleſiis, ex Synodali* DIORTHOSEI *peragi peteremus.* Charge not our *Cotton* with an ATAXIAS *Promotor Extitit*, until you, your ſelf, *Doctor*, have revoked your own *two* Conceſſions, which are all the *Ataxies* that ever could, with ſo much as the leaſt Pretence, be imputed unto this Renowned Perſon; *Eccleſia particularis quælibet Subjectum eſt Adæquatum & proprium plenæ poteſtatis Eccleſiaſticæ; nec Congrue dicitur ejus Synodo Dependentia*, And, *Neque enim Synodi in alias Eccleſias poteſtatem habent Imperantem, quæ Superiorum eſt, in Inferiores ſibi Subditos; Non-Communionis Sententia Poteſtatem Summam denotat.* As for the *Cottonus Plurimorum Errorum Hæreſiumque Reus*, were Old *Auſtin* alive, he would have charged no leſs a Crime than that of *Sacriledge* upon the Man, that thus without all Colour, ſhould *Rob* the Church of a *Name* which would juſtly be Dear unto it; for as the Great *Caryl* hath expreſſed it, *The Name of* Cotton *is as an Ointment poured forth.* But for the Top of all theſe Calumnies, *Cottoni Hutchinſona*, inſtead of a Reſemblance to *Montani Maximilla*, the truer Compariſon would have been, *Mulier iſta, quæ per Calumniam notiſſimam Objiciebatur Athanaſio*; All the Favour which that Propheteſs of *Thyatira* had from this *Angelical Man*, was the ſame, that the provoked *Paul* ſhow'd unto the *Pythoniſs*. In fine, The Hiſtories which the World has had of the *New-Engliſh* Churches, under the Influence of Mr. *Cotton*, I have ſometimes thought much of a piece, with what we have in the Old Hiſtories of *Lyſimachus*; That when a *Leprous*, a *Scabby* ſort of a People were driven out of *Egypt* into the Wilderneſs, there was a certain Man call'd *Moſes*, who counſelled them to march on in a Body, till they came to ſome Good Soyl. This *Moſes* commanded them to be kind unto no Man; To give *Bad* Advice rather than *Good*, upon all Occaſions; and to deſtroy as many *Temples* as they could find; So, after much Travel and Trouble, they came to a *Fruitful Soyl*, where they did all the Miſchief that *Moſes* had recommended and built a City, which was at firſt called *Hieroſyla*, from the ſpoiling of the *Temples*: But afterwards, to ſhun the Diſgrace of the Occaſion, they changed it into *Hieroſolyme*, and bore the Name of *Hieroſolymitans*. But thus muſt a *Bad Report*, as well as a *Good Report*, follow ſuch a Man as Mr. *Cotton*, whoſe only Fault after all, was that, with which that memorable Ancient *Nazienzen* was taxed ſometimes; namely, the Fault of *Manſuetude*.

§ 23. Theſe *Clouds* being thus happily blown over, the reſt of his Days were ſpent in a more ſettled *Peace*; and Mr. *Cotton*'s growing and ſpreading Fame, like *Joſeph*'s Bough, *Ran over the Wall* of the *Anlantic* Ocean, unto ſuch a Degree, that in the Year 1641. Some Great Perſons in *England*, were intending to have ſent over a Ship on purpoſe to fetch him over, for the ſake of the Service, that ſuch a Man as *He*, might then do to the Church of God, then *Travelling* in the Nation. But although their Doubt of his *Willingneſs to Remove*, cauſed them to forbear that *Method* of obtaining him, yet the Principal Members in both Houſes of *Parliament* wrote unto him, with an Importunity for his Return into *England*; which had prevailed with him, if the Diſmal Showres of *Blood*, quickly after breaking upon the Nation, had not made ſuch Afflictive Impreſſions upon him, as to prevent his purpoſe. He continued therefore in *Boſton* unto his Dying Day; counting it a great Favour of Heaven unto him, that he was delivered from *the Unſettledneſs of Habitation*, which was not among the leaſt of the Calamities that Exerciſed the Apoſtles of our Lord. *Nineteen Years* and odd Months he ſpent in this Place, doing of *Good* publickly and privately, unto all ſorts of Men, as it became *a Good Man full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghoſt*. Here in an Expoſitory way, he went over the *Old Teſtament* once, and a Second Time as far as the Thirtieth Chapter of *Iſaiah*; and the whole *New Teſtament* once, and a Second time, as far as the Eleventh Chapter to the *Hebrews*. Upon *Lord's-Days* and *Lecture-Days*, he Preached thorow the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; the Propheſies of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*; the Books of *Ezra*, the *Revelation*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Canticles*, Second and Third Epiſtles of *John*, the Epiſtle to *Titus*, both Epiſtles to *Timothy*; the Epiſtle to the *Romans*; with innumerable other Scriptures on Incidental Occaſions. Though he had alſo the moſt Remarkable Faculty, perhaps of any Man living, to *Meet* every Remarkable Occaſion, with pertinent *Reflections*, whatever *Text* he were upon, without ever wandring out of ſight from his Text: And it is poſſible there might ſometimes be a particular Operation of *Providence*, to make the *Works* and *Words* of God meet in the Miniſtry of his Holy Servant. But thus did he *Abound in the Works of the Lord!*

§ 24. At length, upon Deſire, going to preach a Sermon at *Cambridge*, (which he did, on Iſa. 54. 13. *Thy Children ſhall be all taught of the Lord*; and from thence gave many Excellent Councils unto the Students of the Colledge there) he took Wet in his Paſſage over the Ferry; but he preſently felt the Effect of it, by the

the failing of his *Voice* in Sermon-time; which ever until *now*, had been a clear, neat, audible Voice, and eaſily heard in the moſt Capacious Auditory. Being *found ſo doing*, as it had often been his declared Wiſh, *That he might not out live his Work!* (ſaying upon higher Principles than once *Curius Dentatus* did, *Malle eſſe ſe Mortuum, quàm Vivere*; that he had rather *Be Dead*, than *Live Dead:* And with *Seneca*, *Ultimum malorum eſt ex vivorum Numero exire, ante quam moriaris:*) His Illneſs went on to an Inflammation in his *Lungs*; from whence he grew ſomewhat *Aſthmatical*; but there was a Complication of other *Scorbutic Affects*, which put him under many Symptoms of his approaching End. On the Eighteenth of *November*, he took in Courſe for his Text, the Four laſt Verſes of the Second Epiſtle to *Timothy*, giving this Reaſon for his inſiſting on ſo many Verſes at once, *Becauſe elſe* (he ſaid) *I ſhall not Live to make an End of this Epiſtle*; but he chiefly inſiſted on thoſe Words, *Grace be with you all.* Upon the *Lord's Day* following, he preached his laſt Sermon on Joh. 1. 14. About that *Glory of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, from the *Faith* to the *Sight* whereof, he was now haſtening. After this in that *Study*, which had been *Perfumed* with many ſuch *Days* before, he now ſpent a *Day* in Secret *Humiliations* and *Supplications*, before the Lord; ſeeking the Special Aſſiſtances of the Holy Spirit, for the Great Work of Dying, that was now before him. What Glorious *Tranſactions* might one have heard paſſing between the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and an Excellent Servant of his, now coming unto him, if he could have had an *Hearing Place* behind the *Hangings* of the Chamber, in ſuch a Day! But having finiſhed the Duties of the Day, he took his Leave of his Beloved *Study*, ſaying to his Conſort, *I ſhall go into that Room no more!* And he had all along *Preſages* in his Heart, that God would by his Preſent Sickneſs, give him *an Entrance into the Everlaſting Kingdom of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Wherefore, *Setting his Houſe in Order*, he was now ſo far from unwilling to Receive the *Mercy-Stroke* of *Death*, as that he was deſirous to be with him, *With whom to be, is by far the beſt of all.* And athough the chief Ground of his *Readineſs* to be *gone*, was from the unutterably Sweet and Rich *Entertainments*, which he did by *Foretaſt*, as well as by *Promiſe*, know that the Lord had reſerved in the Heavenly Regions for him, yet he ſaid, it contributed unto this *Readineſs* in him, when he conſider'd the *Saints*, whoſe Company and Communion he was going unto; particularly *Perkins*, *Ames*, *Preſton*, *Hilderſham*, *Dod*, and others, which had been peculiarly Dear unto himſelf; beſides the Reſt, in that *General Aſſembly*.

§ 25. While he thus lay ſick, the *Magiſtrates*, the *Miniſters* of the Country, and Chriſtians of all ſorts, reſorted unto him, as unto a *Publick Father*, full of ſad Apprehenſioons, at the withdraw of ſuch a *Publick Bleſſing*; and the *Gracious Words that proceeded out of his Mouth*, while he had Strength to utter the profitable Conceptions of his Mind, cauſed them to reckon theſe their *Viſits* the *Gainfuleſt* that ever they had made. Among others, the *then* Preſident of the *Colledge*, with many Tears, deſired of Mr. *Cotton* before his Departure, to beſtow his Bleſſing on him; ſaying, *I know in my Heart, they whom you Bleſs ſhall be bleſſed.* And not long before his Death, he ſent for the Elders of the Church, whereof *he himſelf was alſo an Elder*; who having, according to the Apoſtolical Direction, pray'd over him, he exhorted them to *Feed the Flock over which they were Overſeers*, and encreaſe their *Watch* againſt thoſe *Declenſions* which he ſaw the *Profeſſors* of Religion falling into: Adding, *I have now through Grace, been more than Forty Years a Servant unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and have ever ſouud him a good Maſter.* When his *Collegue* Mr. *Wilſon*, took his Leave of him with a Wiſh, that God would lift up the *Light of his Countenance* upon him, he inſtantly replied, *God hath done it already, Brother!* He then called for his *Children*, with whom he left the Gracious *Covenant* of God, as their never Failing Portion: And now deſired, that he might be left *Private* the reſt of his Minutes, for the more Freedom of his Applications unto the Lord. So lying *Speechleſs* a few Hours, he breathed his Bleſſed Soul into the Hands of his Heavenly Lord; on the Twenty third of *December 1652.* entring on the Sixty Eighth Year of his own Age: And on the Day, yea at the *Hour*, of his conſtant Weekly Labours in the *Lecture*, wherein he had been ſo long ſerviceable, even to all the Churches of *New-England*. Upon *Tueſday* the Twenty Eighth of *December*, he was moſt Honourably Interred, with a moſt numerous Concourſe of People, and the moſt Grievous and Solemn *Funeral* that was ever known perhaps upon the *American* Strand; and the Lectures in his Church, the whole Winter following, performed by the Neighbouring Miniſters, were but ſo many *Funeral Sermons* upon the Death and Worth of this *Extraordinary Perſon:* Among which, the Firſt, I think, was preached by Mr. *Richard Mather*, who gave unto the bereaved Church of *Boſton* this great Character of their Incomparable *Cotton*, *Let us pray, that God would raiſe up ſome* Eleazar *to ſucceed this* Aaron: *But you can hardly expect, that ſo large a Portion of the Spirit of God ſhould dwell in any one, as dwelt in this Bleſſed Man!* And generally in the other Churches through the Country, the Expiration of this *General Bleſſing* to them all, did produce *Funeral Sermons* full of Honour and Sorrow; even as many Miles above an Hundred, as *New-haven* was diſtant from the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, when the Tidings of Mr. *Cotton*'s Deceaſe arrived there, Mr. *Davenport* with many Tears bewailed it, in a Publick Diſcourſe on that in 2 Sam. 1. 26. *I am diſtreſſed for thee, my Brother* Jonathan, *very pleaſant haſt thou been unto me.* Yea, they *ſpeak of* Mr. *Cotton in their Lamentations to this Day!*

§ 26.

It is a memorable Saying of *Algazel*, *In quo Lumen Religionis & Devotionis, Fumus generatus ex Lumine Scientiæ non extinguit, ille perfectus eſt: Sed quis eſt hic, ut adoremus eum?* Reader, I will ſhow thee ſuch a Man; One in whom the *Light* of *Learning* accompanied the *Fire* of *Goodneſs*, met in an High Degree: But thou ſhalt *Adore* none but the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who made him ſuch a Man.

§ 26. How vaſt a Treaſure of *Learning* was laid in the *Grave*, which was opened on this Occaſion, can ſcarce *Credibly* and *Sufficiently* be related. Mr. *Cotton* was, indeed, a moſt *Univerſal Scholar*, and a *Living Syſtem* of the Liberal Arts, and a *Walking Library*. It would be endleſs to recite *all* his particular Accompliſhments, but only Three Articles of Obſervation ſhall be offered. Firſt, For his *Grammar*, he had a very ſingular Skill in thoſe Three Languages, the Knowledge whereof was the Inſcription on the *Croſs* of our Saviour, propoſed unto the *Perpetual Uſe* of his Church. The *Hebrew* he underſtood ſo exactly, and ſo readily, that he was able to *Diſcourſe* in it. In the *Greek* he was a Critick, ſo Accurate and ſo well Verſed, that he need not, like *Auſtin*, to have ſtudied it in his Reduced Age. Thus, if many of the *Ancients* committed groſs Miſtakes in their *Interpretations* of the Scriptures, through their want of Skill in the Originals, Mr. *Cotton* was better qualified for an *Interpreter*. He both wrote and ſpoke *Latin* alſo with great Facility; and with a moſt *Ciceronian* Elegancy, Exemplified in one Publiſhed Compoſure. Next, for his *Logic*, he was compleatly furniſhed therewith to encounter the ſubtileſt Adverſary of the Truth. But although he had been Educated in the *Peripatetick* way, yet like the other *Puritans* of thoſe times, he rather affected the *Ramæan* Diſcipline; and choſe to follow the Methods of that Excellent *Ramus*, who like *Juſtin* of old, was not only a *Philoſopher*, but a *Chriſtian*, and a *Martyr* alſo; rather than the more Empty, Trifling, Altercative Notions, to which the Works of the Pagan *Ariſtotle* derived unto us, through the Mangling Hands of the Apoſtate *Porphyrie*, have diſpoſed his Diſciples. Laſtly, for his *Theologie*, There 'twas that he had his Greateſt *Extraordinarineſs*, and moſt of all, his *Textual Divinity*. His Abilities to Epound the *Scriptures*, cauſed him to be Admired by the Ableſt of his *Hearers*. Although his Incomparable *Modeſty* would not permit him to ſpeak any more than the *Leaſt* of *Himſelf*, yet unto a private Friend he hath ſaid, *That he knew not of any Difficult Place in all the whole Bible, which he had not weighed, ſomewhat unto Satisfaction.* And hence, though he ordinarily beſtowed much pains upon his *Publick Sermons*, yet he hath ſometimes Preached moſt Admirably, without any Warning at all; and a *New Note* upon a Text before him, occurring to his mind, but juſt as he was going into the Aſſembly, has taken up his Diſcourſe for that Hour, ſo Pertinently and Judiciouſly, that the moſt Critical of his Auditors, imagined nothing *Extemporaneous*. Indeed his *Library* was vaſt, and vaſt was his *Acquaintance* with it; but although amongſt his Readings, he had given a Special Room unto the *Fathers*, and unto the *School-men*, yet at laſt, he preferr'd one *Calvin* above them all. If *Eraſmus*, when offered a Biſhoprick to write againſt *Luther*, could anſwer, *There was more Divinity in a Page of* Luther, *than in all* Thomas Aquinas; 'Tis no wonder that *Salmaſius* could ſo Venerate *Calvin*, as to ſay, *That he had rather be the Author of that One Book, The Inſtitutions written by* Calvin, *than have written all that was ever done by* Grotius. Even ſuch a *Calviniſt* was our *Cotton!* Said he, *I have read the Fathers and the School-men, and* Calvin *too; but I find, That he that has* Calvin *has 'em all.* And being asked, why in his Latter Days he indulged *Nocturnal Studies* more than formerly, he pleaſantly replied, *Becauſe I love to ſweeten my mouth with a piece of* Calvin *before I go to ſleep.*

§ 27. Indeed in his *Common Preaching*, he did as *Baſil* reports of *Ephrem Syrus*, *Plurimum diſtare a Mundana Sapientia*; and though he were a Great Scholar, yet he did Conſcientiouſly forbear making to the *Common People* any Oſtentation of it. He had the *Art* of *concealing his Art*; and thought with *Sohnius*, *Non minus eſt Virtus Populariter quam Argute Loqui*, and Mr. *Dod*, *That Latin for the moſt part was Fleſh in a Sermon.* Accordingly, when he was Handling the *Deepeſt Subjects*, a Speech of that Import was frequent with him, *I deſire to ſpeak ſo, as to be underſtood by the meaneſt Capacity!* And he would ſometimes give the ſame Reaſon for it, which the Great *Auſtin* gave, *If I Preach more Scholaſtically, then only the Learned, and not the Unlearned, can ſo underſtand as to profit by me; but if I Preach plainly, then both Learned and Unlearned will underſtand me, and ſo I ſhall profit all.* When a *Golden Key* of Oratory would not ſo well open a *Myſtery* of Chriſtianity, he made no ſtick to take an *Iron One*, that ſhould be leſs Rhetorical. You ſhould hear few *Terms of Art*, few *Latinities*, no *Exotic* or *Obſelete* Phraſes, obſcuring of the *Truths*, which he was to bring unto the People of God. Neverthel eſs his more Judicious and Obſerving Hearers, could by his moſt *Untrim'd Sermons* perceive that he was a man of more than Ordinary Abilities. Hence when a *Dutchman* of Great Learning, heard Mr. *Cotton* Preach at *Boſton*, in *England*, he profeſſed, *That he never in his Life ſaw ſuch a Conjunction of Learning and Plainneſs, as there was in the Preaching of this worthy Man.* The *Glory* of God, and not his own *Glory*, was that at which he aimed in his Labours; for which cauſe, at the end of his Notes, he ſtill inſerted that Clauſe, *Tibi Domine:* Or, *For thy Glory, O God!* For his *Delivery*, though it were not like *Farels*, Noiſy and Thundring, yet it had in it a very awful *Majeſty*, ſet off with a Natural and Becoming Motion of his *Right Hand*; and the Lord was in the *Still Voice* at ſuch a Rate, that Mr. *Wilſon* would ſay, Mr. *Cotton Preaches with ſuch*

Authority, Demonſtration, and Life, that methinks, when he preaches out of any Prophet, or Apoſtle, I hear not him ; I hear that very Prophet and Apoſtle ; yea, I hear the Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf ſpeaking in my Heart. And the Succeſs which God gave to theſe *plain Labours* of his faithful, humble, diligent Servant, was beyond what moſt Miniſters in the Country ever did experience : There have been few that have ſeen ſo many and mighty Effects, given to the *Travels of their Souls.*

§ 28. He was even from his Youth to his Age, an indefatigable Student, under the Conſcience of the Apoſtolical Precept, *Be not ſlothful in Buſineſs, but fervent in Spirit ſerving the Lord.* He was careful to redeem his Hours, as well as his Days ; and might lay claim to that Character of the bleſſed Martyr, *Sparing of Sleep, more ſparing of Words, but moſt ſparing of Time.* If any came to Viſit him, he would be very Civil to 'em, having learn'd it as his Duty, *To uſe all Gentleneſs towards all Men :* And yet he would often ſay with ſome regret, after the departure of a Viſitant, *I had rather have given this Man an handful of Money, than have been kept thus long out of my Study :* Reckoning with *Pliny*, the Time not ſpent in *Study*, for the moſt part, *ſweel'd away.* For which cauſe he went not much abroad ; but he judged ordinarily that more Benefit was obtain'd, according to the Advice of the Wiſe King, by converſing with the *Dead* [in *Books*], than with the *Living* [in *Talks :*] And that *needleſs Viſits* do commonly unframe our *Spirits*, and perhaps diſturb our *Comforts.* He was an *early Riſer*, taking the Morning for the Muſes ; and in his latter Days forbearing a Supper, he turn'd his former Supping-time, into a Reading, a Thinking, a Praying-time. Twelve Hours in a Day he commonly ſtudied, and would call that *a Scholar's Day* ; reſolving rather to wear out with Uſing, than with Ruſting. In truth, had he not been of an healthy and hearty Conſtitution, and had he not made a careful, tho' not curious *Diet* ſerve him, inſtead of an *Hippocrates*, his continued *Labour* muſt have made his *Life*, as well as his *Labour*, to have been but of a ſhort continuance. And, indeed, the Work which lay upon him, could not have been performed, without a *Labour* more than ordinary. For beſides his conſtant Preaching, more than once every Week, many Caſes were brought unto him far and near, in reſolving whereof, as he took much time, ſo he did much good, being a moſt excellent *Caſuiſt.* He was likewiſe very deeply concerned in peaceable and effectual Diſquiſitions of the Controverſies about *Church-Government*, then agitated in the Church of God. And tho' he chiefly gave himſelf to Reading, and Doctrine, and Exhortation, depending much on the Ruling Elders to inform him, concerning the State of his particular Flock, that he might the better order himſelf in *the Word and Prayer*, yet he found his *Church-Work*, in this regard alſo, to call for no little Painfulneſs, Watchfulneſs, and Faithfulneſs.

§ 29. He was one ſo *clothed with Humility*, that according to the Emphaſis of the Apoſtolical Direction, by this *Livery* his Relation as a *Diſciple* to the *lowly Jeſus*, was notably diſcovered ; and hence he was *patient* and *peaceable*, even to a Proverb. He had a more than common Excellency in that *cool Spirit*, which the Oracles of Wiſdom deſcribe, as *the excellent Spirit in the Man of Underſtanding* ; and therefore Mr. *Norton* would parallel him, with *Moſes* among the *Patriarchs*, with *Melancthon* among the *Reformers.* He was rather exceſſive than defective in *Self-denial*, and had the *Nimia Humilitas*, which *Luther* ſometimes blamed in *Staupicius :* Yea, he was at laſt himſelf ſenſible, that ſome fell very deep into the Sin of *Corah*, through his extreme *Forbearance*, in matters relating to his own *juſt Rights* in the Church of God. He has, to a Judicious Friend, thus expreſſed himſelf, *Angry Men have an advantage above me ; the People dare not ſet themſelves againſt ſuch Men, becauſe they know it wont be born ; but ſome care not what they ſay or do about me, becauſe they know I wont be angry with them again.* One would have thought the Ingenuity of ſuch a Spirit ſhould have broke the *Hearts of Men*, that had indeed the *Hearts of Men* in them ; yea, that the hardeſt *Flints* would have been broken, as is uſual, upon ſuch a ſoft Bag of *Cotton !* But alas ! he found it otherwiſe, even among *ſome* who pretended unto *high Attainments* in Chriſtianity. Once particularly, an humorous and imperious Brother, following Mr. *Cotton* home to his Houſe, after his Publick Labours, inſtead of the grateful Reſpects with which thoſe Holy Labours were to have been encouraged, rudely told him, That his Miniſtry was become generally, either dark, or flat: Whereto this meek Man, very mildly and gravely, made only this Anſwer : *Both, Brother, it may be, both : Let me have your Prayers that it may be otherwiſe.* But it is remarkable, that the Man ſick thus of wanton Singularities, afterwards died of thoſe damnable Hereſies, for which he was deſervedly Excommunicated. Another time, when Mr. *Cotton* had modeſtly replied unto one that would much Talk and Crack of his Inſight into the *Revelations : Brother, I muſt confeſs my ſelf to want Light in thoſe Myſteries.* The Man went home, and ſent him *a Pound of Candles :* Upon which Action this good Man beſtowed only a ſilent Smile. He would not ſet the *Beacon* of his Great Soul on *fire*, at the landing of ſuch a little Cock-boat. He learned the Leſſon of *Gregory, It is better, many times, to fly from an Injury by Silence, than to overcome it by Replying :* And he uſed that Practice of *Grynæus, To Revenge Wrongs by Chriſtian Taciturnity.*

I think, I may not omit, on this occaſion, to tranſcribe a remarkable paſſage, which that good Man, Mr. *Flavel*, reports, in a Sermon on *Goſpel-Unity.* His Words are theſe :

'A Company of vain wicked Men, having 'inflamed their Blood in a Tavern at *Boſton*, 'and ſeeing that Reverend, Meek, and Holy 'Mini-

'Miniſter of Chriſt, Mr. *Cotton*, coming along 'the Street, one of them tells his Companion, '*I'll go*, (ſaith he) *and put a Trick upon Old* 'Cotton. Down he goes, and croſſing his way, 'whiſpers theſe Words into his Ear, *Cotton* (ſaid 'he) *thou art an old Fool*. Mr. *Cotton* replied, '*I confeſs I am ſo: The Lord make both me and 'thee wiſer than we are, even wiſe unto Salva-'tion.* He relates this paſſage to his wicked 'Companions, which caſt a great Damp upon 'their Sports, in the midſt of a Frolick.

And it may paſs for a Branch of the ſame Temper in him, that he extremely hated all *Allotrio-Epiſcopacy*: And tho' he knew as practically as moſt Men in the World, *That we have a Call to do good, as often as we have Power and Occaſion*; yet he was ſlow of apprehending any Occaſion at all, tho' he might have had never ſo much Power to meddle for Good, any where, but within the Sphere of his own proper Calling. As he underſtood that *Leontius* blamed *Conſtantine*, for interpoſing too far in *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, thus Mr. *Cotton*, on the other ſide, had a great Averſion from engaging in any *Civil* ones. He would Religiouſly decline taking into his Cogniſance all *Civil* Controverſies, or Umpirages, and whatever looked heterogeneous to the Calling of one, whoſe whole Buſineſs 'twas to feed the Flock of God. Nevertheleſs, in the Things of God, of Chriſt, of Conſcience, his *condeſcending Temper* did not hinder him from the moſt *immovable Reſolution*. He would not ſo *follow Peace with all Men*, as to abandon or prejudice, one Jot, the Intereſts of Holineſs.

§ 30. His *Command over his own Spirit*, was particularly obſervable in his Government of his *Family*, where he would never correct any thing in a *Paſſion*; but firſt, with much deliberation ſhew what Rule in the Holy Word of God, had been violated, by the Fault lately committed. He was indeed one that *ruled well his own Houſe*: He therein Morning and Evening read a Chapter, with a little Applicatory Expoſition, before and after which he made a Prayer; but he was very ſhort in all, accounting as Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Bains*, and other great Saints did before him, *That it was a thing inconvenient many ways to be tedious in Family Duties*. He alſo read conſtantly a Portion of the Scripture alone, and he prayed over what he read: Pray'd I ſay; for he was very much in Prayer, a very Man of Prayer; he would rarely ſit down to ſtudy, without a Prayer over it, referring to the Preſence of God accompanying what he did. It was the Advice of the Ancient, *Si vis eſſe Semper cum Deo, Semper Ora, Semper Lege*: And agreeably hereunto, Mr. *Cotton* might ſay with *David*, *Lord, I am ſtill with thee*. But he that was with God all the Week, was more intimately with him on his own Day, the chief Day of the Week, which he obſerved moſt Conſcientiouſly. The Sabbath he began the Evening before: For which keeping of the *Sabbath from Evening to Evening*, he wrote Arguments before his coming to *New England*: And I ſuppoſe, 'twas from his Reaſon and Practice, that the Chriſtians of *New-England* have generally done ſo too. When that *Evening* arriv'd, he was uſually larger in his *Expoſition* in his *Family*, than at other times: He then *Catechiſed* his Children and Servants, and prayed with them, and ſang a Pſalm; from thence he retired unto *Study* and ſecret *Prayer*, till the time of his going unto his Repoſe. The next *Morning*, after his uſual *Family-Worſhip*, he betook himſelf to the Devotions of his Retirements, and ſo unto the Publick. From thence towards *Noon*, he repaired again to the like Devotions, not permitting the Interruption of any other Dinner, than that of a ſmall Repaſt carried up unto him. Then to the Publick, once more: From whence returning, his firſt Work was *Cloſet-Prayer*, then *Prayer* with Repetitions of the *Sermons* in the *Family*. After *Supper* he ſtill ſang a Pſalm; which he would conclude with uplifted Eyes and Hands, uttering this *Doxology*, —*Bleſſed be God in Chriſt our Saviour!* Laſt of all, juſt before his going to *Sleep*, he would once again go into his Prayerful Study, and there briefly recommended all to that God, *whom he ſerved with a pure Conſcience*.

But there was one point of *Sabbath-keeping*, about which it may not be unuſeful for me to tranſcribe a paſſage, which I find him writing to Mr. *N. Rogers*, in the Year 1630.

'*Studying for a Sermon upon the Sabbath-day*, 'ſo far as it might be any weariſome Labour 'to *Invention* or *Memory*, I covet (when I can) 'willingly to prevent it; and would rather at-'tend unto the quickning of my *Heart and Af-'fections*, in the Meditation of what I am to 'deliver. My Reaſon is, much *Reading* and '*Invention*, and *Repetition* of things, to com-'mit them to *Memory*, is a wearineſs to the '*Fleſh* and *Spirit* too; whereas the *Sabbath day* 'doth rather invite unto an holy Reſt. But yet 'if God's Providence have ſtraitned my time in 'the *Week-days* before, by concurrence of other 'Buſineſs, not to be avoided, I doubt not, but 'the Lord, who allowed the *Prieſts* to employ 'their *Labour*, in killing the *Sacrifices* on the '*Sabbath-day*, will allow us alſo to labour in 'our Callings on the Sabbath, to prepare our 'Sacrifice for the People.

Theſe were his *ordinary Sabbaths*: But he alſo kept *extraordinary* ones, upon the juſt occaſions for them. He was in *Faſting* often, and would often keep *whole Days by himſelf*, wherein he would with ſolemn *Humiliations* and *Supplications*, implore the wanted Mercies of Heaven; yea, he would likewiſe by himſelf, keep whole Days of *Thankſgiving* unto the Lord: Beſides the many Days of this kind, which he celebrated in Publick Aſſemblies with the People of God. *Thus did this Man of God continually.*

§ 31. Without *Liberality* and *Hoſpitality*, he had been really as undeſerving of the Character of *a Miniſter of the Goſpel*, as the Sacrilegious Niggardlineſs of the People, does often endeavour to make Miniſters uncapable of anſwering that Character. But Mr. *Cotton* was moſt exemplary

emplary for this Vertue; wherein there are of his Children, that have alſo learned of him. The Stranger and the Needy were ſtill entertained at his Table, *Epiſcopaliter & Benigne*, as was the Phraſe inſtructively uſed, for a *charitable Entertainment* of old. It might be ſaid of him, as once it was of the Generous *Corinthian*, *Semper aliquis in* Cottoni *Domo:* He was ever ſhewing of Kindneſs to Some-body or other. What *Poſidonius* relates of *Auſtin*, and what *Peter Martyr* affirms of *Bucer*, was very true of our *Cotton: His Houſe was like an Inn, for the conſtant Entertainment which he gave upon the Account of the Goſpel.* And he would ſay, *If a Man want an Heart for this Charity, it is not fit ſuch a Man ſhould be ordained a Miniſter:* Conſenting therein to the great Canoniſt, *Hoſpitalitas uſque adeo Epiſcopis eſt neceſſaria, ut ſi ab ea inveniantur alieni, Jure prohibentur Ordinari.* While he lived quietly in *England*, he was noted for his bountiful Diſpoſition, eſpecially to Miniſters driven into *England* by the Storms of Perſecution, then raging in *Germany:* For which cauſe *Libingus*, *Saumer*, *Tolner*, and others of the *German* Sufferers, in their Accounts of him, would ſtile him, *Fautor Doctiſſimus*, *Clariſſimus*, *Fideliſſimus*, *plurimumque Honorandus.* It was remarkable, that he never omitted inviting unto his Houſe, any Miniſter travelling to, or through the Town, but only that one Man, who perfidiouſly betray'd Mr. *Hilderſham*, with his *Non-Conformiſt* Aſſociates, into the Hands of their Enemies. And after he came to *New-England*, he changed not his Mind with his Air; but with a *Quantum ex Quantillo!* continued his *Beneficence* upon all occaſions, tho' his Abilities for it were much diminiſhed; which brings to mind a moſt memorable Story. A little Church, whereof the worthy Mr. *White* was Paſtor, being by the ſtrange and ſtrong Malice of their prevailing Adverſaries, forced of *Barmudas* in much Miſery, into a Deſart of *America*, the Report of their Diſtreſſes came to their Fellow-Sufferers, tho' not alike Sufferers, at *New-England.* Mr. *Cotton* immediately applied himſelf to obtain a Collection, for the Relief of thoſe *diſtreſſed Saints*; and a Collection of about 700 *l.* was immediately obtained, whereof Two hundred was gathered in that one Church of *Boſton*, where there was no Man who did exceed, and but one Man who did equal, this *Deviſer of Liberal Things*, in that Contribution. But behold the wonderful Providence of God! This *Contribution* arrived unto the poor People on the *very Day*, after they had been brought unto a Perſonal Diviſion of the little *Meal* then left in the Barrel; upon the ſpending whereof, they could foreſee nothing but a lingring Death; and on that *very Day*, when their Paſtor had preach'd unto them, upon that moſt ſuitable Text, *Pſal.* 23. 1. *The Lord is my Shepherd, I ſhall not want.*

§ 32. The Reader that is inquiſitive after the *Proſopography* of this Great Man, may be informed, that he was of a Clear, Fair, Sanguine Complexion, and like *David* of a *ruddy Countenance.* He was rather *low* than *tall*, and rather *fat* than *lean*, but of a becoming Mediocrity. In his younger Years his *Hair* was brown, but in his latter Years as white as the Driven Snow. In his Countenance there was an inexpreſſible ſort of Majeſty, which commanded Reverence from all that approached him: This *Cotton* was indeed the *Cato* of his Age, for his Gravity; but had a Glory with it which *Cato* had not. I cannot indeed, ſay, what they Report of *Hilary*, that *Serpents were not able to look upon him*; nevertheleſs, it was commonly obſerved, that the worſer ſort of Serpents, would from the Awe of his Preſence keep in their Poiſons. As the Keeper of the Inn, where he did uſe to lodge, when he came to *Derby*, would profanely ſay to his Companions, That he wiſhed Mr. *Cotton* were gone out of his Houſe; for *he was not able to Swear, while that Man was under his Roof.* So other wicked Perſons could not ſhew their Wickedneſs, whilſt this holy and righteous Man was in the Company. But the exacter Picture of him, is to be taken from his Printed Works, whereof there are many, that *praiſe him in the Gates*, tho' few of them were Printed with his own *Knowledge* or *Conſent.*

We will mention a Catalogue of his Works, becauſe (as it was ſaid of *Calvin*'s),

Chara quibus fuerat Cottoni Vita, *laborum*
Gratior ejuſdem Vita perennis erit.

The Children of *New-England* are to this day moſt uſually fed with his excellent *Catechiſm*, which is entituled, *Milk for Babes.*

His well-known Sermons on the Firſt Epiſtle of *John*, in *Folio*, have had their Acceptance with the Church of God; tho' being preached in his Youth, and not publiſhed by himſelf, there are ſome things therein, which he would not have inſerted.

There are alſo of his abroad, Sermons on the Thirteenth of the *Revelations*, and on the *Vials*, and on *Rev.* 20. 5, 6. and 2 *Sam.* 7. laſt in *Quarto.*

As alſo, a Savory Treatiſe, entituled, *The Way of Life.* The Reverend Prefacer whereto ſaith, *Ever ſince I had any knowledge of this judicious Author, I have look'd upon him as one intruſted with as great a part of the Churches Treaſure, as any other whatſoever.*

Several Volumes of his Expoſitions upon *Eccleſiaſtes* and *Canticles*, are alſo publiſhed in *Octavo.*

As likewiſe, *A Treatiſe of the New Covenant:* Which being only a *Poſthumous Piece*, and only Notes written after him, is accordingly to be judged of.

And there have ſeen the Light, An Anſwer to Mr. *Ball*, about Forms of Prayer. A Diſcourſe about the Grounds and Ends of *Infant-Baptiſm.* A Diſourſe about *Singing of Pſalms*, proving it a Goſpel-Ordinance. An *Abſtract of Laws* in Chriſt's Kingdom, for Civil Government. A Treatiſe about the *Holineſs of Church-Members*; proving, that viſible Saints are the

matter

matter of a Church. Another Diſcourſe upon *Things indifferent*, proving that no Church Governours have Power to impoſe *indifferent Things*, upon the Conſciences of Men. Add hereto, The Way of the Churches in *New-England* : And that Golden Diſcourſe of *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* : In a written Copy whereof, yet in our Hands, there were ſome things which were never Printed, maintaining, that in the Government of the Church, *Authority* is peculiar to the *Elders* only ; and anſwering all the *Browniſtical* Arguments to the contrary. But whereas there may occur a paſſage in his Book of *The Way of the Churches*, which may have in it a little more of the *Morellian* Tang, Reader, 'twas none of Mr. *Cotton*'s ; Mr. *Cotton* was troubled when he ſaw ſuch a paſſage, in an imperfect Copy of his Writings, expoſed unto the World, under his *Name*, againſt his *Will* : And he took an opportunity, in the moſt publick manner, to declare as much unto the World.

He was alſo ſometimes put upon writing yet more *Polemically*. Indeed there was one occaſion of ſo writing, which he declined meddling withal ; and that was this : Mr. *Cotton* having in his younger Years, written to a private Friend ſome things, tending (at his deſire) to clear the Doctrine of *Reprobates*, from the Exceptions of the *Arminians* ; and this Manuſcript falling into Dr. *Twiſs*'s hand, that learned Man publiſh'd it, with his own Confutation of certain paſſages in it, which did not agree ſo well with the Doctor's own *Supralapſarian Scheme*. Now when Mr. *Cotton* ſaw himſelf reviled for this Cauſe by *Baily*, as being *Pelagian*, he only made this meek Reply : *I hope God will give me Opportunity e'er long to conſider of this, the Doctor's Labour of Love. I bleſs the Lord, who has taught me to be willing to be taught, of a far meaner Diſciple, than ſuch a Doctor, whoſe Scholaſtical Acuteneſs, Pregnancy of Wit, Solidity of Judgment, and Dexterity of Argument, all Orthodox Divines do highly honour, and whom all* Arminians *and* Jeſuites *do fall down before, with Silence. God forbid I ſhould ſhut my Eyes againſt any Light brought to me by him. Only I deſire I may not be condemned as a* Pelagian, *or* Arminian, *before I be heard.*

Moreover, Mr. *Cawdry* fell hard upon him ; to whom he prepared an Anſwer, which was afterwards Publiſhed and Seconded by Dr. *Owen*. But beſides theſe, he was twice compelled unto ſome other *Eriſtical* Writings : Once in Anſwer to *Baily* ; another time in Anſwer to *Williams* : In both of which, like *Job*, he *turned the Books which his Adverſaries had written againſt him, into a Crown.* I believe, never any meer Man, under ſuch open and horrid Injuries, as theſe two *Reporters* heaped upon Mr. *Cotton*, did Anſwer with more Chriſtian Patience : His Anſwers are indeed a Pattern for all Anſwerers to the World's end. But it was particularly remarkable, that in this matter, certain Perſons, who had fallen under the Cenſures of the Civil Authority in the Country, ſingled out Mr. *Cotton* for the Object of their Diſpleaſure, altho' he had, *moſt of all Men*, declined Intereſting himſelf in the Actions of the Magiſtrate, and had alſo done *more than all Men*, to obtain Healing and Favour for thoſe ungrateful Delinquents. However, the venemous Tongues all this while, only lick'd a *File*, which made themſelves to bleed ; his *Fame*, like the *File*, remained invulnerable ; and if Mr. *Cotton* would from his own profitable Experience, have added another Book unto this Catalogue, it might have been on the Subject handled by *Plutarch*, *De Capienda ex Hoſtibus Utilitate*. This is the *Elenchus* of Mr. *Cotton*'s publiſhed Writings ; whereupon we might make this Concluſion.

Digna Legi Scribis, Facis & Digniſſima Scribi ;
Scripta probant Doctum, Te, Tua, Facta, probum.

§ 33. The things which have been related, cauſe us to account Mr. *Cotton* an extraordinary Perſon.

Dives eras Donis, etiamque Fidelis in Uſu,
Lucratus Domino multa Talenta tuo.
Multus eras Studiis, multuſq; Laboribus, uno
Te, Fora, Templa, Domus, Te, cupiere frui.
Multa Laborabas Scribendo, Multa Docendo,
Invigilans Operi, Nocte Dieque, Dei.
Multa Laborabas Scribendo, Multa Ferendo,
Quæ niſi Cottono, vix Subeunda forent.
Tu non unus eras, ſed Multi ; Multus in Uno,
Multorum Donis præditus Unus eras.
Uno Te amiſſo, Multos Amiſimus in Te,
Sed neque per Multos Reſtituendus eris.

Theſe were ſome of the Lines, which the Renowned *Bulkly* juſtly wept upon his Grave. Yea, we may, on as many Accounts as *theſe Days* will allow, reckon him to have been a *Prophet of the Lord* : And when we have entertain'd our ſelves with a Memorable Demonſtration of *it*, in one ſurpriſing and ſtupendious Article of our *Church Hiſtory*, we will put a Period unto *this part* of it.

At the time when ſome unhappy Perſons were juſt going from hence to *England*, with certain *Petitions*, which had a tendency to diſturb the good Order of Things in both Church and State, then ſettling among us, Mr. *Cotton* in the ordinary Courſe of his Lectures on the *Canticles*, preached on *Cant.* 2. 15. *Take us the Foxes, the little Foxes, which deſtroy the Vines.* Having thence obſerved, *That when God has delivered his Church from the Dangers of the perſecuting Bear and Lyon, then there were Foxes that would ſeek by Policy to undermine it* : And, *That all thoſe who go by a Fox-like Policy to undermine the Churches of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall be taken and overtaken by his Judgments.* He came at length to his *Application*, where with a more than ordinary Majeſty and Fervency, he after this manner expreſſed himſelf.

'First, Let ſuch as live in this Country take 'heed, how they go about in any indirect Way

‘or Courſe to prejudice the *Churches* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the Land, or the *Government* of the Land. If you *Do*, The *Keeper of Iſrael, who neither ſlumbereth nor ſleepeth*, will not take it well at your Hands. He that brought this People hither, and preſerved them from the Rage of *Perſecution*, and made this Wilderneſs an *Hiding-Place* for them, whilſt he was Chaſtiſing our Nation, with the other Nations round about it, and has manifeſted his Gracious Preſence in the midſt of theſe His *Golden Candleſticks*, and ſecured us from the Plots of the late Archbiſhop, and his Confederates abroad, and from the Plots of the *Heathen* here at home; there is no Queſtion But *He* will defend us from the Underminings of *Falſe Brethren*, and ſuch as are joined with them. Wherefore let ſuch know, That this is, in many reſpects, *Immanuel's* Land, and they ſhall not proſper that riſe up againſt it, but ſhall be *Taken every One of them* in the Snares they lay for it. This I ſpeak *as a Poor Prophet of the Lord, according to the Word of His Grace now before us!* But in the Second Place, whereas many of our Brethren are going to *England*, Let me direct a Word unto *Them* alſo. I deſire the Gracious Preſence of our God may go with you, and his *Angels* guard you, not only frpm the *Dangers* of the *Seas*, while you are thereupon, but alſo from the *Errors* of the *Times*, when you arrive. Nevertheleſs, if there be any among you, my Brethren, as 'tis Reported there *are*, that have a *Petition* to prefer unto the *High Court of Parliament*, that may conduce to the Diſtraction and Annoyance of the Peace of our *Churches*, and the weakning the *Government* of the Land where we Live, Let *Such* know, the Lord will never ſuffer them to proſper in their Subtil, Malicious, Deſperate Undertakings againſt his People, who are as tender unto him as the *Apple of his Eye*. But if there be any ſuch among *You*, who are to *Go*, I do exhort you, and I would adviſe you in the Fear of God, that when the Terrors of the Almighty ſhall beſet the *Veſſel* wherein you are, when the Heavens ſhall frown upon you, and the Billows of the *Sea* ſhall ſwell above you, and the Dangers of *Death* ſhall threaten you, *as I am verily perſwaded they will*, I would have you then to *Conſider your Ways*. I will not give the Counſel that was taken concerning *Jonas*, to caſt ſuch a Perſon into the Sea; God forbid! But I counſel ſuch to come then unto a Reſolution in themſelves to *Deſiſt* from their Enterpriſes, and *Caſt their Petitions into the Sea.* It may be, that Hardneſs of Heart and Stoutneſs of Spirit may cauſe you to perſiſt, and yet in Mercy to ſome Gracious Perſons among you, the Lord may deliver the *Ship* from *Utter Deſtruction* for *their* ſakes. But the Lord hath further Judgments in Store: He is the God of the *Land*, as well as of the *Sea*. I ſpeak this alſo, *as an unworthy Prophet of the Lord!*

Theſe Things were then uttered by a Perſon, that was as little of an *Enthuſiaſt*, as moſt Men in the World. Now attend the Event!

That *Ship*, after many Streſſes of Weather in the *Harbour*, puts out to *Sea*; but at Sea it had the Terribleſt *Paſſage*, perhaps, that ever was heard of; The Mariners not being able to take any *Obſervation* of either *Sun* or *Star*, for Seven Hundred Leagues together. Certain well diſpoſed Perſons aboard, now calling to Mind the Words of Mr. *Cotton*, thought it neceſſary to admoniſh the Perſons, who were carrying over the Malignant *Papers* againſt the Country; and ſome of thoſe Papers were by them thereupon given to the *Seamen*, who immediately cut them in pieces and threw them over-board. The *Storm* forthwith abated; however there afterwards came up *New Storms*, which at laſt hurried the Ship among the Rocks of *Scilly*; where they yet received a Deliverance, which moſt of them that conſider'd it, pronounced *Miraculous*. When the Rude *Corniſh* Men ſaw how Miraculouſly the Veſſel had eſcaped, they ſaid, *God was a Good Man to ſave them ſo!* But the moſt Inſtructed Obliged Paſſengers kept a Day of Solemn *Thankſgiving* to God; in which even the Profaneſt Perſons on Board, under the Impreſſion of what had happened, then bore a part. However, the *Corn-fields* in *New-England*, ſtill ſtood Undiſturbed, notwithſtanding the Various *Names* affixed unto the *Tailes* of *Petitions* againſt their *Liberties*. For, as Mr. *Cotton* elegantly expreſſed it, *God then Rocqued Three Nations, with ſhaking Diſpenſations, that he might procure ſome Reſt unto his People in this Wilderneſs!*

§ 34. *This* was Mr. *Cotton*! What *more* he was, let theſe *Lines*, taking no *Licenſe* but from the Real Truth, *Delineate*.

Upon the Tomb of the moſt Reverend Mr. John Cotton, *late Teacher of the Church of* Boſton *in* New-England.

HERE lies Magnanimous *Humility*;
Majeſty, *Meekneſs*; Chriſtian *Apathy*
On ſoft *Affections*; *Liberty* in *Thrall*;
A *Noble* Spirit, *Servant* unto All;
Learnings Great *Maſter-piece*, who yet would ſit
As a Diſciple, at his *Scholars* Feet:
A Simple *Serpent*, or Serpentine *Dove*,
Made up of Wiſdom, Innocence and Love:
Neatneſs Embroider'd with *It ſelf* alone,
And *Civils Canonized* in a Gown;
Embracing Old and Young, and Low and High,
Ethics Imbodyed in *Divinity*;
Ambitious to be *Loweſt*, and to Raiſe
His Brethrens Honour on his own Decays;
(Thus doth the *Sun* retire into his Bed,
That being gone the *Stars* may ſhew their head)
Could *Wound* at Argument without *Diviſion*,
Cut to the Quick, and yet make no *Inciſion*:
Ready to Sacrifice *Domeſtick Notions*
To Churches Peace, and Miniſters Devotions:
Himſelf, indeed (and Singular in That)
Whom All Admired *He* Admired not:

Liv'd

Liv'd Like an *Angel* of a Mortal Birth,
Converſ'd in *Heaven* while he was on *Earth*:
Though not, as *Moſes*, Radiant with Light
Whoſe Glory Dazell'd the Beholders Sight,
Yet ſo Divinely Beautifi'd, you'ld Count
He had been Born and Bred upon the *Mount*:
A Living Breathing *Bible*; Tables where
Both *Covenants*, at Large, engraven were;
Goſpel and *Law*, in's Heart, had Each its Column;
His Head an Index to the Sacred Volume;
His very Name a *Title-Page*; and next,
His Life a *Commentary* on the Text.
O, What a Monument of Glorious Worth,
When, in a *New Edition*, he comes forth,
Without *Errata's*, may we think he'l be
In *Leaves* and *Covers* of Eternity!
A Man of Might, at Heavenly Eloquence,
To Fix the *Ear*, and Charm the *Conſcience*;
As if *Apollos* were Reviv'd in Him,
Or he had Learned of a *Seraphim*:
Spake *Many Tongues* in One: One Voice and Senſe
Wrought, *Joy* and *Sorrow*, *Fear* and *Confidence*:
Rocks Rent before him, *Blind* Receiv'd their Sight;
Souls *Levell'd* to the Dunghill, ſtood *Upright*:
Infernal *Furies*, Burſt with Rage to ſee
Their Priſoners *Captiv'd* into *Liberty*:
A *Star* that, in our Eaſtern *England*, Roſe,
Thence hurry'd by the Blaſt of Stupid Foes,
Whoſe Foggy *Darkneſs*, and Benummed Senſes,
Brookt not his Daz'ling Fervent Influences:
Thus did he move on Earth, from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*;
There he went *down*, and *up* to Heaven for Reſt.
Nor from himſelf, whilſt Living, doth he vary,
His Death hath made him an *Ubiquitary*:
Where is his *Sepulchre* is Hard to ſay,
Who, in a *Thouſand Sepulchres*, doth lay
(Their *Hearts*, I mean, whom he hath Left Behind,
In Them) his Sacred Reliques, now, Enſhrin'd.
But Let his Mourning Flock be Comforted,
Though *Moſes* be, yet *Joſhua* is not Dead:
I mean Renowned *Norton*; worthy he,
Succeſſor to our *Moſes*, is to be.
O Happy *Iſrael* in *America*,
In ſuch a *Moſes*, ſuch a *Joſhua*.

B. Woodbridge.

§. 35. Three *Sons*, and Three *Daughters*, was this Renowned *Walker with God* Bleſſed withal. His *Eldeſt* Son did ſpend and end his Days in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, at *Hampton*: Being eſteemed a thorough *Scholar*, and an able *Preacher*; and though his Name were *Sea-born*, yet none of the lately Revived Hereſies were more Abominable to him, than that of his Name-ſake, *Pelagius* [or, *Morgan*] of whom the *Witneſs* of the Ancient *Poet* is *true*,

Peſtifero Vomuit coluber Sermone Britannus.

His *Second* Son was a Miniſter of the Goſpel, at *Plymouth*; and one by whom, not only the *Engliſh*, but alſo the *Indians* of *America*, had the *Glad Tidings of Salvation*, in their own Language carried unto them.

Of his Two Younger Daughters, the firſt was Married unto a Merchant of Good Faſhion, whoſe Name was Mr. *Egginton*; but ſhe did not long ſurvive the *Birth* of her firſt Child, as that Child alſo did not ſurvive many Years after the *Death* of her Mother. The next is at this time Living, the Conſort of one well known in both *Englands*, namely, *Increaſe Mather*, the Preſident of *Harvard Colledge*, and the Teacher of a Church in *Boſton*.

The Youngeſt of his Sons, called *Roland*, and the Eldeſt of his Daughters, called *Sarah*, both of them died near together, of the *Small-Pox*, which was raging among the Inhabitants of *Boſton*, in the Winter of the Year 1649. The Death of thoſe two Lovely Children, required the *Faith* of an *Abraham*, in the Heart of their Gracious *Father*; who indeed moſt exemplarily *Expreſſed* what was required. On this Occaſion, I find, that on a ſpare Leaf of his *Almanack*, he wrote in *Greek Letters* theſe *Engliſh Verſes*;

In Saram.

Farewel, dear Daughter *Sara*, Now Thou'rt gone,
(Whither thou much deſiredſt) to thine Home:
Pray, my Dear Father, Let me now go Home!
Were the laſt Words thou ſpak'ſt to me alone.
Go then, ſweet *Sara*, take thy *Sabbeth Reſt*,
With thy Great Lord, and all in Heaven Bleſt.

In Rolandum.

Our Eldeſt *Daughter*, and our Youngeſt *Son*,
Within Nine Days, both have their full Race run.
On th' *Twentieth* of th' *Eleventh*, Died She,
And on the *Twenty Ninth* Day Died He.
Both in their *Lives* were *Lovely* and *United*,
And in their *Deaths* they were not much *Divided*.
Chriſt gave them *Both*, and *He* takes both again
To live with Him; *Bleſt* be His Holy *Name*.

In Utrumque.

Suffer, Saith Chriſt, *Your Little Ones*,
To Come forth, Me unto,
For of ſuch Ones my Kingdom is,
Of Grace and Glory too.
We do not only *Suffer* them,
But *Offer* them to Thee,
Now, Bleſſed Lord, Let us Believe,
Accepted, that they be:
That Thou haſt *Took* them, in Thine Arms,
And on them *Put thine Hand*,
And *Bleſſed* them with *Sight of Thee*,
Wherein our *Bleſſings* Stand.

But he has at this Day *Five Grandſons*, all of them Employed in the Publick Service of the Goſpel; whereof, Let the *Reader* count him the Meaneſt, that is the *Writer* of this *Hiſtory*; and accept further one Little Piece of *Hiſtory*, relating hereunto.

The Gathering of the *Second Church* in *Boſton*, was evidently very much to the Diſadvantage of Mr. *Cotton*, in many of his Intereſts.

But he was a *John*, who reckoned his *Joy fulfilled in This*, That in his own *Decreaſe* the Intereſts of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt would *Increaſe*; and therefore, with an Exemplary *Self-Denial*, diveſting himſelf of all carnal Reſpects, he ſet himſelf to encourage the Foundation of that *Church*, out of Reſpect unto the Service and Worſhip of our *Common Lord*. Now, it has pleaſed the Lord ſo to order it, That many Years after his Deceaſe, that *Self-Denial* of his Holy Servant, has turned unto ſome Account, in the Opportunities which *That very Church* has given unto *His* Children, to Glorify the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Conduct of it: His Son-in-Law has been been for more than *Thrice Ten* Years, and his Grandſon for more than *Twice Seven* Years, the Miniſters of the Goſpel, in *That very Church*, accommodated with happy Opportunities, *To ſerve their Generation*.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES COTTONUS,

Cujus Ultima Laus eſt,

Quod fuerit inter Nov-Anglos *Primus*.

CHAP. II.

NORTONUS *Honoratus*, the LIFE of Mr. *JOHN NORTON.*

§ 1. THERE was a Famous *John* whoſe Atchievements are by our Lord Emblazoned in thoſe Terms; *He was a Burning and a Shining Light*. In the Tabernacle of Old, erected by the Order and for the Worſhip of God, there were thoſe Two Things, a Candleſtick and an Altar; in the One a *Light* that might never go out, in the other a *Fire* that might never be extinguiſhed; and yet ſuch an Affinity between theſe, that there was a *Fire* in the *Light* of the one, and a *Light* in the *Fire* of the other. Such a Mixture of both *Faith* and *Love* ſhould be in thoſe that are employed about the Service of the *Tabernacle*: And though the *Tabernacle* erected for our Lord in this Wilderneſs, had many ſuch *Burning and Shining Lights*; yet among the *Chief* of them is to be reckoned, that *John* which we had in our Bleſſed *Norton*.

§ 2. He was Born the Sixth of *May*, *1606.* at *Starford* in *Hertfordſhire*; deſcended of Honourable Anceſtors. In his early Childhood he diſcovered a Ripeneſs of Wit, which gave juſt Hopes of his proving *Extraordinary:* And under Mr. *Strange* in the School of *Bunningford*, he made ſuch a Proficiency, that he could betimes write Good *Latin*, with a more than common Elegancy and Invention. At *Fourteen* Years of Age, being ſent unto *Peter-Houſe*, he ſtaid there, till after his taking of his *Firſt Degree*; where a *Romiſh* Emiſſary, taking a curious and exact Obſervation of his Notable Accompliſhments, uſed all the Methods he could think of, to have ſeduced him over unto the *Romiſh* Irreligion: But God intending him to be a *Pillar* in his own *Temple*, mercifully prevented his hearkening unto any Temptations to become a *Support* unto the Tower of *Babel*.

§ 3. In his *Youth* he was accuſtomed unto ſome *Youthful Vanities*; eſpecially unto *Card-Playing*; an Evil which he did firſt *Ponder* and *Reform* upon a Serious Admonition, which a *Servant* of his Father's gave unto him. When he came to conſider that a *Lot* is a *Solemn Appeal* unto the God of Heaven, and even by the rudeſt Gentiles counted a *Sacred Thing*, he thought that *Playing* with it, was a Breach of the *Third Commandment* in the Laws of our God; it ſhould be uſed, he thought, rather *Prayerfully* than *Sportfully*. He conſidered, that the *Papiſts* themſelves do not allow theſe *Games* in *Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, and the *Fathers* do reprove them with a vehement Zeal in *all ſorts of Perſons*. He conſidered, that when the *Roman* Empire became *Chriſtian*, ſevere *Edicts* were made againſt theſe *Games*, and that our Proteſtant *Reformers* have branded them with an Infamous Character; wherefore inclining now to follow *Whatſoever things are of a Good Report*, he would no longer meddle with *Games* that had ſo much of a *Scandal* in them.

§ 4. An Extreme Diſaſter befalling his Father's Eſtate, he left the *Univerſity*; and became at once *Uſher* to the School, and *Curate* in the Church at *Starford*: Where a *Lecture* being maintained by a Combination of ſeveral Godly and Able Miniſters, he on that Occaſion fell into Acquaintance with ſeveral of them; eſpecially Mr. *Jeremiah Dyke*, of *Epping*, by whoſe Miniſtry the Holy Spirit of God, gave him a Diſcovery of his own manifold Sinfulneſs and Wretchedneſs in an *Unregenerate State*, and awakened him unto ſuch a *Self-Examination*, as drove him to a *Sorrow* little ſhort of *Deſpair*; but after ſome time, the ſame Holy Spirit, enabled him to receive the *Chriſt* and *Grace*, tendered in the *Promiſes* of the *Goſpel*, with an *Unſpeakable Conſolation*. Whereupon he thought himſelf concerned in that Advice of Heaven, *When thou art Converted, Strengthen thy Brethren!*

§ 5. Having before this been well ſtudied in the *Tongues* and *Arts*, he was the better fitted for the higher Studies of *Divinity*; whereto he now wholly addicted himſelf: And being in his

his own happy Experience acquainted with *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Holineſs*, he did from that Experience now make *Lively Sermons* on thoſe points unto his Hearers. He ſoon grew Eminent in his Miniſtry; ſetting off the Truths he deliver'd, not only with ſuch *Ornaments* of *Laconic* and well-contriv'd Expreſſion, as made him worthy to be called, *The Maſter of Sentences*, but alſo with ſuch *Experimental Paſſages* of Devotion, as made him admired for *A Preacher ſeeking out Acceptable Words*.

§ 6. His Accompliſhments render'd him as capable of *Preferments*, as moſt in his Age; but *Preferments* were then ſo clogg'd with Troubleſome and Scrupleſome *Impoſitions*, that Mr. *Norton*, as well as other Conſcientious Young Miniſters, his Contemporaries, declined medling with them. His *Averſion*, and indeed *Antipathy* to *Arminianiſm* (after he was, as *Bradwardin* ſpeaks, *Gratiæ Radio Viſitatus*,) and his Diſlike of the *Ceremonies*, particularly hindered him from a Conſiderable Benefice, where to his Unkle might have helped him. Dr. *Sibs* alſo, the Maſter of *Katharine Hall* in *Cambridge*, taken with his Abilities, did earneſtly ſollicite him, to have accepted of a *Fellowſhip* in that College; but his Conſcience being now ſatisfied in the *Unlawfulneſs* of ſome things then required in Order thereunto, would not permit him to do it. One asked once a great Prelate at Court, how it came to paſs, that ſuch a Preacher (an Ancient Chaplain there) a Wiſe, Grave, Holy Man, did not *Riſe*? Meaning by way of *Preferment*: The Prelate anſwered him, *Truly, let me tell you, That I verily think, he never will Riſe until the Reſurrection*. Truly, Let me now tell the World, That ſuch were the Principles of Mr. *Norton*, there was no likelihood of his *Riſing* in this World, as things then went in the World. Wherefore he contented himſelf with a more Private Life, as Chaplain in two Knights Houſe at *High Laver* in *Eſſex*, namely, Sir *William Maſham*'s; there waiting, till God might furniſh him with *Unexceptable Opportunities*, for his more Publick Preaching of the Goſpel. But generally, all thoſe who had any Taſt of his Miniſtry, had a very high Opinion of it; nor was there any Man in that part of the Country more eſteemed than *he* was, for all ſorts of Excellencies; inſomuch, that when he came away, an Ancient Miniſter ſaid, *He believed there was not more Grace and Holineſs left in all* Eſſex, *than what Mr.* Norton *had carried with him*.

§ 7. His Natural Temper had a Tincture of *Choler* in it; but as the ſowreſt and harſheſt *Fruits* become the moſt *Pleaſant*, when tempered with a due Proportion of *Sweetneſs* added thereunto, ſo the *Grace* of God *ſweetned* the Diſpoſition of this good Man, into a moſt Affable, Courteous, and Complaiſant Behaviour, which render'd him exceeding *Amiable*. Indeed when the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the *Spirit*, and *Soul* and *Body*, being *Sanctified*, ſome do by *Spirit* underſtand the Natural *Temper*, or *Humour*; and accordingly the *Spirit* of this *Quick* Man being *Sanctified*, he became a Man of an *Excellent Spirit*.

§ 8. Vaſt was the Treaſure of *Learning* in this Reverend Man. He was not only a moſt Accurate *Grammarian*, which is abundantly manifeſted by his Printed Works in Divers Languages; but an Univerſal *Scholar*: Nevertheleſs, 'twas as a *School-man* that he ſhow'd himſelf the moſt of a *Scholar*. He accounted that the Excellency of a *Scholar*, lay more in *Diſtinctneſs of Judgment*, than in *Elegancy* of *Language*; and therefore, though he had a neater Style than moſt other Men, yet he was Deſirous to furniſh himſelf *ad pugnam*, rather than *ad Pompam*. Hence having intimately acquainted himſelf with the *Subtilties* of *Scholaſtic Divinity*, he made all to illuſtrate the *Doctrine of Chriſt and of Grace*, unto which he made all the Spoils of the *Schools* glorioſly ſubſervient. He was a moſt Elegant Preacher, and the True Follower of Dr. *Sibs*!

§ 9. But let his *Excellencies* have been what they will, there was in thoſe Days a *Set of Men*, reſolved that the Church of God ſhould loſe the Benefit of all thoſe Excellencies, except the Perſon which had them, could comply with certain Uninſtituted *Rites* in the Worſhip of God; which our Mr. *Norton* could not; and it was that which made him ours. This drove him to the remote Regions of *America*, where he *hoped*, as well he *might*, that there would never be done ſo *unreaſonable* a Thing, as to obſtruct that *Evangelical Worſhip* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſake whereof thoſe Regions have been added unto the *Engliſh Dominions*. Wherefore in the Year 1634. having married a Gentlewoman both of Good Eſtate, and of Good Eſteem, he took ſhipping for *New-England*, accompanied in the ſame Ship with the Famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*.

§ 10. In the Road betwixt *Harwich* and *Yarmouth*, he very narrowly eſcaped a Terrible Shipwrack: For by the Vehemency of a Storm all their Anchors gave way, ſo that they were driven within a Cable's Length of the *Sands*; but yet the *Anchor* of their *Hope* in God, held faſt unto the *laſt*. Mr. *Shepard* having taken the *Mariners* above Decks, Mr. *Norton* took the *Paſſengers* between Decks, and each of them with their Company, applied themſelves unto Fervent Prayer, whereto the Almighty God gave a preſent Anſwer in their wonderful Deliverance. After this Tempeſt, which diſappointed their Voyage to *New-England* for that Seaſon, Mr. *Norton* returned unto his Friends in *Eſſex*; where Mr. *Dyke* welcomed him, as one come from the dead; profeſſing to him, *That he would have given many Pounds for ſuch a Tryal of his Faith, as this his Friend had newly met withal*.

§ 11. The next Year Mr. *Norton* renewed his Voyage to *New-England*; but intervening Accidents made it very late in the Year, before he could begin the Voyage: And ſo, coming upon the *American* Coaſt in the Month of *October*, they encountred with another very terrible Storm,

Storm, which laſted Eight and forty Hours with great extremity, and had broken the Veſſel to pieces, if it had not had a ſtrength more than ordinary. One Wave remarkably waſhed ſome of the *Sea-men* overboard on one ſide, and then threw them in again on t'other; and ſo vehement was the Storm, that they were forced at length to undergird the Ship with the *Cable*, that they might keep her ſides together. But within ten Days after this, they were brought ſafe into *Plymouth* Harbour.

§ 12. There had been ſome Overtures between him and Mr. *Winſlow*, the Agent of *Plymouth*, now on board with him, about his accepting of a Settlement in that Plantation; and the People of *Plymouth* now courteouſly and earneſtly invited him, accordingly to continue with them. Nevertheleſs, the State of Things in the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, was more agreeable unto him; and the Church of *Ipſwich* made their ſpeedy Applications unto him, to take the Paſtoral Charge of them. This occaſioned his Deliberation with his Friends in the Bay, what Courſe to ſteer.

§ 13. While he ſojourned in his unſettled State at *Boſton*, he came into Acquaintance with the Miniſters thereabouts, who entertained him with a very high Opinion of him; eſpecially Mr. *Mather* of *Dorcheſter*, who tho' of longer ſtanding than he, yet conſulted him as an Oracle, in Matters of greateſt Conſequence unto him; and found him ſo accompliſhed and experienced a Perſon, that he maintained a moſt valuable Friendſhip with him to the laſt. Yea, tho' he were yet a young Man, and ſhort of Thirty, when he firſt came into the Country, yet the Magiſtrates of the Colony ſoon became ſo ſenſible of his Abilities, as to make uſe of him in ſome of their moſt arduous Affairs. And there happened ſeveral Occaſions to try the Scholaſtick Emmencies, whereto he was arrived; one of which was, when there was in theſe Parts a *French Friar*, who found in Mr. *Norton*, a Proteſtant, equal to his own School-men, and well-acquainted with them all. Indeed there was in him the Union of *two Excellencies*, which do not always meet. It was the Character of *Hortenſius*, that he was weak in Writing, and yet able to Speak: It was the Character of *Abericus*, that he was weak in Speech, and yet able in Writing: But our *Norton* was in both of theſe a very able Perſon.

§ 14. It was the Church of *Ipſwich*, that our Lord gave ſo rich a thing, as his eminent Servant *Norton*: But beſides the conſtant Labours of this holy and fruitful Man, in that *particular Church*, he there did ſeveral great Services of a more extenſive Influence to the whole Church of God; whereof one was this: *Guilielmus Apollonii*, at the Direction of the Divines in *Zealand*, in the Year 1644. ſent over to *New-England* a Number of Queſtions, relating to our Way of Church-Government; whereto the Miniſters of *New-England* unanimouſly impoſed upon Mr. *Norton* the Task of drawing up an Anſwer, which he finiſhed in the Year 1645. And it was, I ſuppoſe, the firſt *Latin* Book that ever was written in this Country. What Satiſfaction it gave, may be gathered, not only from the Atteſtations of Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Sympſon*, thereunto; but alſo from the Expreſſions of Dr. *Hornbeck*, who frequently magnifies the Reaſon, and the Candour of our *New-Engliſh* Divine, even in thoſe Points, wherein he does himſelf diſſent from him. Nor is it amiſs to add the words in Dr. *Fuller*'s Church-Hiſtory, hereupon; which are: *Of all the Authors I have peruſed concerning theſe Opinions, none to me was more Informative than Mr.* John Norton, *one of no leſs Learning than Modeſty, in his Anſwer to* Apollonius, *Paſtor in the Church of* Middleburgh.

§ 15. It will do no hurt for me to repeat one Paſſage on this Occaſion, which to me ſeemed worthy of ſome Remark. While Mr. *Norton* was deeply engaged in writing his Latin Account of our Church-Diſcipline, ſome of his more Accurate and Judicious Hearers, imagined that his Publick Sermons wanted a little of that Exactneſs, which did uſe to attend them; whereof one ſaid ſomething to that Mr. *Whiting*, whom I may well call the *Angel* in the Church of *Lyn*. Mr. *Whiting* hereupon in a very reſpectful and obliging manner, ſpoke to Mr. *Norton*, ſaying, *Sir, There are ſome of your People, who think that the Services wherein you are engaged for all the Churches, do ſomething take off the Edge of the Miniſtry, wherewith you ſhould ſerve your own particular Church: I would intreat you, Sir, to conſider this matter; for our greateſt Work is to preach the Goſpel unto that Flock, whereof we are Overſeers.* Our great and good Man took the excellent Oyl of this Intimation, with the Kindneſs which became ſuch a Man, and made it ſerviceable unto his holy Studies.

§ 16. Another conſiderable Service, which then called for the Studies of this excellent Man, was the adviſing, modelling, and recommending the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline*, agreed by a *Synod* at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1647. Into that *Platform* he would fain have had inſerted, certain *Propoſitions* concerning the *Watch*, which our Churches are to have over the *Children* born in them; which Propoſitions were certainly *the firſt Principles of* New-England: Only the fierce Oppoſitions of one eminent Perſon, cauſed him that was of a *peaceable Temper*, to forbear urging them any further; by which means, when thoſe very *Propoſitions* came to be advanced and embraced in another *Synod*, more than twice ſeven Years after, many People did ignorantly count them *Novelties*. Moreover, when the *Synod* firſt aſſembled, it was a thing of ſome unhappy Conſequence, that the Church of *Boſton* would not ſend any *Meſſengers* unto it: But Mr. *Norton* preaching the next Lecture there, wherein he handled the *Nature of Councils*, and the *Power of Civil Magiſtrates* to call ſuch Aſſemblies, and the *Duty* of the Churches in regarding their *Advice*, the Church of *Boſton* were therewithal ſo ſatisfied, as to teſtifie their Communion with the reſt of the Churches, by ſending

ing three Meſſengers to accompany their Elders now in the *Synod*. And when the Reſult of the *Synod* came to try its Acceptance in the Churches, he did his part, eſpecially in his own, with a prudent and pious Diligence to obtain it; which was happily accompliſhed.

§ 17. There was yet one Comprehenſive Service more, which this Learned Man here did for the Church of God; and that was this: A Gentleman of *New-England* had written a Book, entituled, *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption:* Wherein he pretends to prove, *That Chriſt ſuffered not for us thoſe unutterable Torments of God's Wrath, which are commonly called* Hell-Torments, *to redeem our Souls from them; and that Chriſt bore not our Sins by God's* Imputation, *and therefore alſo did not bear the Curſe of the Law for them.* The *General Court* of the Colony, concerned that the Glorious Truths of the Goſpel might be reſcued from the Confuſions, whereinto the Eſſay of this Gentleman had thrown them, and afraid leſt the Church of God abroad ſhould ſuſpect that *New-England* allow'd of ſuch *exorbitant Aberrations*, appointed Mr. *Norton* to draw up an Anſwer to that *Erroneous Treatiſe*. This Work he performed with a moſt Elaborate and Judicious Pen, in a Book afterwards publiſhed under the Title of, *A Diſcuſſion of that Great Point in Divinity*, The Sufferings of Chriſt: *And the Queſtions about his Active and Paſſive Righteouſneſs, and the Imputation thereof.* In that Book the true Principles of the Goſpel are ſtated with ſo much *Demonſtration*, as is indeed unanſwerable. The Great Aſſertion therein explained and maintained, is, (according to the expreſs Words of the Reverend Author), 'That the Lord Jeſus Chriſt as '*God-Man*, and *Mediator*, according to the Will 'of the Father, and his own voluntary Conſent, 'fully obeyed the *Law*, *doing* the *Command* in 'a way of *Works*, and ſuffering the *Eſſential* '*Puniſhment* of the Curſe, in a way of obedient 'Satisfaction unto Divine Juſtice, thereby ex'actly fulfilling the firſt Covenant: Which 'Active and Paſſive Obedience of his, together 'with his *Original Righteouſneſs*, as a Surety, 'God, of his rich Grace, actually imputeth un'to Believers; whom, upon the *Receipt* there'of, by the *Grace of Faith*, he declareth and 'accepteth, *as perfectly Righteous*, and ac'knowledgeth them to have a *Right* unto *Eter*'*nal Life*.

And in every Clauſe of this Poſition, the Author expreſſed not his own Sence alone, but the Sence of all the Churches in the Country: In Teſtimony whereof, there was publiſhed at the End of the Book, an Inſtrument ſigned by five conſiderable Names, *Cotton*, *Wilſon*, *Mather*, *Symmes*, and *Tompſon*, who in the Name of others, declare, '*As they believe, they do alſo* '*profeſs*, That the *Obedience* of Chriſt to the 'whole Law, which is the Law of Righteouſ'neſs, is the *Matter* of our *Juſtification*; and 'the *Imputation* of our Sins to Chriſt (and 'thereupon his *ſuffering* the *Senſe of the Wrath* '*of God* upon him for our Sin) and the *Imputa*'*tion* of his Obedience and Sufferings to us, are 'the *formal Cauſe* of our *Juſtification*; and that 'they who deny this, do now take away both 'of theſe, both *Matter* and *Form* of our *Juſti*'*fication*, which is the *Life* of our Souls, and 'of our Religion, and therefore called *the Juſti*'*fication of Life*.

This being the Primitive Doctrine of *Juſtification*, among the Churches of *New-England*; the things that were judged oppoſite hereunto, in the Renowned *Richard Baxter*'s *Aphoriſms of Juſtification*, did then give a great and juſt Offence unto the Faithful in this Country: Yea, they look'd upon many things in his Writings, to be, as *Photius* has it, upon ſome things in *Clemens Alexandrinus*; that is to ſay, *Things expreſſed*, οὐκ ὑγιῶς, not *ſafely* and *ſoundly*; albeit, the other more Practical and Savory Books of that *Holy Man*, were highly valued in theſe *American* Regions; and not a few have here bleſſed God for him, and for his Labours. And as in thoſe *Elder* Days of *New-England*, the Eſteem which our Churches had for that eminent Man, did not hinder them from rejecting that *New Covenant of Works*, with which they thought he confounded that moſt important Article, upon the Notions whereof the *Church* either ſtands or falls: Thus it is *a Grief of Mind* unto our Churches at this Day, to find that great and good Man, in ſome of his *laſt Works*, under the blinding Heat of his Indignation againſt ſome which we alſo account *unjuſtifiable*, yea, *dangerous* Opinions and Expreſſions of Dr. *Criſp*, reproaching ſome of the moſt undoubted Points in our *common Faith*. We read him unaccountably enumerating among Errors, which he ſays, have *corrupted Chriſtianity*, and *ſubverted the Goſpel*, ſuch things as theſe:

'*They feign*, That God made a Covenant with '*Adam*, that if he ſtood, God would continue 'him, and his Poſterity; and if he fell, God 'would take it, as if all his Poſterity, then per'ſonally ſinned in him.——*Feigning* God to 'make *Adam*, not only the Natural Father and 'Root of Mankind, but alſo arbitrarily, a *con*'*ſtituted Repreſenter* of all the Perſons that 'ſhould ſpring from him. Whence they infer, 'that Chriſt was by God's Impoſition, and his 'own Sponſion, made the *Legal Repreſentative* 'Perſon of every one of the Elect, taken ſingu'larly: So that what he did for them, God 'reputeth them to have done by him. Here'by they falſly make the Perſon of the Me'diator, to be the *Legal Perſon* of the Sin'ner.

'They *forge* a Law, that God never made, 'that ſaith, *Thou or thy Surety, ſhall obey per*'*fectly, or die*.

'They *feign* God to have made an *Eternal* '*Covenant* with his Son.

'They *feign* Chriſt to have made ſuch an *ex*'*change* with the Elect, as that having taken all '*their Sins*, he hath given them all *his Righteouſ*'*neſs*; not only the *Fruit of it*, but the *Thing* '*in it ſelf*.

'They

'They ſay, That by the Imputation of Chriſt's Righteouſneſs, *Habitual* and *Actual*. We are judged *perfectly juſt*.

'They talk of *Juſtification* in meer ignorant Confuſion : ——They ſay, That to *juſtifie* is not to *make righteous*, but to *judge righteous*.

'They err groſly, ſaying, That by [*Faith imputed for Righteouſneſs*] and [*our being juſtified by Faith*] is not meant, the *Act*, or *Habit* of *Faith*, but the *Object*, Chriſt's *Righteouſneſs*: Not ſticking thereby to turn ſuch Texts into worſe than *Nonſence*. [All theſe are Mr. *Baxter*'s Words, in his *Defence of Chriſt*, chap. 2.]

Theſe Things, which our Churches with Amazement, behold Mr. *Baxter* thus calling *Fictions*, *Falſhoods*, *Forgeries*, *Ignorant Confuſions*, and *groſs Errors*, were defended by Mr. *Norton*, as the *Faith once delivered unto the Saints*: Nor do our Churches at this Day conſider them, as any other, than *glorious Truths of the Goſpel*; which, as they were maintain'd by Mr. *Norton*. So two Divines, which were the Scholars of Mr. *Norton*, well known in both *Englands*, *Nathanael*, and *Increaſe Mather*, (*Fratrum dulce Par*;) and a third, a worthy Miniſter of the Goſpel, Mr. *Samuel Willard*, now living in the ſame Houſe from whence Mr. *Norton* went, unto *that not made with Hands*, have in their Printed Labours moſt accurately expreſſed them, and confirmed them. Hence, altho' as on the one ſide, I have this paſſage of Mr. *Baxter*'s, in a Letter from him, written but a few Months before he died, *I am as zealous a Lover of the* New-England *Churches as any man, according to* Mr Norton'*s, and the Synods Model*: So on the other ſide, the Memory of Mr. *Baxter* is on many accounts *zealouſly loved* among the Churches of *New-England*, yet eſpouſing the Principles for their Eſtabliſhment, wherein Mr. *Norton* had appeared : Nevertheleſs, inaſmuch as Mr. *Baxter*, juſt before his Entrance into his *Everlaſting Reſt*, requeſted of my Parent then in *London*: *Sir, If you know of any Errors in any of my Writings, I pray you to confute them after I am dead.* I thought it not amiſs, to regard ſo far the *Goſpel-Truths* of *Juſtification* at this day labouring, as to take occaſion from the mention of Mr. *Norton*'s Book, to ſay, That in that one Book of his, there is a *Confutation* of Mr. *Baxter*, who ſeems to oppoſe thoſe things, which the Churches of *New-England* judge cannot be denied without *corrupting of Chriſtianity*, and *ſubverting of the Goſpel*. But waving any further mention of the *Book*, I cannot leave unmentioned a couple of Paſſages in the *Preface* of it, which is *Dedicatory* to the General Court of the *Maſſachuſet Colony*. One is this : *I appeal to any competently judicious and ſober-minded Man, if the Denial of* Rule *in the* Presbytery, *of a* Deciſive Voice *in the* Synod, *and of the Power of the* Magiſtrate *in Matters of Religion, do not in this Point tranſlate the* Papal Power *unto the* Brotherhood *of every Congregation*. Another is this : *You have been among the* firſt of Magiſtrates, *which have approved and practiſed the* Congregational Way; *no ſmall Favour from God, nor Honour to your ſelves, with the Generation to come, when that ſhall appear to be* the Way of Chriſt.

§ 18. But we ſay nothing of *Norton*, if we don't ſpeak of *an Orthodox Evangeliſt*. Being himſelf *ſuch an one*, he digeſted the Subtleties of the *School-men* into ſolid and wholeſome *Chriſtianity*, which he publiſhed in a Treatiſe entituled, *The Orthodox Evangeliſt*: Wherein he handles the abſtruſe Points of the *Exiſtence* and *Subſiſtence*, and *Efficience* of God, and the *Perſon* of Chriſt, and the *Methods* of the *Spirit* in uniting us to him; and the Doctrine of *Juſtification*, with the *future* and *happy* State of the *Saints*; all in ſuch a manner, that Mr. *Cotton* ſaw cauſe to ſay in his Preface to this Treatiſe, *Cluſters of ripe Grapes paſſing under the Preſs, are fit to be tranſported unto all Nations; thus, ſuch Gifts and Labours paſſing under the Preſs, may be fitly communicated to all Churches. The Phyſicians do ſpeak, there are* Pillulæ ſine Quibus eſſe nolo; *ſo there are* Libelli ſine quibus, *ſome Books*, Sine quibus eſſe nolo; *and this is one of 'em.* This Book he dedicated unto his own Church, in *Ipſwich*; and in the Cloſe of his Dedication, I cannot forget this emphatical paſſage, *You are our Glory and Joy: Forget not the Emphaſis in the Word*, Our: *Miniſters, compared with other Chriſtians, have little to joy in in this World: It is not with the Miniſters of the preſent, as with the Miniſters of late Times; nor with the Exiles, as with the reſt; nor with your Exiles, as with ſome others.* Let this Our, *or if you pleaſe* Your *Condition, for therein you have been both Partakers with us, and Supporters of us, be your Provocation.* Thus and more than thus uſeful, was this *Bradwardin* of *New-England*, while *Ipſwich* had him.

§ 19. When *Cotton*, that *Man of God*, lay ſick of the Sickneſs whereof he died, his Church deſired that he would nominate and recommend a fit Perſon to ſucceed him; and he adviſed them to apply themſelves unto Mr. *Norton*, hoping that the Church of *Ipſwich* being accommodated with ſuch another eminent Perſon as Mr. *Rogers*, would out of reſpect unto the general Good of all the People of God throughout the Land, ſo far deny themſelves, as to diſmiſs him from themſelves. That which gave Encouragement unto this Buſineſs, was not a *Dream* of Mr. *Cotton*'s, tho' it was indeed a ſtrange thing, that Mr. *Cotton* in his Illneſs, being ſollicitous what Counſel to give unto his Church, he dream'd, that he ſaw Mr. *Norton* riding unto *Boſton*, to ſucceed him, upon a *White Horſe*, in Circumſtances that were exactly afterwards accompliſhed: And when Mr. *Wilſon*, with his Flock, ſaw the thing accompliſhed, it cauſed them to look upon Mr. *Norton*, almoſt with the ſame Eye, that old *Narciſſus*, with the Church at *Jeruſalem*, did upon *Alexander*, when upon the warning of a Voice from Heaven, to take him, whom they ſhould ſo find, they found him out of the City, provided for them. But it was a Deſign

Deſign which Mr. *Norton* had of returning for *England:* A Deſign which he had ſo laid before his People, as to obtain their Grant, that if upon ſtaying a Twelve Month longer among them, there did occur no occaſion for him to alter his purpoſes, they would not oppoſe his going. Now when the Agents of the Church at *Boſton*, made this Motion to the Church of *Ipſwich*, there was much debate about it; wherein at length an honeſt Brother made this Propoſal: *Brethren, a Caſe in ſome things like to this, was once that way determined:* We will call the Damſel, and enquire at her Mouth: *Wherefore I propoſe, that our Teacher himſelf be enquired of, whether he be inclined to go?* They then put that Queſtion to Mr. *Norton* himſelf, who being troubled at the Offer of the Queſtion unto him, anſwered, *That if they judged ſuch Reaſons as cauſed his Removal from* Europe *into* America, *now call'd for his Removal from* Ipſwich *to* Boſton, *he ſhould reſign himſelf; but he could not be Active.* However, at length, they conſented, that he ſhould for the preſent, go ſojourn at *Boſton*, to try, and ſee how far the *Will of God* about this matter, might be afterwards diſcovered; but after Mr. *Norton* was gone, many of the People fell into a very unreaſonable Indiſpoſition towards Mr. *Rogers*, as if he had not been *Active* enough, altho' he had, indeed, been as Active, as he well could be, to retain his Collegue among them. The Melancholly Temper of Mr. *Rogers* felt ſo deep an Impreſſion from thoſe *Paroxiſms*, and *Murmurings* of the People, that it is thought, his End was thereby haſtned; but the Church, upon the Death of Mr. *Rogers*, renewing their Demands of Mr. *Norton*'s Return, a Council was upon that occaſion called; which *Council* adviſed *Ipſwich* to grant Mr. *Norton* a fair Diſmiſſion unto the Service of *Boſton*, and in *Boſton*, of all *New England*. However divers leſſer *Councils*, that were ſucceſſively called on this Occaſion, could not comfortably procure this *Diſmiſſion*, till at laſt the Governour and Magiſtrates of the Colony called a *Council* for this end; in their *Order* for which, they intimate their Concern, leſt while the *two Churches* were contending, which of them ſhould enjoy Mr. *Norton*, they ſhould both of them, and the whole Country with them, loſe that Reverend Perſon, by his proſecuting his Inclination to remove into *England*. Hereupon ſuch a *Diſmiſſion* could not be denied; but now *Boſton* joyfully receiving Mr. *Norton*, *Ipſwich* applied themſelves unto Mr. *Cobbet*, who afterwards continued a rich Bleſſing among them. And Mr. *Norton* did indeed, the part of a ſurviving Brother for Mr. *Cotton*, in raiſing up, or at leaſt keeping up the Name of that Great Man, by publiſhing a moſt elegant Account of his *Life*, part whereof was afterwards tranſcribed by *Sam. Clark*, into his Collections.

§ 20. Mr. *Norton* being now tranſplanted into that Garden which our Lord had in *Boſton*, did there bring forth much of that *Fruit* whereby the *heavenly Father was glorified*. There he preached, he wrote, he pray'd, and maintained without any *Prelatical Epiſcopacy*, a *Care of all the Churches*. And *New-England* being a Country whoſe Intereſts were moſt remarkably and generally enwrapped in its Eccleſiaſtical Circumſtances, there were many good Offices, which Mr. *Norton* did for the Peace of the whole Country, by his wiſe *Counſels* upon many Occaſions, given to its *Counſellors*. In truth, if he had never done any thing, but that one thing of preventing by his wiſe Interpoſition, the Acts of *Hoſtility*, which were like to paſs between *Our People*, and the *Dutch* at *Manhatoes*, that alone were well worth his coming into the *Station* which he now had at *Boſton*. But the Service which now moſt ſignalized him, was, his Agency at *White-Hall*; for it being found neceſſary to Addreſs the Reſtored King; the Worſhipful *Simon Bradſtreet*, Eſq; and this Reverend Mr. *John Norton*, were ſent over as Agents from the Colony, with an Addreſs unto His Majeſty; wherein there were, among others, the following Paſſages.

'We ſupplicate Your Majeſty for your Gracious Protection of us, in the Continuance both of our Civil, and of our Religious Liberties; according to the Grantees known End of Suing for the Patent, conferr'd upon this Plantation by Your Royal Father. *Our Liberty to Walk in the Faith of the Goſpel, with all good Conſcience, according to the Order of the Goſpel*, was the Cauſe of our tranſporting our ſelves, with our Wives, our Little Ones, and our Subſtance, from that pleaſant Land, over the *Atlantick Ocean*, into the Vaſt Wilderneſs; chooſing rather the pure Scripture-Worſhip, with a *good Conſcience*, in this remote Wilderneſs, than the Pleaſures of *England*, with Submiſſion to the Impoſitions of the then ſo diſpoſed, and ſo far prevailing Hierarchy, which we could not do without an evil Conſcience—— We are not Seditious as to the Intereſts of *Cæſar*, nor Schiſmatical as to the Matters of Religion. We diſtinguiſh between Churches, and their Impurities.——We could not live without the *Publick Worſhip* of God, nor be permitted the *Publick Worſhip*, without ſuch a *Yoke* of *Subſcription* and *Conformity*, as we could not conſent unto without Sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy Divine Worſhip, free from Human Mixtures, without Offence to God, Man, and our own Conſciences, we, with *Leave*, but not without *Tears*, departed from our Country, Kindred, and Fathers Houſes, into this *Patmos*.——

It was in *February* 166½, that they began their Voyage, and it was in *September* following, that they returned: Mr. *Norton*'s place being the mean time ſupplied by the Neighbouring Miniſters, taking of their Turns. And by *their Hands* the Country received the *King's Letters*, wherein he ſignified, That the Expreſſions of their Loyalty and Affection to Him, were very acceptable, and that confirming to them their *Priviledges*, He would cheriſh them with all manner of Encouragement and Protection.

§ 21.

§ 21. Such has been the *Jealous* Diſpoſition of our *New-Englanders* about their Dearly-bought *Privileges*, and ſuch alſo has been the *Various* Underſtanding of the People about the Extent of thoſe Privileges, that of all the *Agents*, which they have ſent over unto the Court of *England*, for now Forty Years together, I know not any *One*, who did not at his Return, meet with ſome very froward Entertainment among his Country-men: And there may be the *Wiſdom* of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the *Malice* of the Evil One, acknowledged, in the Ordering of ſuch *Temptations*. Of theſe *Temptations*, a conſiderable ſhare fell to Mr. *Norton*; concerning whom there were many, who would not ſtick to ſay, that *he had laid the Foundation of Ruine to all our Liberties*; and his melancholly Mind imagined, that his beſt Friends began therefore to *look awry* upon him.

§ 22. In the Spring before his going for *England*, he Preached an Excellent Sermon unto the Repreſentatives of the whole Colony, Aſſembled at the Court of *Election*, wherein I take particular Notice of this Paſſage, *Moſes was the Meekeſt Man on Earth, yet it went ill with* Moſes, *'tis ſaid, for their Sakes. How long did* Moſes *live at* Meribah? *Sure I am; it kill'd him in a ſhort Time; a Man of as Good a Temper as could be expected from a meer Man: I tell you, it will not only kill the People, but it will quickly kill* Moſes *too!* And in the Spring after his Return from *England*, he found his own Obſervation in himſelf too much Exemplified. It was commonly judged, That the *Smothered Griefs* of his Mind, upon the *Unkind Reſentments*, which he thought many People had of his Faithful and Sincere Endeavours to ſerve them, did, more than a little, haſten his End; an End, whereat *JOHN NORTON* went, according to the Anagram of his Name *INTO HONNOR*. But he had the Privilege to enter into *Immortality*, without ſuch a Formal and Feeling Death, as the moſt of *Mortals* encounter with; for though in the Forenoon of *April* 5. 1663. it was his Deſign to have Preached in the *Afternoon*, he was that *Afternoon* taken with a ſudden *Lypothymie*, which preſently and eaſily carried him away to thoſe Glories, wherein the *Weary are at Reſt*; but it was a *Dark Night*, which the Inhabitants of *Boſton* had upon the Noiſe of his Death: Every Corner of the Town was filled with Lamentations, which left a Character upon that *Night*, unto this *Day*, not forgotten! His deareſt Neighbour, Mr. *Richard Mather*, wept over him at his Funeral, which was on the next *Lecture Day*, a Sermon moſt agreeable to the occaſion; And the Son of his Fellow-Traveller, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, was one of the many, who beſtowed their *Elegies* upon him; uſing *this*, among his other Strokes.

The Schoolmens *Doctors*, whomſoe're they call,
Subtil, *Seraphick*, or *Angelical*:
Dull Souls! Their Tapers burnt exceeding Dim;
They might to *School* again, to learn of him.
Lombard muſt out of Date; we now profeſs
Norton, the *Maſter of the Sentences*;
Scotus, a *Dunce* to him; ſhould we compare
Aquinas, here, none to be named are.

Of a more *Heavenly* Strain, his Notions were,
More pure, Sublime, Scholaſtical, and clear.
More like th' Apoſtles *Paul* and *John*, I wiſt,
Was this our *Orthodox Evangeliſt*.

Which Lines accompanied with Mr. *Wilſon*'s Anagrammatiſing of *JOHANNES NORTONUS* into *Nonne is Honoratus?* Will give him his deſerved Character.

§ 23. He that ſhall Read the Tragical Romances, written by that Brazen-fac'd Lyar *Bolſecus*, concerning the Deaths of ſuch Men as *Calvin* and *Beza*, or ſuch monſtrous Writings as thoſe of *Tympius*, *Cochleus*, *Genebard*, and ſome others, who would bear the World in hand, that *Luther* and *Oecolampadius* Learn'd the Proteſtant Religion of the *Devil*, and were at laſt kill'd by him; and that *Bucer* had his Guts pull'd out and caſt about by the *Devil*; will not wonder if I tell him, that after the Death of Mr. *Norton*, the *Quakers* publiſhed a *Libel*, by them called, *A Repreſentation to King and Parliament*; wherein, pretending to Report ſome *Remarkable Judgments upon their Perſecutors*, they inſert this Paſſage, '*John Norton* Chief Prieſt in *Boſton*, by the immediate 'Power of the Lord, was ſmitten, and as he 'was ſinking down by the Fire-ſide, being under juſt Judgment, he confeſſed the Hand of 'the Lord was upon him, and ſo he died. ——Which they mention, as a *Judgment* upon a *Perſecutor*. Whereas, the Death of this *Good Man*, was attended with no Circumſtances, but what unto a *Good Man* might be *Eligible* and *Comfortable*, and circumſtanced far otherwiſe than it was by thoſe Revilers *Repreſented*. But it was neceſſary for that Enchanted People, thus to revenge themſelves upon one, who amongſt his other Services to the Church of God, already mentioned, had, at the deſire of the *General Court*, written a Book, Entituled, *The Heart of* New England *rent at the Blaſphemies of the Preſent Generation*; *Or, a Brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the* Quakers: Which *Doctrine* was in this *Tractate* ſolidly confuted. And perhaps, it had been better if *this* had been *all* the *Confutation*; which I add, becauſe I will not, I cannot make my ſelf a Vindicator of all the *Severities*, with which the Zeal of ſome Eminent Men hath ſometimes *Enraged* and *Increaſed*, rather than *Reclaimed* thoſe miſerable *Hereticks*: But wiſh that the *Quakers* may be treated as Queen *Elizabeth* directed the Lord Preſident of the North to treat the *Papiſts*; when ſhe adviſed him to convince them with *Argument*, rather than ſuppreſs them with *Violence*; to that purpoſe uſing of the Words of the Prophets, *Nolo Mortem Peccatoris*.

§ 24. Not long after his Death, his Friends publiſhed *Three Sermons* of his, which for the Circumſtances

Circumſtances of them could have been Entituled, *Theſe were the laſt Words of that Servant of the Lord.* The Firſt of the Sermons, was the *laſt Sermon*, which he preach'd at the Court of *Election* at *Boſton*. It is on Jer. 10. 17. entituled, *Sion the Out-caſt healed of her Wounds:* And there are two or three Paſſages in it, which I cannot but recommend unto the peculiar Conſideration of the preſent Generation

"To differ from our Orthodox, Pious, and "Learned Brethren, is ſuch an Affliction to a "Chriſtian and an Ingenuous Spirit, as nothing "but Love to the Truth could arm a Man of "Peace againſt. Our Profeſſion being in a "way differing from theſe and thoſe, it con-"cerns us, that our walking be very Cautelous, "and that it be without giving any Juſt Of-"fence.

Again, *In matters of* State *and* Church, *Let it be ſhown that we are his Diſciples, who ſaid,* Give unto *Cæſar* the things that are *Cæſars*, and Give unto God the things that are God's: *And in Matters of* Religion, *Let it be known, That we are for* Reformation *and not for* Separation. -- Once more, —— *I may ſay thus much (and pardon my Speech)* A more yielding Miniſtry unto the People than ours, I believe is not in the World. *I beſeech you, Let not* Cæſar *be killed in the* Senate, *after he hath conquer'd in the* Field. *Let us acknowledge the Order of the* Elderſhip, *in our Churches, in their Way; and the Order of* Councils *in their Way, duely backed and encouraged: Without which Experience will witneſs that theſe Churches cannot long conſiſt.*

The Second of the Sermons, was the *laſt Sermon* which he preached on the *Lord's Day*. It is on Joh. 14. 3. entituled, *The Believers Conſolation in the Remembrance of his Heavenly Manſion, prepared for him by Chriſt.*

The Third of the Sermons was the *laſt Sermon*, which he Preach'd on his *Lecture*. It is on Heb. 8. 5. entituled, *The Evangelical Worſhipper, ſubjecting to the Preſcription and Sovereignty of Scripture Pattern.*

§ 25. The Three Sermons thus Publiſhed as the *laſt*, or the *Dropt Mantle* of this *Elias*, are accompanied with the Tranſlation of a Letter, which was compoſed in Latin by Mr. *Norton*, and ſubſcribed by more than Forty of the Miniſters, on this Occaſion. The Famous *John Dury* having from the Year 1635. been moſt indefatigably labouring for a *Pacification*, between the Reformed Churches in *Europe*, communicated his Deſign to the Miniſters of *New-England*, requeſting their Concurrence and Countenance unto his Generous Undertaking. In anſwer to *Him*, this Letter was written; and there are one or two Paſſages, which I chuſe to tranſcribe from it, becauſe as well the *Spirit* of our *Norton*, as the *Story* of our *Country*, is therein Indigitated.

Redeunt in Memoriam, & redeunt quidem non ſine Sanctiori Sympathia, Beatæ illæ Animæ, Melancthonis *&* Parei ΝΥΝ ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ, *hic inter* Reformatos, *ille inter* Evangelicos, *Vir Conſummatiſſimus. Quorum Alter* Haganoam *iter faciens, ita Ingemuit.*

Viximus in *Synodis*, & jam moriemur in illis.

Alter Vero, Super Eriſtica Euchariſtica Meditabundus, in hæc Verba Erupit, Defeſſus ſum Diſputando. *Nimirum, illis Judicibus,* Orandum *potius quam*---Diſputandum; Vivendum *non* Litigandum. *Forſitan &* Conſilia Pacis, *Stimulanti recenti Ira hactenus, minus grata fuere, utriuſque partis* Theologi *Rixis diuturnioribus aliquando ſeſſi & Subacti, æquis animis Suſcipere, non moleſte ferunt:* Mare pacificum Aquis Meribanis, *Longo Rerum uſu Edocti, anteferentes.*

'We may here call to Mind, and not with-'out ſome Sacred Sympathy, thoſe Bleſſed 'Souls, *Melancthon* and *Pareus*, now among 'the Bleſſed, the one no leſs Famous among 'the *Reformed*, than the other among the *Evan-'gelicks.* Of theſe, the one going towards '*Haganoa*, with Sighs uttered theſe Words,

In Synods hitherto we lived have,
And now in them, return unto the Grave.

'The other ſeriouſly meditating on the Con-'troverſy of the *Euchariſt*, brake forth into theſe 'Words; *I am weary with Diſputing.* Thus, if '*theſe* might be Judges, we ought rather to '*Pray* than *Diſpute*, and ſtudy how to *Live*, 'rather than *Contend*. And perhaps the Di-'vines of either Part, after they have been 'wearied and broke in their Spirits with daily 'and continual Contentions, will more readily 'accept of the *Counſels of Peace*, which hither-'to have been leſs acceptable, while the Senſe 'of *Anger* has been ſpurring of them: After 'they have been taught by long uſe, they may 'prefer the Waters of the *Pacific Sea*, before 'thoſe of *Meribah*.

Gratias agimus Domino Dureo, *cui* Joſephi *Longe terra mari que a fratribus Diſſiti, meminiſſe Cordi fuit: Qui nos Miſellos, in* Cilicio, Cilicio *autem ipſi confidimus Evangelico, Militantes, tam Auſpicato Nuncio inviſere dignatus eſt: Qui* Novam Angliam, *quaſi particulam aliquam Fimbriæ Veſtimenti* Aaronici, *unguento prædiviti delibutam, in Album* Syncretiſmi, *Longe celeberrimi, adſcribere, non adſpernatur: Qui porro Litteris ad* Syncretiſmum *hortatoriis, ſubinde nobis Anſam præbuit Teſtimonium hoc, quale quale, perhibendi Communionis noſtræ fraternæ, cum univerſa Coborte* Proteſtantium, *fidem Jeſu Chriſti profitentium. Ingenue enim fatemur, tranquilla tam quum erant Omnia, nec Signa Minantia ſignis ad huc nobis conſpiciebantur; quippe quibus,* Epiſcopis, *illa Tempeſtate Rerum Dominis, publico Miniſterio Defungi, nedum Sacris frui, ſine* Subſcriptione *&* Conformitate, *(ut loqui ſolent) utque adeo Humanarum Adinventionum, in Divinis, Commixtione, non Liceret, & ſatius viſum eſt, vel in Longinquas, & Incultas Terrarum Oras, Cultus purioris Ergo conceſſiſſe, quam Oneri* Hierarchico, *cum Rerum*

Omnium Affluentia, Conſcientiæ autem Diſpendio, ſuccubuiſſe. At patriam fugiendo, nos Eccleſiarum Evangelicarum *Communioni Nuncium miſiſſe, hoc vero eſt quod fidenter & Sancte pernegamus.*

'We give thanks to Mr. *Dury*, into whoſe 'Heart it came to remember, *Joſeph ſeparate* '*from his Brethren* at ſo great a Diſtance both 'by Sea and Land: And who hath vouchſafed 'with ſo comfortable a Meſſage to viſit us 'poor People, cloathed in *Sackcloth*, for our 'Warfare; yet, as we truſt, the *Sackcloth* of 'the Goſpel: Who hath not refuſed to put '*New England* as part of the Skirt of *Aaron*'s '*Garment*, upon which hath deſcended ſome 'of the *Precious Oyl*, into the Catalogue of 'the ſo much famed *Agreement*: And who 'hath by his Letter exhorting to ſuch Agree-'ment given us an Occaſion to bring in this 'Teſtimony, ſuch as it is, for our *Brotherly* '*Communion* with the whole Company of *Pro-*'*teſtants* profeſſing the Faith of Chriſt Jeſus. 'For we muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, that then, 'when all things were quiet, and no threat-'ning Signs of War appeared, ſeeing we could 'not be permitted by the *Biſhops*, at that time 'prevailing to perform the Office of the Mini-'ſtry in *Publick*, nor yet to enjoy the Holy Or-'dinances, without *Subſcription* and *Confor-*'*mity* (as they were wont to ſpeak) nor with-'out the Mixture of *Humane Inventions* with '*Divine Inſtitutions*, we choſe rather to depart 'into the remote and unknown parts of the 'Earth, for the ſake of a *Purer Worſhip*, than 'to ly down under the *Hierarchy* in the *Abun-*'*dance* of all things, but with *Prejudice* of 'Conſcience. But that in flying from our 'Country, we ſhould renounce *Communion* with 'ſuch Churches, as profeſs the *Goſpel*, is a 'thing, which we confidently and ſolemnly 'deny.

Quoſcunque apud Cœtus, per Univerſum Evangelicorum chorum, Fundamentalia Doctrinæ & Eſſentialia Ordinis, *Vigeant, quamvis in pleriſque* Controverſiæ Theologicæ, Apicibus *nobiſcum juxta minus Sentiant, illos tamen ad unum Omnes, pro* Fratribus *agnoſcimus, iiſque cætera pacificis, & Ordinate incedentibus,* ΔΕΞΙΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ *in Domino porrigere, paratiſſimos, nos eſſe hiſce palam facimus.*

'In whatever Aſſemblies amongſt the whole 'Company of thoſe that profeſs the Goſpel, 'the *Fundamentals* of *Doctrine*, and *Eſſentials* 'of *Order*, are maintained, though in many 'Niceties of *Controverſal Divinity*, they are at 'leſs Agreement with us, we do hereby make 'it manifeſt, that we do acknowledge them 'all, and every one for *Brethren*, and that we 'ſhall be ready to give unto them the *Right* '*Hand of Fellowſhip* in the Lord, if in other 'Things they be Peaceable, and walk Or-'derly.

§ 26. This was our *Norton*! And we might have given yet a fuller Account of him, if we could have ſeen the *Diary*, which he kept of his *Daily Walk*. However he was well known to be a Great Example of *Holineſs*, *Watchfulneſs*, and Extraordinary *Wiſdom*; and though he left no *Children*, yet he has a *Better Name than that of Sons and of Daughters*. Moreover, there was one Conſiderable part of *Miniſterial Work*, wherein he not only went beyond moſt of his Age, but alſo proved a *Leader* unto many *Followers*. Though the Miniſters of *New-England* counted it *Unlawful* for them, *Ordinarily* to perform their *Miniſterial Acts* of Solemn and Publick *Prayer* by *Reading* or *Uſing* any *Forms of Prayer* compoſed by *other Perſons* for them; They Reckoned *an Ability to expreſs the Caſe of a Congregation in Prayer*, to be a *Miniſterial Gift*, which our Lord forbids His Miniſters to *Neglect*; They ſuppoſed that a Miniſter, who ſhould only Read *Forms of Sermons* compoſed for him, would as Truly Diſcharge the Duty of *Preaching*, as One that ſhould only Read ſuch *Forms of Prayers*, would the Duty of *Praying*, in it: They could not find, that any Humane *Forms of Prayers*, were much uſed in any part of the Church, until about *Four Hundred* Years after Chriſt, nor any made for more than ſome Single Province, until *Six Hundred* Years; nor any Impoſed until *Eight Hundred*, when all manner of *Ill-formed Things* began to be found in the *Temple* of God: Neverthele's very many of our Greateſt Miniſters, in our more Early times, did not uſe to Expatiate with ſuch a Significant and Admirable *Variety* in their *Prayers* before their *Sermons*, as many of our Later Times have attained unto: Nor indeed *Then* did *They*, nor *Still* do *We*, count all *Forms of Prayer* Simply Unlawful. But the more General Improvements and Expreſſions of *The Gift of Prayer*, in our Miniſters, have *Since* been the matter of Obſervation; and particularly Mr. *Norton*, therein was truly Admirable! It even Tranſported the Souls of his Hearers to accompany him in his Devotions, wherein his *Graces* would make Wonderful *Salleys* into the vaſt *Field* of *Entertainments*, and *Acknowledgments*, with which we are furniſhed in the *New-Covenant*, for our *Prayers*. I have heard of a Godly Man in *Ipſwich*, who after Mr. *Norton*'s going to *Boſton*, would Ordinarily Travel on foot from *Ipſwich* to *Boſton*, which is about Thirty Miles, for nothing but the Weekly *Lecture* there; and he would profeſs, *That it was worth a Great Journey, to be a Partaker in one of Mr.* Norton's *Prayers*. This Pattern of *Prayer* in Mr. *Norton*, had ſome Influence upon it, that ſince his Time, our *Pulpits* have been fuller than ever of *Experimental Demonſtrations*, that the Miniſters of the Goſpel may on all Occaſions preſent their Supplications before God, in the Diſcharge of their Miniſtry, with more Pertinent, more Affecting, more Expanded *Enlargements*, than any *Form* could Afford unto them. *New England* can ſhow, even *Young Miniſters*, who never did

did in all all Things Repeat *One Prayer* twice over, in that part of their Miniſtry wherein we are *Firſt of All, to make Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and Thankſgivings*; and yet ſometimes, for much more than an *Hour* together, they pour out their Souls unto the Almighty God in ſuch a Fervent, Copious, and yet *Proper* Manner, that their moſt Critical Auditors, can complain of Nothing *Diſagreeable*, but profeſs themſelves extreamly Edifyed.

But our Praying *Norton*, who while he was among us, *Pray'd with the Tongue of Angels*, is now gone to *Praiſe with the Angels* for ever.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES NORTONUS.

Quis fuerat, Ultra ſi quæras,
Dignus es qui Neſcias.

CHAP. III.

Memoria WILSONIA, the LIFE of Mr. *JOHN WILSON.*

§ 1. SUCH is the Natural *Tendency* in Humane Minds to *Poetry*, That as 'tis obſerved, the *Roman Hiſtorian*, in the very firſt Line of his *Hiſtory*, fell upon a Verſe,

Urbem Romam, In Principio Reges habuere;

So the *Roman Orator*, though a very *Mean Poet*, yet making an *Oration* for a *Good One*, could not let his Firſt Sentence paſs him, without a perfect *Hexameter*,

In Qua me non Inficior mediocriter Eſſe.

If therefore, I were not of all Men the moſt *Unpoetical*, my Reader might now expect an Entertainment altogether in *Verſe*; for I am going to write the *Life* of that *New-Engliſh* Divine, who had ſo nimble a Faculty of putting his Devout Thoughts into *Verſe*, that he Signalized himſelf by the Greateſt *Frequency*, perhaps, that ever Man uſed, of ſending *Poems* to all Perſons, in all Places, on all Occaſions; and upon this, as well as upon Greater Accounts, was a *David* unto the *Flocks* of our Lord in the *Wilderneſs*:

Quicquid tentabat Dicere, Verſus erat;

Wherein, if the *Curious* Reliſhed the *Piety* ſometimes rather than the *Poetry*, the Capacity of the *Moſt*, therein to be accomodated, muſt be conſidered. But I intend no further Account of this matter, than what is given by his Worthy Son, (Reprinting at *Boſton* in the Year 1680. the *Verſes* of his Father, upon the Famous Deliverances of the *Engliſh* Nation Printed at *London*, as long ago as the Year 1626.) Whoſe Words are, *What Volumes hath he Penned, for the help of Others, in their ſeveral Changes of Condition? How was his Heart full of Good Matter? And his Verſes paſt, like to the Handkerchiefs carried from* Paul *to uphold the Diſconſolate, and heal their Wounded Souls?* For indeed this is the *Leaſt Thing* that we have to Relate of that *Great Saint*; and accordingly, it is under a more conſiderable Character, that I muſt now exhibit him, even as a *Father* to the Infant Colonies of *New-England.*

§ 2. Mr. *John Wilſon*, deſcending from Eminent Anceſtors, was born at *Windſor* in the *Wonderful Year* 1588. The third Son of Dr. *William Wilſon*, a Prebend of St. *Pauls*, of *Rocheſter* and of *Winſor*, and Rector of *Cliff*: Having for his Mother, a Neece of Dr. *Edmund Grindal*, the moſt Worthily Renowned Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. His exact Education under his Parents, which betimes *Tinged* him with an Averſation to Vice, and above all, to the very ſhadow of a *Lye*, fitted him to undergo the further Education, which he received in *Eaton Colledge*, under *Udal* (and *Langley*) whom now we may venture, after Poor *Tom Tuſſer*, to call, *The ſevereſt of Men*. Here he was moſt Remarkably twice delivered from drowning; but at his Book, he made ſuch Proficiency, that while he was the *Leaſt Boy* in the School, he was made a *Propoſitor*; and when the Duke of *Biron*, Embaſſador from the *French* King *Henry* IV. to Queen *Elizabeth*, viſited the School, he made a Latin Oration, for which the Duke beſtowed Three *Angels* upon him. After four Years Continuance at *Eaton*, he was removed unto *Cambridge*, between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Year of his Age; and admitted into *Kings Colledge* in the Year 1602. When he came to ſtand for a *Fellowſhip* in that *Colledge*, his Antipathy to ſome Horrid Wickedneſſes, whereto a Deteſtable Wretch that had been acquainted with him, would have betray'd him, cauſed that Malicious Wretch by Deviſed and Accurſed *Slanders* to ruin ſo far the Reputation of this Chaſt Youth with the other *Fellows*, that had not the Provoſt, who was a Serious and a Reverend Perſon, interpoſed for him, he had utterly loſt his Priviledge; which now by the *Major Vote* he obtained. But this Affliction

put him upon many Thoughts and Prayers before the Lord.

§ 3. He had hitherto been according to his good Education, very civilly and ſoberly diſpoſed: But being by the good Hand of God, led unto the Miniſtry of ſuch holy Men as Mr. *Bains*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Chaderton*, he was by their Sermons enlightned and awakened, unto more ſolicitous Enquiries after, *The one thing yet lacking in him.* The ſerious Diſpoſitions of his Mind, were now ſuch, that beſides his purſuance after the Works of Repentance in himſelf, he took no little pains to purſue it in others; eſpecially the Malefactors in the Priſons, which he viſited with a devout, ſedulous, and ſucceſsful Induſtry. Nevertheleſs, being foreſtalled with Prejudices againſt the *Puritans* of thoſe Times, as if they had held, he knew not well what *odd Things*, he declined their Acquaintance; altho' his good Converſation had made him to be accounted one of them himſelf. Until going to a Bookſeller's Shop, to augment his well-furniſh'd Library, he light upon that famous Book of Mr. *Richard Rogers*, called, *The Seven Treatiſes*: Which when he had read, he ſo affected, not only the Matter, but alſo the Author of the Book, that he took a Journey unto *Wethersfield*, on purpoſe to hear a Sermon from that *Boanerges*. When he had heard the Heavenly Paſſages that fell from the Lips of that worthy Man, privately, as well as publickly, and compared therewithal the Writings of *Greenham*, of *Dod*, and of *Dent*, eſpecially, *The Pathway to Heaven*, written by the Author laſt mentioned, he ſaw that they who were Nick-named *Puritans*, were like to be the deſirableſt Companions, for one that intended his own everlaſting Happineſs; and purſuant unto the Advice which he had from Dr. *Ames*, he aſſociated himſelf with a Pious Company in the Univerſity; who kept their Meetings in Mr. *Wilſon*'s Chamber, for Prayer, Faſting, Holy Conference, and the Exerciſes of true Devotion.

§ 4. But now perceiving many good Men to ſcruple many of the *Rites* practiſed and impoſed in the Church of *England*, he furniſhed himſelf with all the *Books* that he could find written on the Caſe of *Conformity*, both *Pro* and *Con*, and pondered with a moſt Conſcientious Deliberation, the Arguments on both ſides produced. He was hereby ſo convinced of the Evil in *Conformity*, that at length, for his obſervable Omiſſion, of certain Uninſtituted *Ceremonies* in the Worſhip of God, the Biſhop of *Lincoln* then viſiting the Univerſity, pronounced upon him the Sentence of *Quindenum*; that is, that beſides other Mortifications, he muſt within *Fifteen Days* have been expelled, if he continued in his Offence. His Father being hereof adviſed, with all Paternal Affection, wrote unto him to *Conform*; and at the ſame time interceded with the Biſhop, that he might have a Quarter of a Year allowed him; in which time, if he could not be reduced, he ſhould then leave his Fellowſhip in the Colledge. Hereupon he ſent him unto ſeveral Doctors of Great Fame, to get his Objections reſolved; but when much Diſcourſe, and much Writing, had paſſed between them, he was rather the more confirmed in his Principles about *Church-Reformation*. Wherefore his Father, then diverting him from the Deſigns of the *Miniſtry*, diſpoſed him to the *Inns of Court*; where he fell into Acquaintance with ſome young Gentlemen, who aſſociated with him in conſtant Exerciſes of Devotion; to which Meetings the repeated Sermons of Dr. *Gouge* were a continual Entertainment: And here it was, that he came into the Advantageous Knowledge of the Learned *Scultetus*, Chaplain to the Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, then making ſome ſtay in *England*.

§ 5. When he had continued Three Years at the *Inns of Court*, his Father diſcerning his Diſpoſition to be a *Miniſter of the Goſpel*, permitted his proceeding *Maſter of Arts*, in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; but adviſed him to addreſs another *Colledge*, than that where he had formerly met with Difficulties. Dr. *Cary*, who was then Vice-Chancellor, underſtanding his former Circumſtances, would not Admit him without *Subſcription*; but he refuſed to *Subſcribe*. In this Diſtreſs he repaired unto his Father, at whoſe Houſe there happened then to be preſent, the Counteſs of *Bedford*'s chief Gentleman, who had Buſineſs with the Earl of *Northampton*, the Chancellor of the Univerſity. And this Noble Perſon, upon the Information which that Gentleman gave him of the matter, preſently wrote a Letter to the Vice-Chancellor, on the behalf of our young *Wilſon*; whereupon he received his *Degree*, and continued a while after this, in *Emanuel*-Colledge: From whence he made frequent and uſeful Viſits unto his Friends in the Counties adjoining, and became further fitted for his intended Service. But while he was paſſing under theſe Changes, he took up a *Reſolution* which he thus expreſſed before the Lord: *That if the Lord would grant him a Liberty of Conſcience, with Purity of Worſhip, he would be content, yea thankful, tho' it were at the furthermoſt End of the World.* A moſt Prophetical Reſolution!

§ 6. At length preaching his firſt Sermon at *Newport*, *he ſet his Hand unto that Plough, from whence he never afterwards looked back*: Not very long after which, his Father lying on his Death-bed, he kneeled, in his Turn, before him, for his *Bleſſing*, and brought with him for a ſhare in that *Bleſſing*, the Vertuous young Gentlewoman, the Daughter of the Lady *Mansfield*, (Widow of Sir *John Mansfield*, Maſter of the *Minories*) and the Queen's Surveyor) whom he deſigned afterwards to marry: Whereupon the old Gentleman ſaid, *Ah*, John, *I have taken much Care about thee, ſuch time as thou waſt in the Univerſity, becauſe thou wouldeſt not Conform; I would fain have brought thee to ſome higher Preferment than thou haſt yet attained unto: I ſee thy Conſcience is very ſcrupulous, concerning ſome things that have been obſerved and impoſed in the Church: Nevertheleſs, I have rejoiced to*

ſee

ſee the Grace and Fear of God in thy Heart; *and ſeeing thou haſt kept a good Conſcience hitherto, and walked according to thy Light, ſo do ſtill*; *and go by the Rules of God's Holy Word: The Lord bleſs thee, and her, whom thou haſt choſen to be the Companion of thy Life!* Among other places where he now preached, *Moreclake* was one; where his *Non-Conformity* expoſed him to the Rage of Perſecution; but by the Friendſhip of the Juſtice, namely Sir *William Bird*, a Kinſman of his Wife, and by a Miſtake of the Informers, the Rage of that Storm was moderated.

§ 7. After this he lived as a Chaplain ſucceſſively, in Honourable and Religious Families; and at laſt was invited unto the Houſe of the moſt Pious Lady *Scudamore*. Here Mr. *Wilſon* obſerving the Diſcourſe of the Gentry at the Table, on the Lord's Day, to be too diſagreeable unto the devout Frame to be maintained on ſuch a day, at length he zealouſly ſtood up at the Table, with Words to this purpoſe, *I will make bold to ſpeak a Word or two: This is the Lord's Holy Day, and we have been hearing his Word, and after the Word preached, every one ſhould think, and ſpeak about ſuch things as have been delivered in the Name of God, and not laviſh out the time in Diſcourſes about Hawks and Hounds.* Whereupon a Gentleman then preſent made this handſome and civil Anſwer: *Sir, We deſerve all of us to be thus reproved by you*; *this is indeed the Sabbath-day, and we ſhould ſurely have better Diſcourſe*; *I hope it will be a Warning to us.* Notwithſtanding this, the next Lord's Day, the Gentry at the Table were at their *Old Notes*; which cauſed Mr. *Wilſon* again to tell them, *That the Hawks which they talk'd of, were the Birds that picked up the Seed of the Word, after the ſowing of it*; and pray'd them, *That their Talk might be of ſuch things, as might ſanctifie the Day, and edifie their own Souls:* Which cauſed the former Gentleman to renew his former Thankfulneſs for the Admonition. But Mr. *Leigh*, the Lady's Huſband, was very angry; whereof when the Lady adviſed Mr. *Wilſon*, wiſhing him to ſay ſomething that might ſatisfie him, he replied, *Good Madam, I know not wherein I have given any juſt Offence*; *and therefore I know of no Satisfaction that I owe: Your Ladiſhip has invited me to preach the good Word of God among you*; *and ſo I have endeavoured according to my Ability: Now ſuch Diſcourſe as this, on the Lord's Day, is profane and diſorderly: If your Huſband like me not, I will be gone.* When the Lady informed her Huſband how peremptory Mr. *Wilſon* was in this matter, he mended his Countenance and Carriage; and the Effect of this Reproof was, that unſuitable Diſcourſe, on the Lord's Day, was cured among them.

§ 8. Removing from this Family, after he had been a while at *Henly*, he continued for three Years together, preaching at four places, by turns, which lay near one another, on the Edges of *Suffolk*, namely *Bumſted*, *Stoke*, *Clare*, and *Candiſh*. Here ſome of *Sudbury* happening to hear him, they invited him to ſucceed the eminent old Mr. *Jenkins*, with which Invitation he cheerfully complied, and the more cheerfully becauſe of his Opportunity to be near old Mr. *Richard Rogers*, from whom afterwards when dying, he received a Bleſſing among his Children; yea, to encourage his Acceptance of this place, the very Reader of the Pariſh did ſubſcribe, with many Scores of others, their Deſires of it; and yet he accepted not the Paſtoral Charge of the Place, without a Solemn Day of Prayer with Faſting, (wherein the Neighbouring Miniſters aſſiſted) at his Election: Great Notice was now taken of the Succeſs, which God gave unto his Labours, in this famous Town; among other Inſtances whereof, one was this: A Tradeſman much given to Stealing, as well as other profane and vicious Practices, one Day ſeeing People flock to Mr. *Wilſon*'s Lecture, thought with himſelf, *Why ſhould I tarry at home to work, when ſo many go to hear a Sermon?* Wherefore, for the ſake of Company, he went unto the Lecture too; but when he came, he found a Sermon, as it were, particularly directed unto himſelf, on *Eph.* 4. 28. *Let him that hath ſtole, ſteal no more*; and ſuch was the Impreſſion thereof upon his Heart, that from this time he became a changed and pious Man.

§ 9. But if *they that will live godlily muſt ſuffer Perſecution*, a peculiar ſhare of it muſt fall upon them, who are zealous and uſeful Inſtruments to make others live ſo. Mr. *Wilſon* had a ſhare of this Perſecution; and one *A—n*, was a principal Authot of it. This *A—n* had formerly been an Apprentice in *London*, where the Biſhops detained him ſome Years, under an hard Impriſonment, becauſe he refuſed the Oath *Ex Officio*, which was preſſed upon him to tell, *Whether he had never heard his Maſter pray againſt the Biſhop?*

The Charity of well-diſpoſed People now ſupported him, till he got abroad, recommended by his hard Sufferings, unto the good Affections of the Puritans, at whoſe Meetings he became ſo converſant, and thereupon ſuch a forward and zealous Profeſſor, that at length he took upon him, under the Confidence of ſome *Latinity*, whereof he was Owner, to be a ſort of *Preacher* among them. This Man would Reverence Mr. *Wilſon* as his Father, and yet upon the Provocation of ſeeing Mr. *Wilſon* more highly Valued and Honoured than himſelf, he not only became a Conformiſt himſelf, but alſo, as Apoſtates uſe to be, a malignant and violent Perſecutor of thoſe from whom he had Apoſtatized. By his means Mr. *Wilſon* was put into trouble in the Biſhops Courts; from whence his Deliverance was at length obtained by certain powerful Mediators. And once by his Tricks, the moſt noted Purſivant of thoſe Times, was employed for the ſeizing of Mr. *Wilſon*; but tho' he ſeized upon many Scores of the People coming from the Lecture, he diſmiſſed the reſt, becauſe he could not meet with Mr. *Wilſon* himſelf, who by a ſpecial Providence, went out of his

direct Way, to viſit a worthy Neighbour, and ſo eſcaped this mighty Hunter.

Afterwards an eminent Lady, happening innocently to make ſome Compariſon between the preaching of Mr. *Wilſon*, and one Dr. *B.* of *B.* the angry Doctor preſently applied himſelf unto the Biſhop of *London*, who for a while ſuſpended him. And when that Storm was over, he with ſeveral other worthy Miniſters, came to be wholly ſilenced in another, that was raiſed upon Complaints made by one Mr. *Bird*, unto the Biſhop of *Norwich* againſt them. Concerning this *Ill Bird*, there happened one paſſage hereupon, which had in it ſomething extraordinary. Falling very ſick, he had the help of a famous and skilful Phyſician, one Dr. *Duke* of *Colcheſter*; who having left his Patient, in his Opinion, ſafely recovered, gave Mr. *Wilſon* a Viſit with an Account of it. *Recovered!* ſays Mr. *Wilſon, You are miſtaken, Mr. Doctor; he's a dead Man!* The Doctor anſwered, *If ever I recovered a ſick Man in my Life, that Man is recovered.* But Mr. *Wilſon* replied, *No, Mr. Doctor, he's a dead Man, he ſhall not live: Mark my Words!* The Doctor ſmiled; but for all that, before they parted, the News was brought them, that the Man was dead indeed, and *the Lord known by the Judgment which he executed.* But at laſt Mr. *Wilſon* obtained from the truly Noble Earl of *Warwick*, to ſign a Letter, which the Earl bid himſelf to draw up, unto the Biſhop, on his behalf; by the Operation of which Letter, his Liberty, for the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, was again procured. This Biſhop was the well-known Dr. *Harſnet*, who a little while after this, travelling Northward, upon Deſigns of Miſchief againſt the Reforming Paſtors and Chriſtians there, certain Miniſters of the *South* ſet apart a Day for ſolemn Faſting and Prayer, to implore the Help of Heaven againſt thoſe Deſigns; and on that very Day, he was taken with a Sore and an odd Fit, which cauſed him to ſtop at a blind Houſe of Entertainment on the Road, where he ſuddenly died.

§ 10. At laſt, *being perſecuted in one Country, he muſt flee into another.* The Plantation of a *New Engliſh* Colony was begun: And Mr. *Wilſon*, with ſome of his Neighbours, embarked themſelves in the Fleet, which came over thither in the Year 1630. Where he applied himſelf with with all the Vigor imaginable, to encourage the poor People, under the Difficulties of their *New Plantation.* This good People buried near Two hundred of their Number, within a Quarter of a Year after their firſt Landing; which cauſed Mr. *Wilſon* particularly to endeavour their Conſolation, by preaching on *Jacob*'s not being diſheartned by the Death of his neareſt Friends in the way, when God had called him to remove. And how remarkably, perhaps I might ſay, *exceſſively* liberal he was, in employing his Eſtate for the Relief of the Needy, every ſuch one ſo beheld him, as to reckon him *the Father of them all:* Yea, the poor *Indians* themſelves alſo taſted of his *Bounty.* If it were celebrated, as the Glory of *Bellarmine*, that he would ſell his Goods, to convert them into Alms for the Poor; yea, that *Quadam die proprium Atramentarium Argenteolum, ut ditaret Inopes, inter pignora obligavit:* Our Mr. *Wilſon*, tho' a greater Diſclaimer of Merit than *Bellarmine* was, not only in his Writings, but on his Death-bed it ſelf, yet came not behind *Bellarmine* for the extenſion of his Charity. To give Inſtances of his, even over-doing Liberality, would be to do it Injuries; for indeed they were innumerable: He acted as if the Primitive Agreement of having *all Things in common*, had been of all Things, the moſt agreeable unto him. I ſhall Sum up all, in the Lines of an elegant Elegy, which Mr. *Samuel Bache*, an Ingenious Merchant, made upon him, at his Death:

When as the Poor want Succour, where is he
Can ſay, all can be ſaid, Extempore?
Vie with the Lightning, and melt down to th' quick
Their Souls, and make themſelves their Pockets pick?
Where's ſuch a Leader, thus has got the ſlight
T' *teach* holy Hands to War, Fingers to fight;
Their Arrow hit? Bowels *to* Bowels *meant it,*
God, Chriſt, *and* Saints, *accept, but* Wilſon *ſent it.*
Which way ſo e'er the Propoſitions move,
The Ergo *of his* Syllogiſms Love.
So bountiful to all: But if the Poor
Was Chriſtian too, all's Money went, and more,
His Coat, Rug, Blanket, Gloves; he thought their due
Was all his Money, Garments, one of two.

But he was moſt ſet upon the Main Buſineſs of this *new Plantation*; which was, *To ſettle and enjoy the Ordinances of the Goſpel, and Worſhip the Lord Jeſus Chriſt according to his own Inſtitutions:* And accordingly, he, with the Governour, and others that came with him on the ſame Account, combined into a Church-State, with all convenient Expedition.

§ 11. Mr. *Wilſon*'s Removal to *New England*, was rendred the more difficult, by the Indiſpoſition of his deareſt Conſort thereunto; but he hoping, that according to a Dream which he had before his coming hither, *That he ſaw here a little Temple riſing out of the Ground, which by Degrees increaſed into a very high and large Dimenſions*, the Lord had a Temple to build in theſe Regions; reſolved never to be diſcouraged from his Undertaking. Wherefore having firſt ſent over an encouraging Account of the good Order, both Civil and Sacred, which now began to be eſtabliſhed in the Plantation, he did himſelf return into *England*, that he might further purſue the Effect thereof; and accordingly he made it his Buſineſs, where-ever he came, to draw as many good Men as he could, into this Country with him. His Wife remained unperſwadable, till upon *Prayer* with *Faſting* before the Almighty *Turner of Hearts*, he received an Anſwer, in her becoming willing to accompany

him

him over an *Ocean* into a *Wilderneſs*. A very ſorrowful Parting they now had from their old Friends in *Sudbury*, but a ſafe and quick paſſage over the *Atlantic*; and whereas the Church of *Boſton*, obſerving that he arrived not at the time expected, had ſet apart a *Day of Humiliation* on his behalf, his joyful Arrival before the Day, cauſed them to turn it into a *Day of Thankſgiving*. But Mrs. *Wilſon* being thus perſwaded over, into the Difficulties of an *American* Deſart, I have heard, that her Kinſman, old Mr. *Dod*, for her Conſolation under thoſe Difficulties, did ſend her a Preſent, with an Advice, which he had in it, ſomething of *Curioſity*. He ſent her, at the ſame time, a Braſs *Counter*, a Silver *Crown*, and a Gold *Jacobus*; all of them ſeverally wrapped up: With this Inſtruction unto the Gentleman who carried it: That he ſhould firſt of all deliver only the *Counter*, and if ſhe receiv'd it with any ſhew of Diſcontent, he ſhould then take no further Notice of her; but if ſhe gratefully reſented that ſmall Thing, for the ſake of the Hand it came from, he ſhould then go on to deliver the *Silver*, and ſo the *Gold*: But withal aſſure her, *That ſuch would be the Diſpenſations of God unto her, and the other good People of* New-England: *If they would be content and thankful with ſuch little Things, as God at firſt beſtow'd upon them, they ſhould, in time, have Silver and Gold enough.* Mrs. *Wilſon* accordingly, by her cheerful Entertainment of the leaſt Remembrance from good old Mr. *Dod*, gave the Gentleman occaſion to go through with his whole *Preſent*, and the annexed *Advice*; which hath in a good Meaſure been accompliſhed.

§ 12. It was not long before Mr. *Wilſon*'s Return to *England* once more, was obliged by the Death of his Brother, whoſe *Will*, becauſe it bequeathed a Legacy of a Thouſand Pounds unto *New-England*, gave Satisfaction unto our Mr. *Wilſon*, tho' it was otherwiſe injurious unto himſelf. A Tedious and Winter-Voyage he now had; being twice forced into *Ireland*, where firſt at *Galloway*, then at *Kingſale*, afterwards at *Bandon-Bridge*, he occaſionally, but vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully ſerved the *Kingdom of God*. At laſt he got ſafe among his old Friends at *Sudbury*; according to the Prediction which he had let fall in his former Farewel unto them: *It may be* John Wilſon *may come and ſee* Sudbury *once again.* From whence, viſiting Mr. *Nathanael Rogers*, at *Aſſington*, where he arrived before their *Morning Prayers*; Mr. *Rogers* asked him to ſay ſomething upon the *Chapter* that was read, which happened then to be the firſt *Chapter* in the firſt Book of *Chronicles*; and from a Paragraph of meer *proper Names*, that ſeemed altogether barren of any edifying Matter, he raiſed ſo many fruitful and uſeful Notes, that a pious Perſon then preſent, amazed thereat, could have no reſt, without going over into *America* after him. Having diſpatched his Affairs in *England*, he again embarked for *New England*, in Company with four Miniſters, and near two hundred Paſſengers, whereof ſome were Perſons of conſiderable Quality: But they had all been loſt by a large Leak ſprang in the Ship, if God had not, on a Day of Solemn *Faſting*, and *Prayer*, kept on board for that purpoſe, mercifully diſcovered this dangerous *Leak* unto them.

§ 13. That *Phœnix* of his Age, Dr. *Ames*, would ſay, *That if he might have his Option of the beſt Condition that he could propound unto himſelf on this ſide Heaven, it would be, that he might be the Teacher of a Congregational Church, whereof Mr.* Wilſon *ſhould be the Paſtor.* This Happineſs, this Priviledge, now had Mr. *Cotton* in the Church of *Boſton*. But Satan envious at the Proſperity of that flouriſhing Church, raiſed a Storm of *Antinomian*, and *Familiſtical* Errors, which had like to have thrown all into an irrecoverable Confuſion, if the good God had not remarkably bleſſed the Endeavours of a *Synod*; and Mr. *Wilſon*, for a while, met with hard meaſure for his early oppoſition to thoſe Errors, until by the help of that *Synod*, the Storm was weathered out. At the beginning of that Aſſembly, after much Diſcourſe againſt the Unſcriptural *Enthuſiaſms*, and *Revelations*, then by ſome contended for, Mr. *Wilſon* propoſed, *You that are againſt theſe things, and that are for the Spirit and the Word together, hold up your Hands!* And the multitude of Hands then held up, was a comfortable and encouraging Introduction unto the other Proceedings. At the *Concluſion* of that *Aſſembly*, a Catalogue of the *Errors* to be condemned, was produced; whereof when one asked, *What ſhall be done with them?* The wonted Zeal of Mr. *Wilſon* made this blunt Anſwer, *Let them go to the Devil of Hell, from whence they came.*

In the midſt of theſe Temptations alſo, he was by a Lot, choſen to accompany the Forces, then ſent forth upon an Expedition againſt the *Pequod Indians*; which he did with ſo much *Faith* and *Joy*, that he profeſſed himſelf *as fully ſatisfied, that God would give the* Engliſh *a Victory over thoſe Enemies, as if he had ſeen the Victory already obtained.* And the whole Country quickly ſhared with him in the Conſolations of that remarkable Victory.

§ 14. In the *Wilderneſs* he met with his *Difficulties*; for beſides the loſs of Houſes, divers times by *Fire*, which yet he bore with ſuch a cheerful Submiſſion, that once one that met him on the Road, informing of him, *Sir, I have ſad News for you; while you have been abroad, your Houſe is burnt.* His firſt Anſwer was, *Bleſſed be God: He has burnt this Houſe, becauſe he intends to give me a better.* (Which accordingly came to paſs.)

He was alſo put upon complying with the Inclinations of his *Eldeſt Son* to *Travel*; who accordingly travelled, firſt into *Holland*, then into *Italy*, where he proceeded a *Doctor of Phyſick*, and ſo returned into *England*, excellently well adorned with all the Accompliſhments of a moſt pious and uſeful Gentleman. But this worthy Perſon died about the Year 1658. And this haſtened the *Death* of his *Mother*, e'er the Year came

came about; which more than *Doubled* the *Grief* of his *Father*. And theſe Afflictions were yet further embittered by the Death of his Eldeſt *Daughter* Mrs. *Rogers*, in Child-bed with her firſt Child; at whoſe Interment, though he could not but expreſs a deal of *Sorrow*, yet he did it with ſo much *Patience*, that *In Token*, he ſaid, *of his Grounded and Joyful Hopes, to meet her again in the Morning of the Reſurrection, and of his Willingneſs to reſign her into the Hands of him who would make all Things work together for good*, he himſelf took the *Spade*, and threw in the firſt Shovelful of Earth upon her. And not long after, he buried Three or Four of his *Grand children* by another Daughter Mrs. *Danforth* (yet living with her Worthy *Son in-Law Edward Bromfield*, Eſq; in *Boſton*) whereof one lying by the Walls, on a Day of Publick Thankſgiving, this Holy Man then preached a moſt Savoury Sermon on Job 1. 21. *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord*. The next Child, although ſo weakly that all deſpaired of its Life, his Prophetical Grandfather ſaid, *Call him* John, *I believe in God, he ſhall live, and be a Prophet too, and do God Service in his Generation!* Which is, at this Day, fulfilled in Mr. *John Danforth*, the preſent Paſtor to the Church of *Dorcheſter*. Encountring with ſuch, and many other Exerciſes his Years rolled away, till he had ſerved *New-England*, *Three* Years before Mr. *Cotton*'s coming over, *Twenty* Years with him; *Ten* Years with Mr. *Norton*, and *Four* Years after him.

§ 15. In his Younger Time, he had been uſed unto a more *Methodical* way of *Preaching*, and was therefore admired above many, by no leſs Auditors than Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Burroughs*, and Mr. *Bridge*, when they travelled from *Cambridge* into *Eſſex*, on purpoſe to obſerve the Miniſters in that County; but after he became a *Paſtor*, joined with ſuch Illuminating *Teachers*, he gave himſelf a Liberty to *Preach* more after the *Primitive* Manner; without any diſtinct *Propoſitions*, but chiefly in *Exhortations* and *Admonitions*, and good wholeſome *Councils*, tending to excite good Motions in the Minds of his Hearers; (but upon the ſame Texts that were Doctrinally handled by his Colleague inſtantly before:) and yet ſometimes his Paſtoral Diſcourſes had ſuch a *Spirit* in them, that Mr. *Shepard* would ſay, *Methinks I hear an Apoſtle, when I hear this Man!* Yea, even one of his *Ex Tempore* Sermons, has been ſince his Death, counted worthy to be publiſhed unto the World. The Great Lecture of *Boſton*, being diſappointed of him, that ſhould have Preached it, Mr. *Wilſon* Preached that Lecture on a Text occuring in the Chapter that had been read that Morning in his Family, Jer. 29. 8.--- *Neither hearken to your Dreams, which you cauſe to be Dreamed*; from whence he gave a Seaſonable Warning unto the People againſt the *Dreams*, wherewith ſundry ſorts of Opinioniſts, have been endeavouring to ſeduce them. It was the laſt *Boſton* Lecture that ever he Preached (Nov. 16. 1665.) and one who writ after him, in *Short hand*, about a Dozen Years after Publiſhed it. But his *laſt Sermon* he Preached at *Roxbury* Lecture, for his moſt Worthy Son-in-Law Mr. *Danforth*; and after he had read his *Text*, which was in the Beginnings and Concluſions of ſundry of the *laſt Pſalms*, with a Seraphical Voice, he added, *If I were ſure this were the laſt Sermon that ever I ſhould Preach, and theſe the laſt Words that ever I ſhould ſpeak, yet I would ſtill ſay*, Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praiſe ye the Lord! Thus he *ended* his *Miniſtry* on Earth, thus he *began* his *Poſſeſſion* of Heaven with *Hallelujahs*.

§ 16. Indeed, if the Picture of this *Good*, and therein *Great* Man, were to be exactly given, *Great Zeal*, with *Great Love*, would be the two Principal Strokes, that joined with *Orthodoxy*, ſhould make up his Pourtraiture. He had the *Zeal* of a *Phineas*, I had almoſt ſaid of a *Seraphim*, in teſtifying againſt every thing that he thought offenſive unto God. The *Opinioniſts*, which attempted at any time to debaſe the *Scripture*, or confound the *Order*, embraced in our Churches, underwent the moſt pungent Animadverſions of this his Devout *Zeal*; whence, when a certain Aſſembly of People, which he approved not, had ſet up in *Boſton*, he charged all his Family, that they ſhould never dare, ſo much as once to enter into that Aſſembly; *I charge you*, ſaid he, *That you do not once go to hear them; for whatſoever they may pretend, they will rob you of Ordinances, rob you of your Souls, rob you of your God*. But though he were thus, like *John*, a *Son of Thunder* againſt *Saducees*, yet he was like that Bleſſed and Beloved Apoſtle alſo, all made up of *Love*. He was full of *Affection*, and ready to help and relieve and comfort the *Diſtreſſed*; his *Houſe* was Renowned for *Hoſpitality*, and his *Purſe* was continually emptying it ſelf into the hands of the *Needy*: From which Diſpoſition of *Love* in him, there once happened this Paſſage; when he was beholding a great Muſter of Souldiers, a Gentleman then preſent ſaid unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great Thing; here's a mighty Body of People, and there is not Seven of them all, but what loves* Mr. *Wilſon*; but that Gracious Man preſently and pleaſantly replied, *Sir, I'll tell you as good a Thing as that, here's a mighty Body of People, and there is not ſo much as one of them all, but Mr.* Wilſon *loves him*. Thus he did, by his own Example, notably Preach that Leſſon, which a Gentleman found in the *Anagram* of his Name, *Wiſh no one ill*: And thus did he continue, to *Do every one good*, until his Death gave the ſame Gentleman Occaſion thus to Elegize upon him:

Now may Celeſtial Spirits ſing yet Higher,
Since one more's added to their Sacred Quire;
Wilſon the Holy, whoſe *Good Name* doth ſtill,
In Language Sweet, bid us [*Wiſh no Ill*.]

§ 17.

§ 17. He was one, that conſulting not only his own Edification, but the Encouragement of the Miniſtry, and of Religion, with an Indefatigable Diligence viſited the Congregations of the Neighbouring Towns, at their *Weekly Lectures*, until the Weakneſſes of *Old Age* rendered him uncapable. And it was a delightful thing then to ſee upon every Recurring Opportunity, a large Company of Chriſtians, and even *Magiſtrates* and *Miniſters* among them, and Mr. *Wilſon* in the Head of them, viſiting the *Lectures* in all the Vicinage, with ſuch Heavenly Diſcourſes on the Road, as cauſed the Hearts of the Diſciples to *burn within them*: And indeed it was remark'd, That though the Chriſtians *then* ſpent leſs Time in the *Shop*, or *Field*, than they do *now*, yet they did in *both* proſper more. But for Mr. *Wilſon*, I am ſaying, That a *Lecture* was a *Treaſure* unto him; he Priz'd it, he ſought it, until *Old Age* at length brought with it *a Sickneſs*, which a long while confin'd him. In this Illneſs he took a Solemn Farewel of the *Miniſters*, who had their Weekly Meetings at his *Hoſpitable Houſe*, and were now come together from all parts, at the Anniverſary *Election* for the Government of the Colony. They asked him to declare ſolemnly, what he thought might be the *Sins*, which provoked the Diſpleaſure of God againſt the Country. Whereto his Anſwer was, *I have long feared ſeveral Sins*; Whereof, one, he ſaid, was *Corahiſm*; "That is, when People riſe up as *Corah* " againſt their *Miniſters*, as if they took too " much upon them, when indeed they do but " rule for Chriſt, and according to Chriſt; yet " it is nothing for a Brother to ſtand up and " oppoſe, without Scripture or Reaſon, the " Word of an Elder, ſaying [*I am not ſatisfied!*] " And hence, if he do not like the Adminiſtration (be it *Baptiſm* or the like) he will turn " his back upon God and his Ordinances, and " go away. And for our Neglect of *Baptiſing* " the Children of the *Church*, thoſe that ſome " call *Grand-children*, I think God is provoked " by it. Another Sin (*ſaid he*) I take to be " the making light of, and not ſubjecting to " the Authority of *Synods*, without which the " Churches cannot long ſubſiſt.

§ 18. Afterwards, having ſolemnly with Prayer, and *Particularly* and very *Prophetically* Bleſſed his Relations and Attendants, he now thus comforted himſelf, *I ſhall e'er long be with my old Friends*, Dr. *Preſton*, Dr. *Sibs*, Dr. *Taylor*, Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Norton*, *my Inns of Court Friends, and my Conſort, Children, Grand-children in the Kingdom of God*. And when ſome then preſent magnified God for making him a Man of ſuch *Uſe*, and lamented themſelves in their own *Loſs* of him, he replied, *Alas, Alas*; *Uſe no ſuch Words concerning me*; *for I have been an Unprofitable Servant, not worthy to be called a Servant of the Lord: But I muſt ſay*, The Lord be merciful to me a Sinner, *and I muſt ſay*, Let thy tender Mercies come unto me, O Lord, even thy Salvation according to thy Word. The Evening before he died, his Daughter asking him, Sir, *How do you do?* He held up his hand, and ſaid, *Vaniſhing Things! Vaniſhing Things!* But he then made a moſt affectionate Prayer, with and for his Friends; and ſo quietly *Fell Aſleep* on Auguſt 7. 1667. in the Seventy Ninth Year of his Age. Thus expired that Reverend Old Man: Of whom, when he left *England*, an Eminent Perſonage, ſaid, *New-England ſhall flouriſh, free from all General Deſolations, as long as that good Man liveth in it!* Which was comfortably accompliſhed. He was *Interr'd* with more than ordinary Solemnity; and his Neighbour Mr. *Richard Mather* of *Dorcheſter*, thereat lamented the Publick Loſs in his Departure, with a Sermon upon Zech. 1. 5. *Your Fathers where are they, and the Prophets, do they live for ever?*

§ 19. Being a *Man of Prayer*, he was very much a *Man of God*; and a certain Prophetical *Afflatus*, which often directs the *Speeches* of ſuch *Men*, did ſometimes remarkably appear in the Speeches of this Holy Man. Inſtances hereof have been already given. A few more ſhall now be added.

Beholding a Young Man extraordinarily *Dutiful* in all poſſible ways of being ſerviceable, unto his aged *Mother*, then *Weak* in Body, and *Poor* in Eſtate, *he* declared unto ſome of his Family what he had beheld; adding therewithal, *I charge you to take notice of what I ſay*; *God will certainly bleſs that Young Man*; John Hull (*for that* was his Name) *ſhall grow Rich, and live to do God good Service in his Generation!* It came to paſs accordingly, That this Exemplary Perſon became a very *Rich*, as well as Emphatically a *Good* Man, and afterwards died a *Magiſtrate* of the Colony.

When one Mr. *Adams*, who waited on him from *Hartſord* unto *Weatherſfield*, was followed with the News of his Daughter's being fallen ſuddenly and doubtfully ſick, Mr. *Wilſon* looking up to Heaven, began mightily to wreſtle with God for the Life of the Young Woman: *Lord* (ſaid he) *wilt thou now take away thy Servants Child, when thou ſeeſt he is attending on thy Poor unworthy Servant in moſt Chriſtian Kindneſs*; *Oh! do it not!* And then turning himſelf about unto Mr. *Adams*, *Brother* (ſaid he) *I truſt your Daughter ſhall live*, *I believe in God ſhe ſhall recover of this Sickneſs!* And ſo it marvellouſly came to paſs, and ſhe is now the fruitful *Mother* of ſeveral deſireable Children.

A *Pequot Indian*, in a Canoo, was eſpied by the *Engliſh*, within Gun-ſhot, carrying away an *Engliſh Maid*, with a Deſign to *Deſtroy* her or *Abuſe* her. The Souldiers fearing to kill the *Maid* if they ſhot at the *Indian*, asked Mr. *Wilſon*'s Counſel, who forbad them to fear, and aſſured them, *God will direct the Bullet!* They ſhot accordingly; and killed the *Indian*, though then moving ſwiftly upon the Water, and ſaved the *Maid* free from all harm whatever.

Upon the Death of the firſt and only Child (being an Infant) of his Daughter Mrs. *Danforth*,

forth, he made a Poem, wherein were theſe Lines among the reſt,

What if they part with their beloved one,
Their *firſt Begotten*, and their *Only Son?*
What's this to that which Father *Abram* Suffer'd,
When his own hands his *Only Darling* offer'd,
In whom was bound up all his Joy in this
Life preſent, and his hope of future Bliſs?
And what if God their *Other Children* Call,
Second, *Third*, *Fourth*, ſuppoſe it ſhould be All?
What's this to Holy *Job*, his Trials ſad,
Who neither *theſe* nor *t'other* Comforts had?
His *Life* was only given him for a Prey,
Yet all his Troubles were to *Heaven* the way;
Yea to far *Greater Bleſſings* on the Earth,
The Lord rewarding all his *Tears* with *Mirth*.

And behold, as if that he had been a *Vates*, in both Senſes of it, a *Poet* and a *Prophet*, it pleas'd God afterwards to give his Daughter a *Second*, a *Third*, and a *Fourth* Child, and then to take them all away at once, even in one *Fortnights* time; but afterwards, happily to make up the Loſs.

Once paſſing over the *Ferry* unto a *Lecture*, on the other ſide of the Water, he took notice of a Young Man in the Boat, that worded it very unhandſomely unto his Aged *Father:* Whereat this Faithful *Seer*, being much troubled, ſaid unto him, *Young Man, I adviſe you to repent of your Undutiful Rebellious Carriage towards your Father; I expect elſe to hear, that God has cut you off, before a Twelve-month come to an End!* And before this time expired, it came to paſs, that this unhappy Youth going to the Southward, was their hack'd in pieces, by the *Pequod Indians*.

A *Company* of People in this Country, were mighty hot upon a Project of removing to *Providence*, an Iſland in the *Weſt-Indies*; and a Venerable *Aſſembly* of the Chief *Magiſtrates*, and *Miniſters* in the Colony, was addreſſed for their *Council* about this undertaking; which *Aſſembly* laid before the *Company* very weighty Reaſons to diſſwade them from it. A Prime Ringleader in that Buſineſs, was one *Venner* a Cooper of *Salem*, the Mad Blade, that afterwards periſhed in a Nonſenſical Uproar, which he, with a Crew of *Bedlamites*, poſſeſſed like himſelf, made in *London*. This *Venner*, with ſome others, now ſtood up and ſaid, *That notwithſtanding what had been offered, they were clear in their Call to remove:* Whereupon, Mr. *Wilſon* ſtood up and anſwered, *Ay, do you come to ask Counſel in ſo weighty a matter as this, and to have Help from an Ordinance of God in it? And are you aforehand reſolved, that you will go on? Well, you may go, if you will; but you ſhall not proſper. What? Do you make a Mock of God's Ordinance?* And it came to paſs accordingly; the Enterprize was not long after daſhed in pieces; and *Venner*'s precipitating *Impulſes*, afterwards carried him to a miſerable End.

A *Council* ſitting at a Town, where ſome *Eccleſiaſtical Differences* called for the Aſſiſtances of the Neighbours to compoſe them, there was one Man obſerved by Mr. *Wilſon*, to be extreamly perverſe, and moſt unreaſonably troubleſome and miſchievous to the Peace of the Church there; Whereupon Mr. *Wilſon* told the *Council*, he was confident, *That the Jealouſy of God would ſet a Mark upon that Man, and that the ordinary Death of Men ſhould not befal him.* It happened ſhortly after, that the Man was barbarouſly Butchered by the *Salvages!*

While Mr. *Wilſon* was Miniſter of *Sudbury* in *England*, there was a noted Perſon who had been abſent for ſome while among the Papiſts. This Man returning Home, offered himſelf to the *Communion*; whereat Mr. *Wilſon* in the open Aſſembly, ſpoke unto him after this manner; "Brother, you here preſent your ſelf, as if you "would partake in the Holy Supper of the "Lord. You cannot be ignorant of what you "have done in withdrawing your ſelf from our "Communion, and how you have been much "converſant for a conſiderable while, with the "Papiſts, whoſe Religion is Antichriſtian. "Therefore, though we cannot ſo abſolutely "charge you, God knows, who is the Searcher "of all Hearts; and if you have defiled your "ſelf with their Worſhip and Way, and not "repented of it, by offering to partake at this "time in the Holy Supper with us, you will "eat and drink your own Damnation; but if "you are clear, and have nothing wherewith "to charge your ſelf; you your ſelf know, up"on this account you may receive. The Man did then partake at the *Lord's Table*, profeſſing his Innocency. But as if the *Devil had entered into him*, he ſoon went and *hanged* himſelf.

In the Circumſtances of his own Children, he ſaw many Effects of an *Extraordinary Faith*.

His Eldeſt Son, *Edmund*, while Travelling into the Countries, which the Bloody Popiſh Inquiſition has made a Clime too *Torrid* for a *Proteſtant*, was extreamly expoſed: But the Prayers of the young Gentleman's continually diſtreſſed Father, for him, were anſwered with Signal Preſervations. When he was under Examination by the Inquiſitors, a Friend of the Chief among them, ſuddenly arrived; and the Inquiſitor not having ſeen this Friend for many Years before, was hereby ſo diverted and mollified, that he carried the Young Mr. *Wilſon* to Dinner with him; and, though he had paſſed hitherto *unknown* by his true Name, yet this Inquiſitor could now call him, to his great Surprize, by the Name of Mr. *Wilſon*, and report unto him the Character of his *Father*, and his *Father*'s Induſtry in ſerving the Hereticks of *New-England*. But that which I here moſt of all deſign, is an Account of a thing yet more Memorable and Unaccountable. For, at another Time, his Father dream't himſelf tranſported into *Italy*, where he ſaw a Beautiful Perſon in the Son's Chamber, endeavouring with a Thouſand *Enchantments*, to debauch him; whereupon the *Old* Gentleman made, and was by

by his Bed-fellow overheard making, firſt, *Prayers* to God full of Agony, and then *Warnings* unto his Tempted Son, to beware of Defiling himſelf with the *Daughter of a Strange God.* Now, ſome conſiderable while after this, the *Young* Gentleman writes to his Father, that on ſuch a Night, (which was upon Enquiry found the very *ſame Night*,) a Gentlewoman had careſſed him, thus and ſo (juſt according to the *Viſion*,) and that his *Chaſtity* had been Conquered, if he had not been ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a Senſe of his Father's *Prayers* over him, and *Warnings* unto him, for his Eſcape from the Pits, whereinto do fall the *Abhorred of the Lord.*

His other Son, *John*, when a Child, fell upon his Head from a Loft four Stories high, into the Street; from whence he was taken up for Dead, and ſo battered and bruiſed and bloody with his Fall, that it ſtruck Horror into the Beholders: But Mr. *Wilſon* had a wonderful Return of his *Prayers* in the Recovery of the Child, both unto *Life* and unto *Senſe*; inſomuch, that he continued unto *Old Age*, a Faithful, Painful, Uſeful Miniſter of the Goſpel; and but lately went from the Service of the Church in *Medfield*, unto the Glory of the Church *Triumphant.*

After Mr. *Wilſon*'s Arrival at *New-England*, his Wife, who had left off bearing of Children for many Years, brought him another *Daughter*; which *Lamb* was indeed unto him *as a Daughter*; and he would preſent her unto other Miniſters, for their Bleſſing, with great Affection, ſaying, *This is my* New-England *Token!* But this Child fell ſick of a *Malignant Fever*, wherein ſhe was gone ſo far, that every one deſpaired of her Life; except her Father, who called in ſeveral Miniſters, with other Chriſtians, unto a *Faſt* on that Occaſion; and hearing the Prayers of Mr. *Cotton* for her, found his Heart ſo raiſed, that he confidently declared, *While I heard Mr.* Cotton *at Prayer, I was confident the Child ſhould Live!* And the Child accordingly *did* Live; yea, ſhe is to this Day alive, a very *Holy Woman, adorned like them of Old Time, with a Spirit of Great Price!*

The *Bleſſings* pronounced by Mr. *Wilſon*, upon many Perſons and Affairs, were obſerved ſo *Prophetical*, and eſpecially his Death-bed Bleſſings upon his Children and Grand-children were *ſo*, that the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Country thought it not much to come from far, and bring their Children with them, for the Enjoyment of his *Patriarchal Benedictions.* For which cauſe, Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, in an *Elegy* upon him, at his Death Pathetically thus expreſſed it;

Whoſo of *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Samuel*, reads,
Or of *Elijah*'s or *Eliſha*'s Deeds,
Would ſurely ſay, Their *Spirit* and *Power* was his,
And think there were a *Metempſychoſis.*
As Aged *John*, th' Apoſtle us'd to *Bleſs*
The People, which they Judg'd their Happineſs,
So did we count it worth our *Pilgrimage*
Unto him for his *Bleſſing*, in his Age.

These were *Extrordinary Paſſages*; Many of them, are things which *Ordinary Chriſtians* may more ſafely *Ponder* and *Wonder*, than *Expect* in *Our* Days! Though ſometimes Great *Reformers*, and Great *Sufferers*, muſt be ſignalized with them. I know very well what *Livy* ſays, *Datur hæc Venia Antiquitatis, ut miſcendo Humana Divinis, Primordia Urbium Auguſtiora faciat:* But I have been far from impoſing the leaſt *Fable* upon the World in reporting ſuch *Extraordinary Paſſages* of Mr. *Wilſon*, or any other Great *Confeſſor*, by whom the *Beginnings* of this Country were made Illuſtrious; there are Witneſſes enough, yet living of them.

§ 20. There is a certain little *Sport of Wit*, in *Anagrammatizing* the *Names* of Men; which was uſed as long ago at leaſt as the Days of Old *Lycophron:* And which ſometimes has afforded Reflections very *Monitory*, as *Alſtedius*—by his juſt Admirers changed into *Sedulitas*; or very *Characteriſing*, as *Renatus Carteſius*, by his Diſciples turn'd into, *Tu ſcis res Naturæ*; or very *Satyrical*, as when *Satan ruleth me*, was found in the Tranſpoſed Name of a certain Active Perſecutor: And when, *Lo, a Damned Crew*, was found in the Name of one that made a Figure among the Popiſh Plotters againſt the Nation. Yea, 'tis poſſible, that they who affect ſuch *Grammatical Curioſities*, will be willing to plead a *Preſcription* of much higher and Elder Antiquity for them; even the *Temurah*, or *Mutation*, with which the *Jews* do Criticiſe upon the Oracles of the *Old Teſtament. There*, they ſay, you'll find the *Anagram* of our *Firſt Fathers* Name *Ha adam*, to expreſs *Adamah*, the Name of the of the *Earth*, whence he had his Original. An *Anagram* of a *Good* Signification, they'll ſhow you [Gen. 6. 8.] and of a *Bad* one [Gen. 38. 7.] in thoſe Glorious Oracles; and they will endeavour to perſwade you, that *Maleachi* in *Exodus* in Anagrammatically expounded *Michael*, in *Daniel.* But of all the *Anagrammatizers* that have been trying their *Fancies*, for the Two Thouſand Years which have run out, ſince the Days of *Lycophron*, yea, or for the more than Five Thouſand, ſince the Days of our *Firſt Father*, I believe there never was Man, that made ſo *many* or ſo *nimbly*, as our Mr. *Wilſon*; who, together with his *Quick Turns*, upon the *Names* of his Friends, would ordinarily *Fetch*, and rather than *Loſe*, would even *Force* Devout *Inſtructions* out of his *Anagrams.* As once, upon hearing my Father preach a Sermon about *The Glories of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, Mr. *Wilſon* immediately gave him that *Anagram* upon his Name, *Creſcentius Matherus*, Anagr. *En! Chriſtus Merces tua:* So there could ſcarcely occurr the Name of *any* Remarkable *Perſon*, at leaſt, on *any* Remarkable *Occaſion* unto him, without an *Anagram* raiſed thereupon; and he made this *Poetical*, and *Peculiar* Diſpoſition of his Ingenuity, a Subject whereon he grafted *Thoughts* far more Solid and Solemn and Uſeful, than the *Stock* it ſelf. Wherefore methoughts, it looked like a Piece of *Injuſtice*, that his own Funeral produced

(among the many *Poems* afterwards Printed) no more *Anagrams* upon his Name, who had ſo often thus handled the Names of others; and ſome thought the *Muſes* look'd very much diſſatiſfied, when they ſaw theſe Lines upon his Hearſe.

JOHN WILSON.
Anagr.
John Wilſon.

Oh! change it not; no ſweeter Name or Thing,
Throughout the World, within our Ears ſhall ring.

There was a little more of Humour, in the Fancy of Mr. *Ward*, the well-known *ſimple Cobler of* Agawam, as that witty Writer ſtiled himſelf, who obſerving the great *Hoſpitality* of Mr. *Wilſon*, in conjunction with his *Meta-grammatiſing* Temper, ſaid, *That the Anagram of* JOHN WILSON *was*, I PRAY, COME IN, YOU ARE HEARTILY WELCOME.

To make up this want, I might conclude the *Life* of this good Man, with an *Anagram*, which he left on, and for himſelf.

Johannes Wilſonus.
Anagr.
In uno Jeſu, nos Salvi.
Vel
Non in uno Jeſu Salus?

An non *in Jeſu*, Credentum, figitur, *uno*,
Tota *Salus?* Hic eſt, hic Sita Tota Salus.

§ 21. But it is to the *laſt Place* in our Hiſtory of this worthy Man, that I reſerve that part of his Character, which lay in his Diſpoſition to allot unto himſelf the laſt place among all worthy Men; for his low Opinion of himſelf, was the *top* of all his other Excellencies. His *Humility* not only cauſed him to prefer the meaneſt of his *Brethren* above himſelf, but alſo to comply with the meaneſt Opportunities of being ſerviceable. He might juſtly be reckoned the Names-ſake of that *John*, the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who was called not only *Johannes Eleemoſynarius*, but alſo *Humilis Johannes.* Hence 'twas, that when his Voice in his Age did ſo fail him, that his great Congregation could be no longer edified by his *Publick Labours*, he cheerfully and painfully ſet himſelf to do all the good that he could by his *Private Viſits*; and ſuch alſo as he could not reach with Sermons, he often found with Verſes: Hence 'twas that when that Plea was uſed with the Church of *Ipſwich*, to reſign Mr. *Norton* unto the Church of *Boſton*, after the Death of Mr. *Cotton*; becauſe it was ſaid, *Let him that hath two Coats, give to him that hath none:* And a Perſon of Quality replied, *Boſton hath one*, [meaning Mr. *Wilſon*:] this good Man anſwered, *Who? Me! I am nothing!* Yea, hence 'twas, that when Malefactors had been openly ſcourged upon the juſt Sentence of Authority, he would preſently ſend for them to his Houſe, and having firſt expreſſed his Bounty to them, he would then beſtow upon them ſuch gracious Admonitions and Exhortations, as made them to become, inſtead of deſperate, remarkably penitent. Indeed, I know not whether his Humility might not have ſome Exceſs, in ſome Inſtances charged upon it; at leaſt once, when he had promiſed unto a Neighbouring Miniſter, to preach a Sermon for him, and after his Promiſe came in Seaſon to that Miniſter, ſaying, *Sir*, I *told you, that I would preach for you, but it was raſhly done of me; I have on my Knees begg'd the Pardon of it, from the Lord; that I ſhould offer thus to deprive his People of your Labours, which are ſo much better than any of mine can be: Wherefore, Sir, I now come ſeaſonable to tell you, That I ſhall fail you!* And accordingly, there was no perſwading of him to the contrary.

But from the like Humility it was, that a good Kinſman of his, who deſerves to live in the ſame Story, as he now lives in the ſame Heaven with him, namely Mr. *Edward Rawſon*, the Honoured Secretary of the *Maſſachuſet* Colony, could not by all his Intreaties perſwade him to let his Picture be drawn; but ſtill refuſing it, he would reply, *What! ſuch a poor vile Creature as I am! Shall my Picture be drawn? I ſay, No; it never ſhall!* And when that Gentleman introduced the Limner, with all things ready, vehemently importuning him to gratifie ſo far the Deſires of his Friends, as to ſit a while, for the taking of his *Effigies*, no Importunity could ever obtain it from him. However, being bound in Juſtice to employ my Hand, for the Memory of that Perſon, by whoſe Hand I was my ſelf baptiſed, I have made an Eſſay to draw his Picture, by this Account of his Life; wherein if I have miſſed of doing to the Life, it might be made up with ſeveral expreſſive Paſſages, which I find in Elegies written and printed upon his Death: Whereof there were many Compoſed, by thoſe whoſe Opinion was well ſignified by one of them:

Sure *Verſeleſs* he does mean, to's Grave to go,
And well deſerves, that now no *Verſe* can ſhow.

But waving the reſt, let the following *Poem*, never before Printed, offer ſome Odours for the Reader's further Entertainment.

Some Offers to Embalm the Memory of the truly Reverend and Renowned JOHN WILSON; *the firſt Paſtor of* Boſton, *in* New-England: *Interr'd (and a great part of his Country's Glory with him)* Auguſt 11. 1667. *Aged* 79.

Might *Aaron*'s Rod (ſuch *Funerals* mayn't be *dry*)
But broach the *Rock*, 'twould guſh pure *Elegy*,
To round the Wilderneſs with purling *Lays*,
And tell the World, the great Saint *Wilſon*'s Praiſe.

Here's

Here's one(*Pearls* are not in great Cluſters found)
Here's one, the *Skill* of *Tongues* and *Arts* had Crown'd ;
Here's one (by frequent *Martyrdom* was try'd)
That could forego *Skill*, *Pelf*, and *Life* beſide,
For Chriſt : Both *Englands Darling*, whom in Swarms
They preſs'd to ſee, and Hear, and felt his *Charms*.

'Tis one (when will it riſe to Number two ?
The World at once can but one *Phœnix* ſhow :)
For *Truth* a *Paul*, *Cephas* for *Zeal*, for *Love*
A *John*, inſpir'd by the Cœleſtial *Dove*.
Abram's true Son for *Faith* ; and in his *Tent*
Angels oft had their *Table* and *Content*.

So *humble*, that alike on's *Charity*,
Wrought *Extract Gent* ; with *Extract Rudii*.
Pardon this *Fault* ; his great Exceſs lay *there*,
He'd Trade for *Heaven*, with all he came a near ;
His *Meat*, *Clothes*, *Caſh*, he'd ſtill for *Ventures* ſend
Conſign'd, *Per* Brother *Lazarus*, his Friend.

Mighty in Prayer, his Hands uplifted reach'd
Mercies high Throne,and thence ſtrange Bounties fetch'd,
Once and again, and oft : So felt by all,
Who *weep* his Death, as a departing *Paul*.
All, yea, baptiz'd with Tears, lo *Children* come,
(*Their* Baptiſm *he* maintain'd!) unto his *Tomb*.

'Twixt an *Apoſtle*, and *Evangeliſt*,
Let ſtand his Order in the heavenly *Liſt*.
Had we the Coſtly *Alabaſter Box*,
What's left, we'd ſpend on this *New-Engliſh Knox* ;
True *Knox*, fill'd with that Great *Reformer's* Grace,
In *Truth*'s juſt Cauſe, *fearing no Mortal's Face*.

Chriſt's Word, it was his *Life*, *Chriſt's Church*, his *Care* ;
And ſo *great* with him his *leaſt* Brethren were,
Not Heat,nor Cold,not Rain, or Froſt, or Snow,
Could hinder, but he'd to their *Sermons* go :
Aaron's Bells chim'd from far,he'd run, and then
His raviſh'd Sould *echo'd*, *Amen*, *Amen* !

He travers'd oft the fierce *Atlantic Sea*,
But *Patmos of Confeſſors* 'twas for Thee.
This Voyage lands him on the wiſhed Shore,
From whence this *Father* will return no more;
To ſit the *Moderator* of thy Sages.
But tell his *Zeal* for thee to After-Ages,
His Care to guide his *Flock*,and feed his *Lambs*,
By *Words*, *Works*, *Prayers*, *Pſalms*, *Alms*, and *Anagrams* :
Thoſe *Anagrams*, in which he made no Start
Out of meer *Nothings*, by *Creating Art*,
Whole *Words* of Counſel ; did to *Motes* unfold
Names, till they Leſſons gave richer than Gold,
And every *Angle* ſo exactly ſay,
It ſhould out-ſhine the brighteſt *Solar Ray*.

Sacred his *Verſe*, writ with a *Cherub*'s Quill ;
But thoſe wing'd Choriſters of *Zion*-Hill,
Pleas'd with the *Notes*,call'd him a part to bear
With *them*, where he his *Anagram* did hear,
I pray come in, heartily Welcome, Sir.

Epitaphium.

Thinking what *Epitaph* I ſhould offer unto the *Grave* of this Worthy Man, I call'd unto Mind the fitteſt in the World, which was directed for him, immediately upon his *Death*, by an Honourable Perſon, who ſtill continues the ſame *Lover*, as well as *Inſtance*, of Learning and Vertue, that he was, when he then adviſed them to give Mr. *Wilſon* this

EPITAPH.

And now abides Faith, Hope, *and* Charity,
But Charity*'s the Greateſt of the Three.*

To which this might be added, from another Hand :

Aurea,quæ (obſtupeo referens !) Primæva Vetuſtas
Condidit Arcano, Sæcula Apoſtolica,
Officiis, Doniſque itidem Sanctiſſimus Heros,
WILSONUS, *tacitis Protulit Ex Tenebris.*

CHAP. IV.

Puritaniſmus Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN DAVENPORT.*

§ 1. A Noted Author of more than twice ſeven *Treatiſes*, and Chaplain to two ſucceſſive Queens of *England*, was that *Chriſtopher Davenport*,whoſe aſſumed Name was, *Franciſcus à Sancta Clara*. And in Mr. *Ruſhworth*'s Collection of Speeches, made in the Celebrated Parliament, 1640. I find Sir *Benjamin Rudyard* uſing theſe Words : '*Sancta Clara*, hath publiſhed, That if a Synod were held, *Non intermixtis Puritanis*, ſetting *Puritans* aſide, our *Articles* and their *Religion* would ſoon be agreed. They have ſo brought it to paſs, that under the Name of *Puritans*, all our Religion is branded. Whoſoever ſquares his Actions by any *Rule*, either Divine or Humane, he is a *Puritan* : Whoſoever would be governed by the King's Laws, he is a *Puritan*.——Whether this Account of Matters be allow'd or no ; there was, tho'

tho' not a *Brother* (as a certain *Woodden* Hiſtorian, in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, has reported) yet a *Kinſman* of that *Sancta Clara*, who was among the moſt eminent *Puritans* of thoſe Days; and this was our *holy* and *famous* Mr. *John Davenport*: One of whom I may, on many Accounts, uſe the Elogy, with which the Learned ſtill mention *Salmaſius*, *Vir nunquam ſatis Laudatus, nec Temere ſine Laude nominandus.*

§ 2. Mr. *John Davenport* was born at *Coventry*, in the Year 1597. of worthy Parents; a *Father* who was Mayor of the City, and a pious *Mother*, who having lived juſt long enough, to devote him, as *Hannah* did her *Samuel*, unto the Service of the *Sanctuary*, left him under the more immediate Care of Heaven to fit him for that Service. The Grace of God ſanctified him with *good Principles*, while he had not yet ſeen two Sevens of Years in an *evil World*; and by that Age he had alſo made ſuch Attainments in Learning, as to be admitted into *Braſen-Noſe* Colledge, in *Oxford*. From thence, when he was but Nineteen Years old, he was called unto publick and conſtant Preaching in the City of *London*, as an Aſſiſtant unto another Divine; where his notable Accompliſhments for a *Miniſter*, and his Couragious *Reſidence* with, and *Viſiting* of his Flock, in a dreadful *Plague-time*, cauſed much Notice to be quickly taken of him. His Degree of *Maſter of Arts*, he took not, until, in Courſe, he was to proceed *Batchellor of Divinity*: And then with Univerſal Approbation, he received both of theſe *Laurels* together.

§ 3. This pious Man was both an hard *Student*, and a great *Preacher*. His *Cuſtom* was to ſit up very late at his *Lucubrations*; whereby, tho' he found no ſenſible Damage himſelf, and never felt his Heach ach, yet his Counſel was, that other *Students* would not follow his Example. But the Effects of his *Induſtry* were ſeen by all Men, in his approving himſelf upon all Occaſions, *an univerſal Scholar*. As for the *Sermons* wherewith he fed the Church of God, he *wrote* them for the moſt part, more largely than the moſt of Miniſters; and he ſpoke them with a Gravity, an Energy, an Acceptableneſs, whereto few Miniſters ever have arrived: Indeed his greateſt Enemies, when they heard him, would acknowledge him to be among *the beſt of Preachers*. The *ableſt Men* about *London* were his *neareſt Friends*; among whom he held a very particular Correſpondence with Dr. *Preſton*: He, when he dy'd, left his Notes with Mr. *Davenport*, by him to be publiſhed; and accordingly with Dr. *Sibbs*, you'll find Mr. *Davenport* ſigning ſome of their Dedications.

§ 4. About the Year 1626. there were ſeveral eminent Perſons, among whom were two *Doctors* of Divinity, with two other Divines, and four *Lawyers*, whereof one the King's *Serjant* at Law, and four *Citizens*, whereof one the Lord Mayor of *London*, engaged in a Deſign to procure a Purchaſe of *Impropriations*, and with the Profits thereof to maintain a conſtant, able, and painful Miniſtry, in thoſe parts of the Kingdom, where there was moſt want of ſuch a Miniſtry. The *Divines* concerned in this Deſign, were Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Sibs*, Mr. *Offspring*, and our Mr. *Davenport*; and ſuch an incredible Progreſs was made in it, that it is judged, all the *Impropriations* in *England* would have been honeſtly and eaſily recovered unto the immediate Service of the *Reformed Religion*. But Biſhop *Laud* looking with a jealous Eye on this Undertaking, leaſt it might in time give a Secret Growth to *Non-Conformity*, he obtained a Bill to be exhibited in the *Exchequer Chamber*, by the King's Attorney-General, againſt the *Feoffees*, that had the Management of it. Upon this occaſion, I find this Great Man writing in his *Great Bible*, the enſuing Paſſages:

'*Feb.* 11. 1632. The Buſineſs of the *Feoffees* 'being to be heard the third time at the Exchequer, I prayed earneſtly, That God would aſſiſt our Counſellors, in opening the Caſe, and 'be pleaſed to grant, that they might get no 'advantage againſt us, to puniſh us as *Evil Doers*; promiſing to obſerve what *Anſwer* he 'gave. Which ſeeing he hath graciouſly done, 'and delivered me *from the thing I feared*, I 'record to theſe Ends:

'1. To be more *Induſtrious* in my *Family*.
'2. To check my *Unthankfulneſs*.
'3. To quicken my ſelf to *Thankfulneſs*.
'4. To awaken my ſelf to more *Watchfulneſs* 'for the time to come, in remembrance of 'his Mercy.

'Which I beſeech the Lord to grant; upon 'whoſe *Faithfulneſs* in *his Covenant*, I caſt my 'ſelf, to be made *Faithful* in *my Covenant*.

John Davenport.

The Iſſue of the Buſineſs was *this*: The Court condemn'd their Proceedings as *dangerous* to the Church and State; pronouncing the *Gifts*, *Feoffments*, and *Contrivances*, made to the Uſes aforeſaid, to be illegal, and ſo diſſolved the ſame, confiſcating their Money unto the King's Uſe. Yet the *Criminal Part* referred unto, was never proſecuted in the *Star-Chamber*; becauſe the Deſign was generally approved, and multitudes of diſcreet and devout Men, extreamly reſented the Ruine of it.

§ 5. It happened that ſoon after this, the famous Mr. *John Cotton* was fallen under ſuch a Storm of Perſecution for his *Non-Conformity*, as made it neceſſary for him to propoſe and purpoſe a Removal out of the Land: Whereupon Mr. *Davenport*, with ſeveral other great and good Men, conſidering the eminent Learning, Prudence, and Holineſs of that excellent Perſon, could be at no reſt, until they had by a ſolemn *Conference* inform'd themſelves of what might move him to ſuch a Reſolution. The Iſſue of the *Conference* was, that inſtead of their diſſwading him from expoſing himſelf to ſuch Sufferings, as were now before him, he convinced

them

them of the Truth in the *Cauſe* for which he ſuffered; and they became ſatisfied both of the *Evil* in ſundry *Matters* of *Worſhip* and *Order*, impoſed upon them, and of the *Duty* which lay upon them, in their places to endeavour the *Reformation* of things in the Church, according to the Word of God. Mr. *Davenport's* Inclination to *Non Conformity* from this time, fell under the Notice and Anger of his Dioceſan; who preſently determined the Marks of his Vengeance for him: Of which being ſeaſonably and ſufficiently advertiſed, he convened the principal Perſons under his Paſtoral Charge in *Coleman-ſtreet*, at a General *Veſtry*, deſiring them on this occaſion to declare, what they would adviſe, for acknowledging the Right which they had in him, as their Paſtor, he would not, by any danger, be driven from any Service, which they ſhould expect or demand at his Hands; but he would imitate the Example of *Luther*, who upon Letters from the Church of *Wittenberg*, from whence he had withdrawn for his Security, upon the Direction of the Duke of *Saxony*, returned unto the Couragious Exerciſe of his Miniſtry. Upon a ſerious Deliberation, they diſcharged his *Conſcientious Obligation*, by agreeing with him, that it would be beſt for him to reſign; but altho' he now hoped for ſomething of a quiet Life, his Hope was diſappointed; for he was continually dogg'd by raging buſie Purſivants, from whom he had no ſafety but by retiring into *Holland*.

§ 6. Over to *Holland* he went, in the latter end of the Year 1633. Where the Meſſengers of the Church, under the Charge of Mr. *Paget*, met him in his way to *Amſterdam*, inviting him to become the Collegue of their Aged Paſtor. But Mr. *Davenport* had not been long there, before his Indiſpoſition to the promiſcuous Baptiſing of *Children*, concerning whom there was no *charitable* or *tolerable* Teſtimony of their belonging to *Chriſtian Parents*, was by Mr. *Paget* ſo improved againſt him, as to procure him the Diſpleaſure of the *Dutch Claſſes* in the Neighbourhood. The *Contention* on this Occaſion proceeded ſo far, that tho' the *Dutch* Miniſters had under their Hands declared——*We deſire nothing more, than that Mr.* Davenport, *whoſe eminent Learning, and ſingular Piety is much approved and commended of all the* Engliſh *our Brethren, may be lawfully promoted unto the Miniſtry of the* Engliſh *Church: We do alſo greatly approve of his good Zeal and Care, of his having ſome precedent private Examination of the Parents, and Sureties of Children to be Baptiſed in the Chriſtian Religion.* Yet the matter could not be accommodated; Mr. *Davenport* could not be allowed, except he would promiſe to Baptize the *Children* of ſuch whoſe *Parents* and *Sureties* were, upon Examination, found never ſo much *Unchriſtianiſed*, Ignorant, or Scandalous. He therefore deſiſted from his Publick Miniſtry in *Amſterdam*, about the beginning of the Year 1635, contenting himſelf to ſet up a *Catechetical Exerciſe* in the Family, where he ſojourned on the Afternoon of the *Lord's Days*, an Hour after the Publick Sermons were over. But ſome conſiderable number of People, at length, reſorting to this Exerciſe, a Jealouſie was pretended by his Adverſary, that the Deſign of it was to promote ſuch *Sects*, as indeed the chief Deſign of it was to prevent; and upon this pretence he was hindered, even from this leſſer Opportunity of doing Service alſo. The fuller Story of theſe uncomfortable and unreaſonable Brangles, the Reader may find in an *Apologetical Diſcourſe* of Mr. *Davenport's*, publiſhed for his own Vindication; wherein he do's with a Learned Pen, handle ſeveral Points much controverted in the *Reformed Churches*, and ſhew himſelf a Divine well ſtudied in the Controverſies of the preſent, and the former Ages. But the Upſhot of all was, that he returned back to *London*; where he told his Friends, *That he thought God carried him over into* Holland, *on purpoſe to bear Witneſs againſt that* promiſcuous Baptiſm, *which at leaſt bordered very near upon a Profanation of the Holy Inſtitution.*

§ 7. He obſerved, that when a *Reformation* of the Church has been brought about in any part of the World, it has rarely been *afterwards* carried on any one ſtep further, than the *firſt Reformers* did ſucceed in their *firſt Endeavours* he obſerved that as eaſily might the *Ark* have been removed from the Mountains of *Ararat*, where it firſt grounded, as a People get any Ground in *Reformation*, after and beyond the *firſt Remove* of the *Reformers*. And this Obſervation quickned him to embark in a Deſign of *Reformation*, wherein he might have Opportunity to drive things in the firſt Eſſay, as near to the Precept and Pattern of *Scripture*, as they could be driven. The Plantation of *New England* afforded him this Opportunity, with the chief Undertakers whereof he had many Conſultations, before he had ever taken up any purpoſe of going himſelf into that part of the World; and he had, indeed, a very great ſtroke in the encouraging and enlivening of that *Noble Undertaking*. He was one of thoſe by whom the Patent for the *Maſſachuſet* Colony was procured; and tho' his *Name* were not among the *Patentees*, becauſe he himſelf deſired it might be omitted, leſt his Enemy, the Biſhop of *London*, then of the King's Privy Council, ſhould upon his Account appear the more fiercely againſt it; yet his *Purſe* was in it, his *Time* was in it, and he contributed unto it all manner of Aſſiſtances: This he did before his going to *Holland*. And while he was in *Holland*, he received Letters of Mr. *Cotton*, from the Country whereto he had thus been a *Father*; telling him, *That the Order of the Churches, and the Common-Wealth, was now ſo ſettled in* New-England, *by common Conſent, that it brought into his Mind the New Heaven, and the New Earth, wherein dwells Righteouſneſs.* Wherefore, ſoon after his Return for *London*, he ſhipp'd himſelf, with ſeveral eminent Chriſtians, and their Families, for *New-England*; where, by the good Hand of GOD upon them,

they

they arrived in the Summer of the Year, 1637.

§ 8. Mr. *Cotton* welcomed Mr. *Davenport*, as *Moſes* did *Jethro*, hoping that he would be *as Eyes unto them in the Wilderneſs*. For by the Cunning and Malice of *Satan*, all things in this *New-Engliſh Wilderneſs*, were then *ſurpriſed*, into a deal of Confuſion, on the Occaſion of the *Antinomian* Opinions then ſpread abroad; but the Learning and Wiſdom of this worthy Man in the *Synod* then aſſembled at *Cambridge*, did contribute more than a little to diſpel the *Faſcinating Miſts* which had ſuddenly diſordered all our Affairs. Having done his part in that *Bleſſed Work*, (as we have elſewhere more fully related) *He*, with his Friends, who were more fit for *Zebulon*'s Ports, than for *Iſſachar*'s Tents, choſe to go farther Weſtward; where they began a Plantation and a Colony, ſince diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *New Haven*; and endeavoured, according to his Underſtanding, a yet ſtricter Conformity to the *Word of God*, in ſettling of all Matters, both *Civil* and *Sacred*, than he had yet ſeen exemplified in any other Part of the World. There the Famous Church of *New-Haven*, as well as the other Neighbouring Towns, enjoyed his *Miniſtry*, his *Diſcipline*, his *Government*, and his Univerſal *Direction* for many Years together; even till after the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, were by *One Charter* incorporated. And here, with what *Holineſs*, with what *Watchfulneſs*, with what *Uſefulneſs* he diſcharged his *Miniſtry*, it is worthy of a Remembrance among all that would propoſe unto themſelves a worthy *Example*. Nevertheleſs, all that I ſhall here preſerve of it, is this One Article. A young Miniſter, once receiving of wiſe and good Councils from this good and wiſe and great Man, he received *this* among the reſt, *That he ſhould be much in* Ejaculatory Prayer: For indeed, *Ejaculatory Prayers*, *as Arrows in the Hand of a Mighty Man*, *ſo are* they, *Happy is the Man that has his Quiver full of them!* And it was believed, by ſome curious Obſervers, That Mr. *Davenport* himſelf, was well uſed unto that ſacred Skill of, *Walking with God*, and, *Having his Eyes ever towards the Lord*, and, *Being in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long*, by the uſe of *Ejaculatory Prayers*, on the Innumerable Occaſions, which every *Turn* of our Lives does bring for thoſe Devotions. He was not only conſtant in more *Settled*, whether *Social* or *Secret* Prayers; but alſo in the midſt of all beſieging Incumbrances, tying the Wiſhes of his Devout Soul unto the *Arrows* of *Ejaculatory Prayers*, he would ſhoot them away unto the *Heavens*, from whence he ſtill expected all his *Help*. With ſuch a *Glory*, with ſuch a *Defence*, was *New Haven* Bleſſed!

§ 9. But his Influences were not confined unto his own *Colony* of *New-Haven*; they were extended as far as his general and generous *Care of all the Churches*, could carry him. And hence, I find him in a particular manner, expreſſing his good Affections unto the *Irenic* Deſigns and Studies, which were in thoſe Days managing by ſome great Men, for the reſtoring of *Communion* among the divided Churches of the *Reformation*. Perhaps, I cannot give an exacter Character of this eminent Perſon's Diſpoſition, than by my Tranſcribing and my Tranſlating of a few Paſſages in a Letter to the Famous *Dury*, by him compoſed, and by the reſt of the Miniſters in his Colony ſubſcribed.

Flagrante Schiſmatis *Incendio*, *Eccleſias*, *quas oportebat Arctiſſimo Pacis & Unitatis Vinculo Colligari*, *miſera in ſectas* Inviſa Deo Lacerabat Erinuys; *Uſque adeo ut qui mutuam contra communes Hoſtes opem conferrent*, *proh dolor! Concertationes* Midianiticas *invicem agunt*; *Sicut Enim Juvenes quos ad Dimicandum Abnerus Provocabat*, *ſe mutuis Vulneribus Confecerunt*; *Sic*, *quorundam Vitio*, *qui partes potius agunt male* Diſputantium, *quam bene* Evangelizantium, *Jurgia*, *Lites*, *Animorum Divortia*, *Schiſmata & Scandala*, *in Eccleſiis Evangelicis*, *Suboriuntur*, *non ſine gravi Infirmorum Offendiculo*, *nec ſine Summo Bonorum Omnium Mærore*, *ac Juimicorum Evangelicæ Veritatis Oblectamento.*——

'While the Fire of *Schiſm* has been raging, 'the *Hateful Fury* has miſerably torn to Pieces, 'the Churches that ſhould have been held together in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Love and Unity; inſomuch that they who ſhould have 'united, for mutual Help againſt the common 'Enemy, alas, have even fallen upon one another, *as in the Day of Midian*. As the young 'Men, upon the Provocation of *Abner*, wounded one another to Death; thus, by the Fault 'of ſome, who do the part rather of *Bad Wranglers*, than of *Good Preachers*, there do 'ariſe in the Reformed Churches, thoſe *Broils* 'and *Strifes*, and Animoſities, and *Schiſms* 'and Scandals, which offend the *Weak*, and 'afflict the *Good*, and are no little Satisfaction 'to the Enemies of *Goſpel-Truth*.

Nunc Vero, *Poſtquam* Cuſtos Iſraelis, Deus Pacis, *dedit in Corda tot Eccleſiarum & Magiſtratum*, *ut Vulneribus iſtis Medicinam faciendam eſſe*, *Neceſſarium Judicarint*, *En! Bonorum omnium Animi*, *in Spem erecti*, *Malorum iſtorum Salutarem Clauſulum Expectant*, *& Votis intimis*, *Patrem Miſericordiarum Vobiſcum invocant*, *ut Spiritus ſui Gratia*, *Secundum Verbum Suum*, *Conſilia & actiones Servorum Suorum dirigere*, *ad Sancti Nominis Sui Gloriam dignetur.*——

'But now that the *Keeper of Iſrael*, the God '*of Peace*, hath put it into the Hearts of ma'ny Churches and Rulers, to apprehend it ne'ceſſary, that a Cure ſhould be ſought for theſe 'Wounds, Behold! The Minds of all Good 'Men, do with a raiſed Hope expect an Happy 'Cloſe of theſe Miſchiefs; and with moſt 'hearty Prayers, do beſeech the *Father of Mercies*, that he would, by the Grace of his 'Spirit, according to his Word, pleaſe to di'rect the Counſels and Actions of his Servants, 'for the Glory of his own Holy Name.

Recte quidem feciſti, *Reverende Frater* Duræ, *quod nos etiam in eodem Vobiſcum Corpore*, *Sub*

eodem

eodem Capite Jeſu Chriſto, Conſtitutos, ad Negotium hoc, in Sanctorum Communione, Promovendum, fraterne invitaſti.——

‘ You have done Right Well, Reverend *Brother*, in that you have, after a Brotherly manner, unto the Promoting of this Affair, in the *Communion of Saints* invited us, who belong to the ſame Myſtical Body, with your ſelves, under One Head, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

Dica Vero non eſt Orthodoxis *impingenda, quaſi Optatiſſimæ illi* Paci; *quæ inter Sciſſas* Evangelicas Eccleſias *quæritur, Offendiculum poſuerint, & Remoram qui Neceſſitate Poſtulante, ea utuntur Libertate Refutandi Errores, quam Pax non debet impedire: adeoque ſuo Exemplo futuram pacem præmuniant, à Vitiis in Exceſſu poſitis.*—— *Quippe quod ſincere de Erroribus Judicare, & Errores tamen in Fratribus Infirmis Tolerare, Utrumque Judicamus eſſe Apoſtolicæ Doctrinæ Conſonum.* Toleratio *Vero Fratrum Infirmorum, non debet eſſe abſque* Redargutione, *Sed tantum abſque* Rejectione.

‘ Nevertheleſs, ’tis not to be made an Article of Complaint againſt the *Orthodox*, as if they would hinder or delay the *Peace* deſired ſo much among the *Reformed Churches*, becauſe they do, as Neceſſity ſhall call for it, uſe that *Liberty* of *Refuting Errors*, which *Peace* ought to be no Bar unto; and by their Example, would reſcue the future *Peace* from the Extremes wherewith it would be rendred Faulty.——For we reckon that as well to *Judge* what things are *Errors*, as to *bear* with ſuch Errors in Weaker Brethren, are *both* of them agreeable to what we have been taught by the Apoſtles. The *Toleration* of our Erroneous Brethren, ſhould not be without *Rebuking*, but it ſhould be without *Rejecting* of thoſe Brethren.

§ 10. It is a Notable Expreſſion, and a Wonderful Conceſſion of that great Cardinal *Bellarmine*, the laſt *Goliah* of the *Romiſh* Philiſtines; *Eccleſia ex Intentione Fideles tantum Colligit, & ſi noſſet Impios & incredulos, eos aut nunquam admitteret, aut caſu Admiſſos Excluderet:* ‘ The Church (he ſays) *intentionally* gathers only *True Believers*, and if ſhe knew who were *Wicked* and *Faithleſs*, either ſhe would not admit them at all, or if they were *accidentally* admitted, ſhe would exclude them. Our *Davenport* conceiving it a Shame, that any *Proteſtant* ſhould *proteſt* for leſs *Church Purity*, than what the Conſeſſions of a Learned *Papiſt* allow’d e’er he was aware, to be contended for, did now at *New-haven*, make *Church Purity* to be one of his greateſt Concernments and Endeavours. It was his declared Principle, That more is required of Men, in order to their being Members of an *Inſtituted Church*, than that they profeſs the Chriſtian *Faith*, and ask the *Viſible Seals* of the Covenant in the Fellowſhip of the Church; all which may be done, by Perſons notoriouſly ſcandalous in their Lives, from whom the Command is, *Turn away:* But only ſuch Perſons may be received as Members of a *particular Church*, who (according to *Mat.* 16. 18, 19.) make ſuch a Publick Profeſſion of their *Faith*, as the Church may, in charitable Diſcretion judge, has Bleſſedneſs annexed unto it, and ſuch as *Fleſh* and *Blood* hath not revealed. In purſuance of this Principle, he was, like his dear Friend, that Great Man, Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, perſwaded, *That* (as he ſpeaks) *there are many Rules in the Word, whereby it is meet for us, to judge who are Saints; by which Rules thoſe who are betruſted to receive Men unto Ordinances in Churches, are to be guided, and ſo to ſeparate between the Precious and the Unclean, as the Prieſts of old were enabled and commanded by Ceremonial Differences, which God then made to typifie the like Diſcrimination of Perſons.* And therefore, making the Marks of a repenting and a believing *Soul*, given in the Word of God, the Rules of his Tryals, he uſed a more than ordinary Exactneſs in Trying, thoſe that were Admitted unto the Communion of the Church: Indeed ſo very thoroughly, and I had almoſt ſaid, ſeverely ſtrict, were the Terms of his Communion, and ſo much, I had well nigh ſaid, overmuch, were the Golden Snuffers of the Sanctuary employ’d by him in his Exerciſe of Diſcipline towards thoſe that were Admitted, that he did all that was poſſible, to render the Renowned Church of *New-Haven*, like the *New Jeruſalem*; and yet, after all, the Lord gave him to ſee that in this World, it was impoſſible to ſee a *Church State*, whereinto there *enters nothing which defiles*. This Great Man, hath himſelf, in one of his own Treatiſes obſerved it, *The Officers and Brethren of the Church, are but Men, who judge by the outward appearance. Therefore their Judgment is fallible, and hath been deceived; as we ſee in the Judgment of the Apoſtles, and the Church at* Jeruſalem, *concerning* Ananias *and* Sapphira; *and in that of* Philip, *and the Church in* Samaria, *concerning* Simon Magus. *Their Duty is to proceed, as far as Men may, by Rule, with due Moderation and Gentleneſs, to try them, who offer themſelves to Fellowſhip, whether they be Believers or not; refuſing known Hypocrites; tho’ when they have done all they can, cloſe Hypocrites will creep in.* And now, I might entertain my Reader, I hope, with a profitable, I am ſure, with a very prodigious Hiſtory; I will on this occaſion, relate moſt *horrible things done in the Land*, which this good Man ſaw, to confirm his own Obſervation: But I will take a fitter Occaſion for it.

§ 11. After this, the remaining Days of this eminent Perſon, were worn away under the unhappy Temptations of a Wilderneſs. It ſo happened, that the moſt part of the firſt Church in *Boſton*, the Metropolis of the Colony, out of Reſpect unto his vaſt Abilities, had applied themſelves unto him, to ſucceed thoſe famous Lights, *Cotton*, and *Norton*, and *Wilſon*, who having from that *Golden Candleſtick*, illuminated the whole Country, were now gone to ſhine in an higher Orb. His Removal from *New-Haven* was clogg’d with many temptatious Difficulties: (For, *Miraculi inſtar, vitæ Iter, ſi longum, ſine Offenſione, Percurrere:*) But he

broke through them all, in Expectation to do what he judged would be a more comprehenſive Service unto the Churches of *New-England*, than could have been done by him, in his now undiſtinguiſhed Colony. On this occaſion, if I ſhould mention that lamentable Obſervation of Old *Epiphanius*, who ſays, *I have known ſome Confeſſors, who delivered up their Body, and their Spirit, for the Lord, and perſevering in Confeſſion and Charity, obtained Great Proof of the Sincerity of their Faith, and excelled in Piety, Humanity, and Religion, and were continual in Faſtings, and in a word, flouriſhed in Vertue; and yet theſe very Men were blemiſhed with ſome Vice, as either they were prone to reproach Men, or would ſwear profanely, or were over talkative, or were prone to Anger, or got Gold and Silver, or were defiled with ſome ſuch Filth; which nevertheleſs detract not from the juſt Praiſes of their Vertue.* I muſt add upon it, that Mr. *Davenport* was a Confeſſor flouriſhing in Vertue, upon whom they that upon the Score of his Removal, were moſt of all diſſatisfied at him, would not yet charge thoſe unhappy *Blemiſhes*: And if any good Men in the *Siſting Times*, did count him either too ſtrait, or too high, in ſome of his Apprehenſions: *Nevertheleſs, theſe Things alſo detract not from the juſt Praiſes of his Vertue.*

§ 12. So rich a Treaſure of the beſt Gifts, as was in our *Davenport*, was well worth coveting by the conſiderableſt Church in the Land. He was a moſt incomparable Preacher, and a Man of more than ordinary Accompliſhments; a Prince of Preachers, and worthy to have been a Preacher to Princes: He had been acquainted with Great Men, and Great Things, and was Great himſelf, and had a Great Fame abroad in the World; yea, now he was grown old, like *Moſes*, his *Force was not abated.* And the Character which I remember that old Pagan Hiſtorian, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, gave of our *Moſes*, every Body was ready to give of our *Davenport*, *He was a Man of a Great Soul, and very powerful in his Life.* But his Removal did ſeem too much to verifie an Obſervation, by the famous Dr. *Tuckney* thus expreſſed: *It is ill tranſplanting a Tree that thrives in the Soyl:* For accepting the Call of *Boſton*-Church, in the Year 1667, that Church, and the World, muſt enjoy him no longer than till the Year 1670: When on *March* 15. Aged Seventy two Years, he was by an Apoplexy fetch'd away to that Glorious World, where the Spirits of *Cotton* and *Davenport*, are together in Heaven, as their *Bodies* are now in one Tomb on Earth.

§ 13. His conſtant and various Employments otherwiſe, would not permit him to leave many Printed Effects of his Judicious Induſtry, beſides thoſe few already mentioned: Altho' he were ſo cloſe and bent a Student, that the rude Pagans themſelves took much Notice of it, and the *Indian* Salvages in the Neighbourhood, would call him, *So Big Study Man.* Only there is in the Hands of the Faithful, a Savory Treatiſe of his, entituled, *The Saints Anchor-hold*; in the Preface whereof, a *Duumvirate* of Renowned Men; to wit, Mr. *Hook*, and Mr. *Caryl*, give this Atteſtation: 'As touching the 'Author of this Treatiſe, in whoſe Heart the 'Text was written by the Finger of God, before the Diſcourſe was Penned by his own 'Hand; his Piety, Learning, Gravity, Experience, Judgment, do not more commend him 'to all that know him, than this Work of his 'may commend it ſelf to them that read it. The *Chriſtian Faith* has alſo been ſolidly and learnedly maintain'd by him, in a Diſcourſe long ſince publiſhed, for the *Demonſtration of our bleſſed Jeſus, to be the true Meſſias.* Nor would I forget a Sermon of his on 2 *Sam.* 23.3. at the Anniverſary Court of Election at *Boſton*, 1669, afterwards publiſhed. And among the many Epiſtles which he hath prefix'd unto the Books of other Authors, I know not whether his excellent Epiſtle before Mr. *Scudder's Daily Walk*, may not, for the worth of it, be reckon'd it ſelf a *Book*, as the *Book* it ſelf was the Directory of his own *Daily Walk.* Moreover, there is publiſhed a Treatiſe of his under this Title, *The Power of Congregational Churches*; in the Preface whereof Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, (at this time the worthy and well-known Paſtor of ſuch a Church in the City of *London*) has theſe very ſignificant Expreſſions concerning him: *Certain it is, the Principles held forth in this Treatiſe, coſt the Reverend Author, not only many Sufferings, but alſo many, very many ſad Searchings, and much Reading and Study, on ſet purpoſe, accompanied with manifold Prayers and Cries to the Father of Lights, for Light therein. After all which, he was more confirmed in them, and attained to ſuch comfortable Clearneſs therein, as bore him up with much inward Peace and Satisfaction, under all his Afflictions, on the Account of his Perſwaſion in theſe Points. And ſo perſwaded, lived, and ſo died this grave and ſerious Spirited Man.* There is likewiſe publiſhed, *A Diſcourſe about Civil Government, in a New Plantation, whoſe Deſign is Religion*: In the Title-Page whereof, the Name of Mr. *Cotton*, is, by a Miſtake, put for that of Mr. *Davenport.* And there was lately tranſcribed for the Preſs, from his Notes, a large Volume of Accurate and Elaborate Sermons, on the whole Book of *Canticles.* But the *Death* of the Gentleman chiefly concerned in the intended Impreſſion, proved the *Death* of the Impreſſion itſelf.

§ 14. To conclude: There will be but an unjuſt Account given of the things preached and written by this Reverend Man, if we do not mention one ſingular Favour of Heaven unto him. It is well known, that in the earlieſt of the Primitive Times, the Faithful did in a literal Sence, believe the *Second Coming* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the *Riſing* and *Reigning* of the *Saints* with him, a thouſand Years before the *reſt of the Dead live again*: A Doctrine, which however ſome of later Years have counted it *Heretical*, yet, in the Days of *Irenæus*, was queſtion'd by none but ſuch as were counted *Hereticks.* 'Tis evident from *Juſtin Martyr*, that this Doctrine of the *Chiliad*, was in his Days embraced, among all *Orthodox Chriſtians*; nor did this

Kingdom of our Lord, begin to be doubted, until the *Kingdom* of Antichriſt began to advance into a conſiderable Figure; and then it fell chiefly under the Reproaches of ſuch Men, as were fain to deny the Divine Authority of the Book of *Revelation*, and of the Second Epiſtle of *Peter*. He is a Stranger to Antiquity, who does not find and own the Ancients generally of the Perſwaſion, which is excellently ſumm'd up in thoſe Words of *Lactantius*, *Veniet ſummi & maximi Dei Filius. Verum ille, eum deleverit injuſtitiam, Judiciumque maximum fecerit, ac Juſtos, qui a Principio fuerunt, ad vitam Reſtauraverit, Mille Annis inter Homines Verſabitur, eoſque Juſtiſſimo Imperio reget.* Neverthelesſ, at laſt Men came, not only to lay aſide the Modeſty expreſſed, by one of the firſt conſiderable *Anti-Millenaries*, namely *Jerom*, when he ſaid, *Quæ licet non ſequamur, tamen Condemnare non poſſumus, eo quod multi Virorum Eccleſiaſticorum & Martyrum, iſta dixerint:* But alſo with Violence to perſecute the *Millenary Truth* as an *Heretical Pravity*. So the *Myſtery* of our Lord's *appearing in his Kingdom*, lay buried in Popiſh Darkneſs, till the Light thereof had a freſh *Dawn*, ſince the Antichriſt entred into the laſt *half Time* of the *Period* allotted for him; and now, within the laſt few Sevens of Years, as things grow nearer to Accompliſhment, Learned and Pious Men, in great Numbers every where, come to receive, explain, and maintain the *Old Faith* about it. But here was the ſpecal Favour of Heaven, to our *Davenport*, that ſo many Years ago, when in both *Englands* the true Notion of the *Chiliad*, was hardly apprehended by as many Divines of Note, as there are Mouths of *Nilus*, yet this worthy Man clearly ſaw into it, and both preach'd and wrote thoſe very things, about the *Future State*, the *Coming* of the Lord, the *Calling* of the Jews, and the Firſt and Second *Reſurrection* of the Dead, which do now of late Years get more ground againſt the oppoſition of the *otherwiſe minded*, and find a kinder Entertainment among them that *ſearch the Scriptures*: And whereof he afterwards, when he was an *Old Man*, gave the World a little Taſt, in a Judicious Preface before a moſt Learned and Nervous Treatiſe, compoſed by one that was then a *Young Man*, about *the Myſtery of the Salvation of Iſrael*. Even, then, ſo long ago it was, that he aſſerted, *A Perſonal, Viſible, Powerful, and Glorious Coming of the* Lord Jeſus Chriſt *unto* Judgment, *long before the End of the World.*

But thus we take our Leave of this Renowned Man, and leave him reſting in hope, to *ſtand in his Lot*, at that End.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES DAVENPORTUS,

In Portum Delatus.

Vivus *Nov-Angliæ*, ac *Eccleſiæ* Ornamentum,

ET

Mortuus, Utriuſque Triſte Deſiderium.

APPENDIX.

The Light of the Weſtern Churches: Or, The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS HOOKER*, the Renowned Paſtor of *Hartford*-Church, and Pillar of *Connecticut*-Colony, in *New-England*.

Eſſay'd by *COTTON MATHER*.

Quod ſi digna Tua minus eſt mea Pagina Laude,
At voluiſſe ſat eſt.

To the CHURCHES in the Colony of *CONNECTICUT*.

A*Ltho' the Providence of Heaven, whereby the* Bounds of People are ſet, *hath carried you ſo far* Weſtward, *that ſome have pleaſantly,* The laſt Conflict with Antichriſt, muſt be in your Colony: *Yet, I believe, you do not reckon your ſelves removed beyond the reach of* Temptation *and* Corruption. *'Tis a Great Work that you have done, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in forming a Colony of Evangelical Churches for him, where Satan alone had Reigned without Controul in all former Ages: But your incomparable* Hooker, *who was one of the greateſt in the Foundation*

tion of that Work, was in his Day, well aware, that Satan would make all the haſt he could, unhappily to get all buried in the Degeneracies of Ignorance, Worldlineſs, and Profanity. To adviſe you of your Dangers, and uphold the Life *of* Religion *among you, I preſume humbly to lay before you, the Life of that excellent Man, who for Learning, Wiſdom, and Religion, was a Patern well worthy of perpetual Conſideration. Having ſerved my own Province, with the Hiſtory of no leſs than Four famous* Johns, *all fetch'd from One Church, I was for certain ſpecial Cauſes, unwilling to have it complained, as once it was of the Diſciples,* Thomas was not with them : *Wherefore I was willing to make this Appendix unto that Hiſtory, confeſſing that thro' want of Information I have Under-done in this, more than in any part of the Compoſure ; yet ſo done, that I hope the good Hand of the Lord, whom I have deſign'd therein to gloriſie, will make what is done, to be neither unacceptable, nor unprofitable unto his People.*

Cotton Mather.

Φωστὴρ τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἑσπερίων. The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS HOOKER.*

§ 1. WHen *Toxaris* met with his Countryman *Anacharſis*, in *Athens*, he gave him this Invitation, *Come along with me, and I will ſhew thee at once all the Wonders of* Greece: Whereupon he ſhewed him *Solon*, as the Perſon in whom there Centered all the Glories of that City, or Country. I ſhall now invite my Reader to behold at once the *Wonders of New England*, and it is one *Thomas Hooker* that he ſhall behold them : Even in that *Hooker*, whom a worthy Writer would needs call, Saint *Hooker*, for the ſame *Reaſon*, (he ſaid) and with the ſame *Freedom* that *Latimer* would ſpeak of Saint *Bilney*, in his Commemorations. 'Tis that *Hooker*, of whom I may venture to ſay, that the famous *Romaniſt*, who wrote a Book, *De Tribus Thomis*; or, *Of Three Thomas's*; meaning *Thomas the Apoſtle*, *Thomas Becket*, and Sir *Thomas More*, did not a Thouſandth part ſo well ſort his *Thomas's*, as a *New-Englander* might, if he ſhould write a Book, *De Duobus Thomis*, or, *Of Two Thomas's*; and with *Thomas the Apoſtle*, joyn our Celebrious *Thomas Hooker* : My *One Thomas*, even our Apoſtolical *Hooker*, would in juſt Ballances, weigh down two of *Stapleton*'s Rebellious Arch-Biſhops, or Bigotted Lord Chancellors. 'Tis he, whom I may call, as *Theodoret* call'd *Irenæus*, *The Light of the Weſtern Churches.*

§ 2. This our *Hooker* was born at *Marfield*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, about the Year 1586, of Parents that were neither unable, nor unwilling to beſtow upon him a Liberal Education ; whereto the early and lively Sparkles of Wit obſerved in him, did very much encourage them. His Natural Temper was cheerful and courteous ; but it was accompanied with ſuch a ſenſible *Grandeur of Mind*, as cauſed his Friends, without the help of Aſtrology, to prognoſticate that he was born to be *conſiderable*. The Influence which he had upon the Reformation of ſome growing Abuſes, when he was one of the Proctors in the Univerſity, was a thing that more eminently ſignalized him, when his more publick Appearance in the World was coming on : Which was attended with an Advancement unto a *Fellowſhip*, in *Emanuel* Colledge, in *Cambridge*, the Students whereof were originally deſigned for the Study of *Divinity*.

§ 3. With what Ability and Fidelity he acquitted himſelf in his *Fellowſhip*, it was a thing ſenſible unto the whole Univerſity. And it was while he was in this Employment, that the more effectual *Grace* of God, gave him the Experience of a true *Regeneration*. It pleaſed the *Spirit* of God very powerfully to break into the Soul of this Perſon, with ſuch a Senſe of his being expoſed unto the juſt *Wrath* of Heaven, as fill'd him with moſt unuſual Degrees of Horror and Anguiſh, which broke not only his *Reſt*, but his *Heart* alſo, and cauſed him to cry out, *While I ſuffer thy Terrors, O Lord, I am diſtracted!* While he long had a Soul haraſſed with ſuch Diſtreſſes, he had a ſingular Help in the prudent and piteous Carriage of Mr. *Aſh*, who was the Sizer, that then waited upon him ; and attended him with ſuch diſcreet and proper Compaſſions, as made him afterwards to reſpect him highly all his Days. He afterwards gave this Account of himſelf, *That in the time of his Agonies, he could Reaſon himſelf to the Rule, and conclude that there was no way but Submiſſion to God, and lying at the Foot of his Mercy in Chriſt Jeſus, and waiting humbly there, till he ſhould pleaſe to perſwade the Soul of his Favour : Nevertheleſs when he came to apply this Rule unto himſelf in his own Condition, his Reaſoning would fail him, he was able to do nothing.* Having been a conſiderable while thus troubled with ſuch Impreſſions for the *Spirit of Bondage*, as were to fit him for the great Services and Enjoyments, which God intended him ; at length he received the *Spirit of Adoption*, with well-grounded Perſwaſions of his Intereſt in the New Covenant. It became his manner, at his lying down for Sleep, in the Evening, to ſingle out ſome certain *Promiſe* of God, which he would repeat and ponder, and keep his Heart cloſe unto it, until he found that Satisfaction of Soul wherewith he could ſay, *I will lay me down in Peace, and Sleep ; for thou, O Lord, makeſt me dwell in Aſſurance.* And he would afterwards Counſel others to take the ſame Courſe ; telling them, *That the Promiſe was the Boat, which was to carry a periſhing Sinner over unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

§ 4. Mr. *Hooker* being now well got through the *Storm* of Soul, which had helped him unto a moſt *Experimental Acquaintance* with the Truths of the Goſpel, and the way of employ-

ing, and applying thoſe Truths, he was willing to ſerve the Church of God in the Miniſtry, whereto he was devoted. At his firſt leaving of the Univerſity, he ſojourned in the Houſe of Mr. *Drake*, a Gentleman of great Note, not far from *London*; whoſe worthy Conſort being viſited with ſuch Diſtreſſes of Soul, as Mr. *Hooker* himſelf had paſſed through, it proved an unſpeakable advantage unto both of them, that he had that opportunity of being ſerviceable; for indeed he now had no *Superiour*, and ſcarce any *Equal*, for the Skill of Treating a troubled Soul. When he left Mr. *Drake*'s Family, he did more publickly and frequently preach about *London*; and in a little time he grew famous for his Miniſterial Abilities, but eſpecially for his Notable Faculty at the wiſe and fit management of *wounded Spirits*. However, he was not Ambitious to exerciſe his Miniſtry among the Great Ones of the World, from whom the moſt of Preferment might be expected; but in this, imitating the Example and Character of our bleſſed Saviour, of whom 'tis noted, that according to the Propheſie of *Iſaiah*, by him, *The Poor had the Goſpel preached unto them*; he choſe to be where great Numbers of *the Poor* might receive the *Goſpel* from him.

§ 5. About this time it was, that Mr. *Hooker* grew into a moſt intimate Acquaintance with Mr. *Rogers* of *Dedham*; who ſo highly valued him for his Multifarious Abilities, that he uſed and gained many Endeavours to get him ſettled at *Colcheſter*; whereto Mr. *Hooker* did very much incline, becauſe of its being ſo near to *Dedham*, where he might enjoy the *Labours* and *Lectures* of Mr. *Rogers*, whom he would ſometimes call, *The Prince of all the Preachers in England.* But the Providence of God gave an Obſtruction to that Settlement; and, indeed, it was an Obſervation which Mr. *Hooker* would ſometimes afterwards uſe unto his Friends, *That the Providence of God often diverted him from Employment in ſuch Places as he himſelf deſired, and ſtill directed him to ſuch Places, as he had no thoughts of.* Accordingly, *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex*, a Town of great Concourſe, wanting one to *break the Bread of Life* unto them; and hearing the Fame of Mr. *Hooker*'s powerful Miniſtry, addreſſed him to become their Lecturer: And he accepted their Offer about the Year *1626.* becoming not only their Lecturer, but alſo on the Lord's Days, an Aſſiſtant unto one Mr. *Mitchel*, the Incumbent of the place, who tho' he were a *Smaller*, yet being a *Godly* Perſon, gladly encouraged Mr. *Hooker*, and liv'd with him in a moſt comfortable Amity.

§ 6. Here his Lecture was exceedingly frequented, and proportionably ſucceeded; and the Light of his Miniſtry ſhone through the whole County of *Eſſex*. There was a rare mixture of *Pleaſure* and *Profit* in his preaching; and his Hearers felt thoſe penetrating Impreſſions of his Miniſtry upon their Souls, which cauſed them to Reverence him, as *a Teacher ſent from God.* He had a moſt excellent Faculty at the Applications of his Doctrine; and he would therein ſo touch the *Conſciences* of his Auditors, that a Judicious Perſon would ſay of him, *He was the Beſt at an Uſe that ever he heard.* Hereby there was a great Reformation wrought, not only in the Town, but in the adjacent Country, from all parts whereof they came to *hear the Wiſdom of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, in his Goſpel, by this worthy Man diſpenſed: And ſome of great Quality among the reſt, would often reſort from far to his Aſſembly; particularly the truly Noble Earl of *Warwick*, whoſe Countenance of Good Miniſters, procured more Prayers to God for him, than moſt Noble-men in *England.*

When he firſt ſet up his Lecture, there was more *Profaneneſs* than *Devotion* in the Town; And the multitude of Inns and Shops in the Town, produced one particular Diſorder, of Peoples filling the Streets with unſuitable Behaviours, after the Publick Services of the Lord's Day were over. But by the Power of his Miniſtry in Publick, aud by the Prudence of his Carriage in Private, he quickly cleared the Streets of this Diſorder, and the Sabbath came to be very viſibly ſanctified among the People.

§ 7. The Joy of the People in this Light was *but for a Seaſon.* The Conſcientious Non-Conformity of Mr. *Hooker*, to ſome Rites of the Church of *England*, then vigorouſly preſſed, eſpecially upon ſuch able and uſeful Miniſters, as were moſt likely to be laid aſide by their ſcrupling of thoſe Rites, made it neceſſary for him to lay down his Miniſtry in *Chelmsford*, when he had been about four Years there employed in it. Hereupon, at the Requeſt of ſeveral eminent Perſons, he kept a School in *his own hired Houſe*, having one Mr. *John Eliot* for his Uſher, at little *Baddow*, not far from *Chelmsford*; where he managed his Charge with ſuch Diſcretion, ſuch Authority, and ſuch Efficacy, that able to do more with a Word, or a Look, than moſt other Men could have done by a ſeverer Diſcipline, he did very great Service to the Church of God, in the Education of ſuch, as afterwards proved themſelves not a little ſerviceable. I have in my Hands, a Manuſcript, written by the Hands of our bleſſed *Eliot*, wherein he gives a very great Account of the little Academy then maintained in the Houſe of Mr. *Hooker*; and among other things, he ſays, *To this place I was call'd, through the infinite Riches of God's Mercy in Chriſt Jeſus to my poor Soul: For here the Lord ſaid unto my dead Soul,* Live; *and through the Grace of Chriſt, I do live, and I ſhall live for ever! When I came to this bleſſed Family, I then ſaw, and never before, the Power of Godlineſs, in its Lively Vigour, and Efficacy.*

§ 8. While he continued thus in the Heart of *Eſſex*, and in the Hearts of the People there, he ſignalized his Uſefulneſs in many other Inſtances.

The Godly Miniſters round about the Country, would have recourſe unto him, to be directed and reſolved in their *difficult Caſes*; and it

it was by his means that thoſe Godly Miniſters held their *Monthly Meetings*, for *Faſting* and *Prayer*, and profitable *Conferences*. 'Twas the Effect of his *Conſultations* alſo, that ſuch Godly Miniſters came to be here and there ſettled in ſeveral parts of the Country; and many others came to be better eſtabliſh'd in ſome great Points of Chriſtianity, by being in his Neighbourhood and Acquaintance. He was indeed a General Bleſſing to the Church of God! But that which hindred his taking his Degree of *Batchellor in Divinity*, muſt alſo, it ſeems, hinder his being a *Preacher of Divinity*; namely, his being a *Non-Conformiſt* unto ſome things, whereof true Divinity could not approve. And indeed that which made the Silencing of Mr. *Hooker* more unaccountable was, that no leſs that Seven and forty Conformable Miniſters of the Neighbouring Towns, underſtanding that the Biſhop of *London* pretended Mr. *Hooker*'s Miniſtry to be injurious or offenſive to them, ſubſcribed a Petition to the Biſhop for his Continuance in the Miniſtry at *Chelmsford*; in which Petition, tho' he was of a Perſwaſion ſo different from them, yet they teſtifie in ſo many words, *That they eſteem and know the ſaid Mr.* Thomas Hooker, *to be for Doctrine*, *Orthodox*; *for Life and Converſation*, *Honeſt*; *for Diſpoſition*, *Peaceable*, *and in no wiſe Turbulent or Factious*. And yet all would not avail: *Bonus vir* Hookerus, *ſed ideo malus*, *quia Puritanus*.

§ 9. The Ground-work of his Knowledge, and Study of the Arts, was in the *Tables* of Mr. *Alexander Richardſon*, whom he cloſely followed, admiring him for a Man of tranſcendent Ability, and a moſt exalted Piety; and would ſay of him, *That he was a Maſter of ſo much Underſtanding, that like the great Army of* Gideon, *he was too many to be employed in doing what was to be done for the Church of God.* This moſt eminent *Richardſon* leaving the Univerſity, lived a private Life in *Eſſex*, whither many Students in *Cambridge* reſorted unto him, to be illuminated in the abſtruſer parts of Learning; and from him it was, that the incomparable Doctor *Ames* imbibed thoſe Principles both in *Philoſophy*, and in *Divinity*, which afterwards not only gave clearer Methods and Meaſures to all the Liberal Arts, but alſo fed the whole Church of God with the choiceſt *Marrow*. Neverthleſs, this excellent Man, as he lived, ſo he died in a moſt retired Obſcurity; but ſo far as a *Metempſychoſis* was attainable, the *Soul* of him, I mean the Notions, the Accompliſhments, the Diſpoſitions of that Great Soul, tranſmigrated into our moſt *Richardſonian Hooker*.

§ 10. As his *Perſon* was thus adorned with a well-grounded Learning, ſo his *Preaching* was notably ſet off with a *Livelineſs* extraordinary: Inſomuch that I cannot give a *fuller*, and yet *brieſer* Deſcription of him, than that which I find given of *Bucholtzer*, that Pattern of *Preachers*, before him; *Vivida in eo omnia fuerunt, vivida vox, vividi oculi, vividæ manus, geſtus omnes vividi*: He *was* all that he was, and he *did* all that he did, *Unto the Life!* He not only had that which *Quintilian* calls, *A Natural Moveableneſs of Soul*, whereby the diſtinct *Images* of things would come ſo *nimbly*, and yet ſo *fitly* into his Mind, that he could utter them with ſuch fluent Expreſſions, as the old Orators would uſually aſcribe unto a *ſpecial Aſſiſtance* of Heaven, [*Deum tunc Adfuiſſe, veteres Oratores aibant*] and counted that Men did therein THEIOS LEGEIN, or *Speak Divinely*; but the Riſe of this Fluency in him, was the *Divine Reliſh* which he had of the things to be ſpoken, the *Sacred Panting* of his holy Soul after the Glorious Objects of the Inviſible World, and the true *Zeal* of *Religion* giving *Fire* to his Diſcourſes. Whence, though the *Ready* and *Noiſy* Performances of many Preachers, when they are as *Plato* ſpeaks, THEATROU MESTOI, or *Full of the Theatre*, Acting to the Height in the Publick for their Applauſe, may be aſcribed unto very *Mechanical Principles*; yet the *Vigour* in the Miniſtry of our *Hooker*, being raiſed by a *Coal from the Altar* of a moſt real Devotion, touching his *Heart*; it would be a wrong unto the Good *Spirit* of our God, if he ſhould not be acknowledged the Author of it. That *Spirit* accordingly gave a wonderful and unuſual *Succeſs*, unto the Miniſtry wherein he *Breathed* ſo Remarkably. Of that *Succeſs* there were many Inſtances; but one particularly I find mentioned in *Clark*'s Examples, to this purpoſe. A profane Perſon deſigning therein only an Ungodly Diverſion and Merriment, ſaid unto his Companions, *Come, Let us go hear what that Bawling* Hooker *will ſay to us*; and thereupon with an Intention to make Sport, unto *Chelmsford* Lecture they came. The Man had not been long in the Church, before the *Quick and Powerful Word* of God, in the Mouth of his Faithful *Hooker*, pierced the Soul of him; he came out with an awakened and a diſtreſſed Soul, and by the further Bleſſing of God upon Mr. *Hooker*'s Miniſtry, he arrived unto a true *Converſion*; for which cauſe he would not afterwards leave that Bleſſed Miniſtry, but went a *Thouſand Leagues* to attend it, and enjoy it. Another Memorable thing of this kind, was this; it was Mr. *Hooker*'s manner once a Year to viſit his Native County: And in one of thoſe Viſits, he had an Invitation to preach in the Great Church of *Leiceſter*. One of the Chief Burgeſſes in the Town much oppoſed his Preaching there; and when he could not prevail to hinder it, he ſet certain *Fidlers* a work to diſturb him in the Church-porch, or Church-yard. But ſuch was the Vivacity of Mr. *Hooker*, as to proceed in what he was about, without either the damping of his Mind, or the drowning of his *Voice*; whereupon the Man himſelf went unto the Church-door to over-hear what he ſaid. It pleaſed God ſo to accompany ſome Words uttered by Mr. *Hooker*, as thereby to procure, firſt the *Attention* and then the *Conviction* of that wretched Man; who then came to Mr. *Hooker* with a penitent Confeſſion of his Wickedneſs, and became indeed ſo penitent

a Con-

a Convert, as to be at length a ſincere *Profeſſor* and *Practiſer* of the Godlineſs, whereof he had been a *Perſecutor*.

§ 11. The *Spiritual Court* ſitting at *Chelmsford*, about the Year 1630. had not only ſilenced Mr. *Hooker*, but alſo bound him over in a Bond of Fifty Pound to appear before the *High Commiſſion*, which he could not now attend, becauſe of an Ague then upon him. One of his Hearers, namely Mr. *Naſh*, a very honeſt Yeoman, that rented a great Farm of the Earl of *Warwick* at *Much-Waltham*, was bound in that Sum for his Appearance, but as *Paul* was adviſed by his Friends, that he would not venture into the Theatre at *Epheſus*, thus Mr. *Hooker*'s Friends adviſed him to forfeit his Bonds, rather than to throw himſelf any further into the Hands of his Enemies. Wherefore, when the Day for his Appearance came, his honeſt Surety being reimburſed by ſeveral good People in and near *Chelmsford*, ſent in the forfeited Sum into the Court; and Mr. *Hooker* having, by the Earl of *Warwick*, a courteous and private Receſs provided for his Family at a Place called *Old Park*, for which I find, the Thanks of Dr. *Hill* afterwards publickly given in his Dedication of Mr. *Fenner*'s Treatiſe about *Impenitency*; he went over to *Holland*. In his Paſſage thither, he quickly had occaſion to diſcover himſelf, when they were in Eminent Hazzard of *Shipwrack* upon a Shelf of Sand, whereon they ran in the Night; but Mr. *Hooker*, like *Paul*, with a Remarkable Confidence, aſſured them, that they ſhould be all preſerved; and they had as Remarkable a Deliverance. I have alſo heard, that when he fled from the Purſevants, to take his Paſſage for the *Low-Countries*, at his laſt parting with ſome of his Friends, one of them ſaid, *Sir, What if the Wind ſhould not be fair, when you come to the Veſſel?* whereto he inſtantly replied, *Brother, Let us leave that with him, who keeps the Wind in the hollow of his hand:* And it was obſerv'd, That although the Wind was croſs, until *he* came aboard, yet it immediately then came about fair and freſh, and he was no ſooner under Sail, but the Officer arriv'd at the Sea ſide happily too late now to come at him: Which minds me of what befel Dr. *Goodwin*, not long after. That Great Man lay Wind-bound in hourly Suſpicions that the Perſevants would ſtop his Voyage, and ſeize his Perſon before the Wind would favour his getting away for *Holland*. In this Diſtreſs, humbly praying to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for a more propitious Wind, he yet ſaid, *Lord, If thou haſt at this time, any poor Servant of thine, that wants this Wind, more than I do another, I do not ask for the Changing of it; I ſubmit unto it.* And immediately the Wind came about, unto the Right Point; and carried him clear from his Purſuers.

§ 12. Arriving in *Holland*, he was invited unto a Settlement with old Mr. *Paget*; but the old Man being ſecretly willing that Mr. *Hooker* ſhould not accept of this Invitation, he contrived many ways to render him ſuſpected unto the *Claſſis*, on a Suſpicion that he favoured the *Browniſts*; unto whom he had, indeed, an extream Averſion. The Miſunderſtandings operated ſo far, as to occaſion Mr. *Hooker*'s Removal from *Amſterdam*; notwithſtanding he had ſo fully expreſſed himſelf, when in his anſwer to one of Mr. *Paget*'s Queſtions, he declared in theſe Words, *To ſeparate from the Faithful Aſſemblies and Churches in* England, *as no Churches, is an Error in Judgment, and Sin in Practice, held and maintained by the* Browniſts; *and therefore to communicate with them in their Opinion or Practice, is ſinful and utterful unlawful; and care ſhould be taken to prevent Offence, either by encouraging them in their way, or by drawing others to a further Approbation of that way than is meet.* Going from *Amſterdam*, he went unto *Delft*; where he was moſt kindly received by Mr. *Forbs*, an Aged and Holy *Scotch* Miniſter, under whoſe Miniſtry many *Engliſh* Merchants were then ſettled. The Text whereon he firſt Preached at his coming thither, was Phil. 1. 29. *To you it is given not only to Believe, but alſo to Suffer*; and after that Sermon, Mr. *Forbs* manifeſted a ſtrong Deſire to enjoy the Fellowſhip of Mr. *Hooker* in the Work of the Goſpel; which he did for about the ſpace of two Years: In all which time they lived ſo like Brethren, that an Obſerver might ſay of them, as they ſaid of *Baſil* and *Nazianzen*, *They were but one Soul in two Bodies*; and if they had been for any little while aſunder, they ſtill met with ſuch Friendly and Joyful Congratulations, as teſtified a moſt affectionate Satiſfaction in each others Company.

§ 13. At the end of two Years, he had a Call to *Rotterdam*; which he the more heartily and readily accepted, becauſe it renewed his Acquaintance with his Invaluable Dr. *Ames*, who had newly left his Place in the *Friſian* Univerſity. With him he ſpent the Reſidue of his Time in *Holland*, and aſſiſted him in compoſing ſome of his Diſcourſes, which are, *His Freſh Suit againſt the Ceremonies:* For ſuch was the Regard which Dr. *Ames* had for him, that notwithſtanding his vaſt Ability and Experience, yet when it came to the *Narrow* of any Queſtion about the *Inſtituted Worſhip of God*, he would ſtill profeſs himſelf conquered by Mr. *Hooker*'s Reaſon; declaring, that *though he had been acquainted with many Scholars of divers Nations, yet he never met with Mr.* Hooker's *Equal, either for Preaching or for Diſputing.* And ſuch was the Regard, which on the other ſide, he had for Dr. *Ames*, that he would ſay, *If a Scholar* was but well ſtudied in Dr. *Ames* his *Medulla Theologiæ*, and *Caſus Conſcientiæ*, ſo as to underſtand them throughly, they would make him (ſuppoſing him verſed in the Scriptures,) a *Good Divine*, tho' he had no more Books in the World. But having tarried in *Holland* long enough to ſee the State of Religion in the Churches there, he became ſatisfied, that it was neither Eligible for *him* to tarry in that Country, nor convenient for *his Friends*

to

to be invited thither after him. I have at this time in my Hands, his Letter from *Rotterdam* to Mr. *Cotton*, wherein are theſe words; ' The ' State of theſe Provinces to my weak Eye, ' ſeems wonderfully ticklish and miſerable. ' For the better part, *Heart Religion*, they con- ' tent themſelves with very Forms, tho' much ' blemiſhed; but the Power of Godlineſs, for ' ought I can ſee or hear, they know not; and ' if it were throughly preſſed, I fear leaſt it ' will be fiercely oppoſed. My Ague yet holds ' me; the ways of God's Providence, wherein ' he has walked towards me, in this long time ' of my Sickneſs, and wherein I have drawn ' forth many weariſh Hours, under his Al- ' mighty Hand (Bleſſed be his Name) toge- ' ther with Purſuits and Baniſhment, which ' have waited upon me, as one Wave follows ' another, have driven me to an Amazement: ' His Paths being too ſecret and paſt finding ' out by ſuch an Ignorant, Worthleſs Worm as ' my ſelf. I have looked over my Heart and ' Life, according to my meaſure; aimed and ' gueſſed as well as I could: And entreated his ' Majeſty to make known his Mind, wherein ' I miſſed; and yet methinks I cannot ſpell out ' readily the purpoſe of his Proceedings; which ' I confeſs have been wonderful in Miſeries, ' and more than wonderful in Mercies to me ' and mine. Wherefore, about this time, underſtanding that many of his Friends in *Eſſex*, were upon the *Wing*, for a *Wilderneſs* in *America*; where they hoped for an opportunity to enjoy and practiſe the *Pure Worſhip* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in Churches gathered according to his Direction, he readily anſwered their Invitation to accompany them in this Undertaking. Dr. *Ames* had a deſign to follow Mr. *Hooker*; but he died ſoon after Mr. *Hooker*'s Removal from *Rotterdam*. However his Widow and Children afterwards came to *New-England*; where having her Houſe burnt, and being reduced unto much Poverty and Affliction, the charitable Heart of Mr. *Hooker* (and others that joined with him) upon Advice thereof, comfortably provided for them.

§ 14. Returning into *England* in order to a further Voyage, he was quickly ſcented by the Purſevants; who at length got ſo far up with him, as to knock at the Door of that very Chamber, where he was now diſcourſing with Mr. *Stone*; who was now become his deſigned Companion and Aſſiſtent for the *New Engliſh* Enterprize. Mr. *Stone* was at that Inſtant ſmoking of *Tobacco*; for which Mr. *Hooker* had been reproving him, as being then uſed by few Perſons of Sobriety; being alſo of a ſudden and pleaſant Wit, he ſtept unto the Door, with his Pipe in his mouth, and ſuch an Air of Speech and Look, as gave him ſome Credit with the Officer. The Officer demanded, *Whether Mr.* Hooker *were not there?* Mr. *Stone* replied with a braving ſort of Confidence, *What* Hooker? *Do you mean* Hooker *that liv'd once at* Chelmsford! The Officer anſwered, *Yes, He!* Mr. *Stone* immediately, with a Diverſion like that which once helped *Athanaſius*, made this true Anſwer, *If it be he you look for, I ſaw him about an Hour ago, at ſuch an Houſe in the Town; you had beſt haſten thither after him.* The Officer took this for a ſufficient Account, and went his way; but Mr. *Hooker*, upon this Intimation, concealed himſelf more carefully and ſecurely, till he went on Board, at the *Downs*, in the Year 1633. the Ship which brought him, and Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Stone* to *New-England*: Where none but Mr. *Stone* was owned for a Preacher, at their firſt coming aboard; the other two delaying to take their Turns in the Publick Worſhip of the Ship, till they were got ſo far into the Main Ocean, that they might with Safety, diſcover who they were.

§ 15. Amongſt Mr. *Fenner*'s Works, I find ſome imperfect and ſhattered, and I believe, Injurious Notes of a *Farewel Sermon* upon Jer. 14. 9. *We are called by thy Name, leave us not*: Which *Farewel Sermon* was indeed, Mr. *Hooker*'s, at his leaving of *England*. There are in thoſe *Fragments* of a Sermon, ſome very *Pathetical* and moſt *Prophetical* Paſſages, where ſome are theſe.

It is not Gold and Proſperity which makes God to be our God; there is more Gold in the Weſt-Indies, *than there is in all* Chriſtendom; *but it is God's Ordinances in the Vertue of them, that ſhow the Preſence of God.*

Again, *Is not* England *ripe? Is ſhe not weary of God? Nay, ſhe is fed fat for the ſlaughter.*

Once more, England *hath ſeen her beſt Days, and now evil Days are befalling us.*

And, *Thou* England, *which haſt been lifted up to Heaven with Means, ſhall be abaſed and brought down to Hell; for if the mighty Works, which have been done in thee, had been done in* India *or* Turkey, *they would have repented e'er this.*

Theſe Paſſages I quote, that I may the more effectually deſcribe the Apprehenſions with which this worthy Man took his *Farewel* of his Native Country.

But there is one ſtrange Paſſage in that Sermon, that I know not what well to *think* of; and yet it is to be *thought* of. I remember, 'tis a Paſſage in the Life of the Reverend Old *Blackerby*, who died in the Year 1648. ' That he ' would often ſay it was very probable, the *Engliſh* Nation would be ſorely puniſhed by the ' *French*: And that he believed, *Popery* would come ' in, but it would not laſt, nor could it recover ' its former Strength. - The notable Fulfilment which that Paſſage hath ſeen, would carry one to conſider the unaccountable Words which Our *Hooker* uttered in his *Farewel Sermon*. 'Tis very likely, that the Scribe has all along wronged the Sermon; but the Words now referr'd unto, are of this Purport, *That it had been told him from God, That God will deſtroy* England, *and lay it waſt; and that the People ſhould be put unto the Sword, and the Temples burnt*

burnt, and many Houſes laid in Aſhes. Long after this, when he lived at *Hartford* in *New-England*, his Friends that heard that Sermon, having the News of the Miſeries upon *England*, by the Civil Wars, brought unto them, enquired of him, *Whether this were not the time of God's deſtroying* England,*whereof he had ſpoken?* He replied, *No; this is not the time; there will be a time of reſpite after theſe Wars, and a time wherein God will further try* England; *and* England *will further ſin againſt him, and ſhew an Antipathy againſt the Government of the* Lord Jeſus Chriſt *in his Church; his Royal Power in the Governing thereof will be denied and rejected. There will therefore a time come, when the* Lord Jeſus Chriſt *will plead his own, and his own Cauſe, and the Cauſe of them who have ſuffered for their Fidelity to her Inſtitutions: He will plead it in a more dreadful way, and break the Nation of* England *in pieces, like a Potters Veſſel. Then a Man ſhall be precious as the Gold of* Ophir; *but a ſmall Remnant ſhall be left: And afterward God will raiſe up Churches to himſelf, after his own Heart, in his own time and way.* God knows, what there may be in this Prediction.

§ 16. Mr. *Hooker* and Mr. *Cotton* were, for their different Genius, the *Luther* and *Melancthon* of *New-England*; at their Arrival unto which Country, Mr. *Cotton* ſettled with the Church of *Boſton*, but Mr. *Hooker* with the Church of *New-Town*, having Mr. *Stone* for his Aſſiſtant. Inexpreſſible now was the Joy of Mr. *Hooker*, to find himſelf ſurrounded with his Friends, who were come over the Year before, to prepare for his Reception; with open Arms he embraced them, and uttered theſe words, *Now I live, if you ſtand faſt in the Lord.* But ſuch multitudes flocked over to *New-England* after them, that the Plantation of *New-Town* became to ſtraight for them; and it was Mr. *Hooker*'s Advice, that they ſhould not incur the danger of a *Sitna*, or an *Eſek*, where they might have a *Rehoboth*. Accordingly in the Month of *June 1636*, they removed an Hundred Miles to the Weſtward, with a purpoſe to ſettle upon the delightful Banks of *Connecticut River*: And there were about an Hundred Perſons in the firſt Company that made this Removal; who not being able to walk above Ten Miles a Day, took up near a Fortnight in the Journey; having no Pillows to take their Nightly Reſt upon, but ſuch as their Father *Jacob* found in the way to *Padan-Aram*. Here Mr. *Hooker* was the chief Inſtrument of beginning another Colony, as Mr. *Cotton*, whom he left behind him, was, of preſerving and perfecting that Colony where he left him; for, indeed each of them were the Oracle of their ſeveral Colonies.

§ 17. Tho' Mr. *Hooker* had thus removed from the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, yet he ſometimes came down to viſit the Churches in that Bay: But when ever he came, he was received with an Affection, like that which *Paul* found among the *Galatians*; yea, 'tis thought, that once there ſeemed ſome Intimation from Heaven, as if the good People had overdone in that Affection: For on *May 26. 1639.* Mr. *Hooker* being here to preach that Lord's Day in the Afternoon, his great Fame had gathered a vaſt Multitude of Hearers from ſeveral other Congregations, and among the reſt, the Governour himſelf, to be made Partaker of his Miniſtry. But when he came to preach, he found himſelf ſo unaccountably at a loſs, that after ſome ſhattered and broken Attempts to proceed, he made a full ſtop; ſaying to the Aſſembly, *That every thing which he would have ſpoken, was taken both out of his Mouth, and out of his Mind alſo*; wherefore he deſired them to ſing a Pſalm, while he withdrew about half an Hour from them: Returning then to the Congregation, he preached a moſt admirable Sermon, wherein he held them for two Hours together in an extraordinary Strain both of Pertinency and Vivacity.

After Sermon, when ſome of his Friends were ſpeaking of the Lords thus withdrawing his Aſſiſtance from him, he humbly replied, *We daily confeſs, that we have nothing, and can do nothing, without Chriſt; and what if Chriſt will make this manifeſt in us, and on us, before our Congregations? What remains, but that we be humbly contented? And what manner of Diſcouragement is there in all of this?* Thus content was he to be nullified, that the LORD might be magnified!

§ 18. Mr. *Hooker* that had been born to ſerve many, and was of ſuch a Publick Spirit, that I find him occaſionally celebrated in the Life of Mr. *Angier*, lately publiſhed for one, who would be continually inquiſitive how it fared with the Church of God, both at home and abroad, on purpoſe that he might order his Prayers and Cares accordingly: [Which, by the way, makes me think on Mr. *Firmin*'s words: *I look on it,* (ſaith he) *as an Act of a grown Chriſtian, whoſe Intereſt in Chriſt is well cleared, and his Heart walking cloſe with God, to be really taken up with the Publick Intereſt of Chriſt.*] He never took his Opportunity to ſerve himſelf, but lived a ſort of Exile all his Days, except the laſt fourteen Years of his Life, among his own Spiritual Children at *Hartford*; however, here alſo he was an Exile. Accordingly, where-ever he came, he lived like a Stranger in the World! When at the Lands-end, he took his laſt ſight of *England*, he ſaid, *Farewel* England! *I expect now no more to ſee that Religious Zeal, and Power of Godlineſs, which I have ſeen among Profeſſors in that Land!* And he had Sagacious and Prophetical Apprehenſions of the Declenſions which would attend *Reforming Churches*, when they came to enjoy a place of *Liberty*: He ſaid, *That Adverſity had ſlain its Thouſands, but Proſperity would ſlay its Ten Thouſands!* He fear'd, *That they who had been lively Chriſtians in the Fire of Perſecution, would ſoon become cold in the midſt of Univerſal Peace, except ſome few, whom God by ſharp Tryals, would keep in a Faithful, Watchful, Humble, and Praying Frame.* But under theſe Pre apprehenſions, it was his own endeavour to beware of abating his own

firſt Love! And of ſo *Watchful*, ſo *Prayerful*, ſo *Fruitful* a Spirit was Mr. *Hooker*, that the Spirit of Prophecy it ſelf, did ſeem to grant him ſome ſingular Afflations. Indeed, every wiſe Man is a Prophet; but one ſo eminently acquainted with Scripture and Reaſon, and Church-Hiſtory, as our *Hooker*, muſt needs be a Seer, from whom ſingular Prognoſtications were to be expected. Accordingly, there were many things prognoſticated by him, wherein the Future State of *New-England*, particularly of *Connecticut* has been ſo much concerned, that its pity they ſhould be forgotten. But I will in this Hiſtory, record only two of his Predictions. One was, *That God would puniſh the wanton Spirit of the Profeſſors in this Country, with a ſad want of Able Men in all Orders.* Another was, *That in certain places of great Light here ſinned againſt, there would break forth ſuch horrible Sins, as would be the Amazement of the World.*

§ 19. He was a Man of Prayer, which was indeed a ready way to become a Man of God. He would ſay, *That Prayer was the principal part of a Miniſter's Work; 'twas by this, that he was to carry on the reſt.* Accordingly, he ſtill devoted one Day in a Month to private Prayer, with Faſting, before the Lord, beſides the Publick Faſts, which often occurred unto him. He would ſay, *That ſuch extraordinary Favours, as the Life of Religion, and the Power of Godlineſs, muſt be preſerved by the frequent Uſe of ſuch extraordinary Means, as* Prayer with Faſting; *and that if Profeſſors grow negligent of theſe Means, Iniquity will abound, and the Love of many wax cold.* Nevertheleſs, in the Duty of Prayer, he affected Strength rather than Length; and tho' he had not ſo much variety in his Publick Praying, as in his Publick Preaching, yet he always had a ſeaſonable Reſpect unto preſent Occaſions. And it was obſerved, that his Prayer was uſually like *Jacob*'s Ladder, wherein the nearer he came to an End, the nearer he drew towards Heaven; and he grew into ſuch Rapturous Pleadings with God, and Praiſings of God, as made ſome to ſay, *That like the Maſter of the Feaſt, he reſerved the beſt Wine until the laſt.* Nor was the wonderful Succeſs of his Prayer, upon ſpecial Concerns, unobſerved by the whole Colony; who reckoned him the *Moſes*, which *turned away the Wrath of God from them*, and obtained a *Blaſt* from Heaven upon their *Indian Amalekites*, by his uplifted Hands, in thoſe remarkable Deliverances which they ſometimes experienced. It was very particularly obſerved, when there was a Battel to be fought between the *Narraganſet*, and the *Menhegin Indians*, in the Year 1643. The *Narraganſet Indians* had complotted the Ruine of the *Engliſh*, but the *Monhegin* were Confederate with us; and a War now being between thoſe two Nations, much Notice was taken of the prevailing Importunity, wherewith Mr. *Hooker* urged for the Accompliſhment of that Great Promiſe unto the People of God, *I will bleſs them that bleſs thee, but I will curſe him that curſes thee.* And the Effect of it was, that the *Narganſets* received a wonderful Overthrow from the *Monhegins*, though the former did Three or Four to One for Number, exceed the latter. Such an *Iſrael* at Prayer, was our *Hooker*! And this Praying *Paſtor* was Bleſſed; as, indeed, ſuch Miniſters uſe to be, with a Praying *People*: There fell upon his pious *People*, a *Double Portion* of the *Spirit*, which they beheld in him.

§ 20. That Reverend and Excellent Man, Mr. *Whitfield*, having ſpent many Years in ſtudying of *Books*, did at length take two or three Years to ſtudy *Men*; and in purſuance of this Deſign, having acquainted himſelf with the moſt conſiderable Divines in *England*, at laſt he fell into the Acquaintance of Mr. *Hooker*; concerning whom, he afterwards gave this Teſtimony: 'That he had not thought there had 'been ſuch a Man on Earth; a Man in whom 'there ſhone ſo many Excellencies, as were in 'this *incomparable* Hooker; *a Man in whom 'Learning and Wiſdom, were ſo tempered with 'Zeal, Holineſs, and Watchfulneſs.*' And the ſame Obſerver having exactly Noted Mr. *Hooker*, made this Remark, and gave this Report more particularly of him, *That he had the beſt Command of his own Spirit, which he ever ſaw in any Man whatever.* For though he were a Man of a Cholerick Diſpoſition, and had a mighty Vigour and Fervour of Spirit, which as occaſion ſerved, was wondrous uſeful unto him, yet he had ordinarily as much Government of his Choler, as a Man has of a Maſtiff Dog in a Chain; he *could let out his Dog, and pull in his Dog, as he pleaſed.* And another that obſerved the Heroical Spirit and Courage, with which this Great Man fulfilled his Miniſtry, gave this Account of him, *He was a Perſon who while doing his Maſter's Work, would put a King in his Pocket.*

Of this there was an Inſtance, when the Judges were in their Circuit, preſent at *Chelmsford*, on a Faſt kept throughout the Nation, Mr. *Hooker* then, in the preſence of the Judges, and before a vaſt Congregation, declared freely the Sins of *England*, and the Plagues that would come for ſuch Sins; and in his Prayer he beſought the God of Heaven, to ſet on the Heart of the King, what his own Mouth had ſpoken, in the Second Chapter of *Malachy*, and the Eleventh and Twelfth Verſes, [in his Prayer he ſo diſtinctly quoted it!] *An Abomination is committed, Judah hath married the Daughter of a ſtrange God, the Lord will cut off the Man that doeth this.* Though the Judges turned unto the place thus quoted, yet Mr. *Hooker* came into no trouble; but it was long before the Kingdom did.

§ 21. He was indeed of a very condeſcending Spirit, not only towards his Brethren in the Miniſtry, but alſo towards the meaneſt of any Chriſtians whatſoever. He was very willing to Sacrifice his own Apprehenſions into the Convincing Reaſon of another Man; and very ready to acknowledge any Miſtake, or Failing, in himſelf. I'll give one Example: There happened

pened a damage to be done unto a Neighbour, immediately whereupon, Mr. *Hooker* meeting with an unlucky Boy, that often had his Name up, for the doing of ſuch Miſchiefs, he fell to chiding of that Boy, as the Doer of this. The Boy denied it, and Mr. *Hooker* ſtill went on in an angry manner, charging of him; whereupon ſaid the Boy, *Sir, I ſee you are in a Paſſion, I'll ſay no more to you:* And ſo ran away. Mr. *Hooker*, upon further Enquiry, not finding that the Boy could be proved Guilty, ſent for him; and having firſt by a calm Queſtion, given the Boy opportunity to renew his Denial of the Fact, he ſaid unto him: *Since I cannot prove the contrary, I am bound to believe; and I do believe what you ſay:* And then added, *Indeed I was in a Paſſion, when I ſpake to you before; it was my Sin, and it is my Shame, and I am truly ſorry for it: And I hope in God I ſhall be more watchful hereafter.* So giving the Boy ſome good Counſel, the poor Lad went away extreamly affected with ſuch a Carriage in ſo good a Man; and it proved an occaſion of good unto the Soul of the Lad all his Days.

On this occaſion it may be added, That Mr. *Hooker* did much abound in Acts of Charity. It was no rare thing for him to give ſometimes Five Pound, ſometimes Ten Pound at a time, towards the Support of Widows and Orphans, eſpecially thoſe of deceaſed Miniſters.

Thus alſo, when the People at *Southampton*, twenty Leagues from *Hartford*, wanted Corn, Mr. *Hooker*, and ſome few that joined with them, ſent them freely a whole Bark's Load of Corn, of many Hundred Buſhels, to relieve them. Thus he had thoſe that *Chryſoſtom* calls, Συλλογισμοὺς ἀναντιῤῥήτους, *unanſwerable Syllogiſms*, to demonſtrate Chriſtianity.

§ 22. He had a ſingular Ability, at giving Anſwers to Caſes of Conſcience; whereof happy was the Experience of ſome Thouſands: And for this Work he uſually ſet apart, the Second Day of the Week; wherein he admitted all ſorts of Perſons in their Diſcourſes with him, to reap the Benefit of the extraordinary Experience which himſelf had found of Satan's Devices. Once particularly, Mr. *Hooker* was addreſſed by a Student in Divinity, who entring upon his Miniſtry, was, as the moſt uſeful Miniſters, at their Entrance thereupon, uſe to be horridly buffeted with Temptations, which were become almoſt intolerable: Repairing to Mr. *Hooker* in the Diſtreſſes and Anguiſhes of his Mind, and bemoaning his own overwhelming Fears, while the Lion was thus roaring at him, Mr. *Hooker* anſwered, *I can compare with any Man living for Fears! My Advice to you is,* That *you ſearch out, and analiſe the humbling Cauſes of them, and refer them to their proper places; then go and pour them out before the Lord; and they ſhall prove more profitable to you than any Books you can read.* But Mr. *Hooker* in his dealing with troubled Conſciences, obſerved, that there were a ſort of crafty and guileful Souls, which he would find out with an admirable Dexterity; and of theſe he would ſay, as *Paul* of the *Cretians*, *They muſt be reproved ſharply, that they may be ſound in the Faith; ſharp Rebukes make ſound Chriſtians.* Indeed, *of ſome he had Compaſſion, making a Difference; and others he ſaved with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire.*

§ 23. Altho' he had a notable Hand at the Diſcuſſing and Adjuſting of Controverſal Points, yet he would hardly ever handle any *Polemical Divinity* in the Pulpit; but the very Spirit of his Miniſtry, lay in the Points of the moſt Practical Religion, and the Grand Concerns of a Sinner's Preparation for, Implantation in, and Salvation by, the Glorious Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And in theſe Diſcourſes he would frequently intermix moſt affectionate Warnings of the Declenſions which would quickly befal the Churches of *New-England*.

His Advice to young Miniſters, may on this occaſion be fitly mentioned. It was, That at their Entrance on their Miniſtry, they would with careful Study preach over the whole *Body of Divinity* methodically, (even in the *Ameſian* Method) which would acquaint them with all the more intelligible and agreeable Texts of Scripture, and prepare them for a further Acquaintance with the more difficult, and furniſh them with Abilities to preach on whole Chapters, and all Occaſional Subjects, which by the Providence of God, they might be directed unto.

Many Volumes of the Sermons preached by him were ſince Printed; and this Account is to be given of them.

While he was Fellow of *Emanuel*-Colledge, he entertained a ſpecial Inclination to thoſe Principles of Divinity, which concerned, *The Application of Redemption*; and that which eminently fitted him for the Handling of thoſe Principles, was, That he had been from his Youth trained up in the Experience of thoſe *Humiliations* and *Conſolations*, and Sacred *Communions*, which belong to the New Creature; and he had moſt critically compared his own Experience, with the Accounts which the *quick and powerful Word of God*, gives of thoſe Glorious Things. Accordingly he preached firſt more briefly on theſe Points, whilſt he was a Catechiſt in *Emanuel*-Colledge, in a more Scholaſtick way; which was moſt agreeable to his preſent Station; and the Notes of what he then delivered were ſo eſteemed, that many Copies thereof were tranſcribed and preſerved. Afterwards he preached more largely on thoſe Points, in a more popular way at *Chelmsford*, the Product of which were thoſe Books of *Preparation for Chriſt, Contrition, Humiliation, Vocation, Union with Chriſt, and Communion*, and the reſt, which go under his Name; for many wrote after him in Short-Hand; and ſome were ſo bold as to publiſh many of them, without his Conſent or Knowledge; whereby his Notions came to be deformedly miſrepreſented in multitudes of paſſages; among which I will ſuppoſe that crude paſſage, which Mr. *Giles Firmin*, in his *Real Chriſtian*, ſo well confutes, *That if the Soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the*

State of Damnation. But when he came to *New-England*, many of his Church, which had been his old *Eſſex* Hearers, deſired him once more to go over the Points of *God's Regenerating Works upon the Soul of his Elect*; until, at laſt, their Deſires prevailed with him to Reſume that pleaſant Subject. The Subject hereby came to have a Third Concoction in the Head and Heart of one, as able to digeſt it, as moſt Men living in the World; and it was his deſign to perfect with his own Hand his Compoſures for the Preſs, and thereby vindicate both *Author* and *Matter*, from the Wrongs done to both, by Surreptitious Editions heretofore. He did not live to finiſh what he intended; yet a Worthy Miniſter, namely, Mr. *John Higginſon*, one richly able himſelf to have been an Author of a not unlike Matter, Tranſcribed from his *Manuſcripts*, near two Hundred of theſe Excellent Sermons, which were ſent over into *England*, that they might be publiſhed; but by what means I know not, ſcarce half of them have ſeen the Light unto this Day. However, 'tis poſſible, the Valuableneſs of thoſe that are publiſhed, may at ſome time or other awaken ſome Enquiries after the unknown Hands wherein the reſt are as yet concealed.

§ 24. But this was not all the Service which the Pen of Mr. *Hooker* did for the Church of God! It was his Opinion, That there were *Two great Reſerves of Enquiry*, for this Age of the World; the firſt, wherein the Spiritual Rule of our Lords Kingdom does conſiſt, and after what manner it is Internally Revealed, Managed and Maintained in the Souls of his People? The ſecond, after what Order the Government of our Lord's Kingdom is to be Externally managed and maintained in his Churches? Accordingly, having done his part for delivering the Former Subject from *Phariſaical Formality*, on the one Hand, and from *Familiſtical Enthuſiam* on the other, he was by the ſollicitous Importunity of his Friends, prevailed withal to compoſe a Treatiſe on the other Subject alſo. Upon this Occaſion, he wrote his Excellent Book, which is Entituled, *A Survey of Church Diſcipline*; wherein, having in the Name of the other Miniſters in the Country, as well as his own, profeſſed his Concurrence with Holy and Learned Mr. *Rutherford*, as to the Number and Nature of Church-Officers; the Right of People to call their own Officers; the Unfitneſs of Scandalous Perſons to be Members of a Viſible Church; the Unwarrantableneſs of Separation from Churches for certain Defective Circumſtances; the Lawfulneſs, yea, Needfulneſs of a Conſociation among Churches; and Calling in the Help of ſuch Conſociations, upon emerging Difficulties; and the Power of ſuch Conſociations to proceed againſt a Particular Church, pertinaciouſly offending, with a Sentence of Non-Communion: He then proceeds to conſider, a *Church Congregational compleatly conſtituted with all its Officers, having full Power in its ſelf to exerciſe all Church Diſcipline, in all the Cenſures thereof*; and the Intereſt, which the *Conſent of the People* is to have in the Exerciſe of this *Diſcipline*. The firſt fair and full Copy of this Book was drowned in its Paſſage to *England*, with many Serious and Eminent Chriſtians, which were then Buried by Shipwrack in the Ocean: For which cauſe there was another Copy ſent afterwards, which through the Pre-mature Death of the Author, was not ſo perfect as the former; but it was a Reflection, which Dr. *Goodwin* made upon it, *The Deſtiny which hath attended this Book, hath viſited my Thoughts with an Apprehenſion of ſomething like* Omen *to the Cauſe it ſelf: That after the overwhelming of it with a Flood of Obloquies, and Diſadvantages and Miſrepreſentations, and injurious Oppreſſions caſt out after it, it might in the time, which God alone hath put in his own Power, be again emergent.* He adds, *I have looked for this; That this Truth and all that ſhould be ſaid of it, was Ordained as Chriſt of whom every Truth is a Ray, to be as a Seed corn, which unleſs it fall to the Ground and die, and this perhaps together with ſome of the Perſons that profeſs it, it brings yet forth much Fruit.* However, the Ingenious Mr. *Stone* who was Collegue to Mr. *Hooker*, accompanied this *Book*, with a little Epigram, whereof theſe were the concluding Diſticks.

> *If any to this* Platform *can Reply*
> *With better Reaſon, Let this Volume Die;*
> *But better Arguments, if none can give,*
> *Then* Thomas Hooker's *Policy ſhall Live.*

§ 25. In his Adminiſtration of Church Diſcipline there were ſeveral things as Imitable, as Obſervable. As he was an hearty Friend unto the *Conſociation of Churches*; and hence all the time that he lived, the Paſtors of the Neighbouring Churches held their frequent Meetings for mutual Conſultation in things of common Concernment; ſo, in his own particular Church, he was very careful to have every thing done with a Chriſtian Moderation and Unanimity. Wherefore he would have nothing publickly propounded unto the Brethren of the Church, but what had been firſt privately prepared by the Elders; and if he feared the happening of any Debate, his way aforehand was, to viſit ſome of the more noted and leading Brethren, and having engaged them to ſecond what he ſhould move unto the Church, he rarely miſſed of a full Concurrence: To which purpoſe he would ſay, *The Elders muſt have a Church in a Church, if they would preſerve the Peace of the Church:* And he would ſay, *The debating Matters of Difference, firſt before the whole Body of the Church, will doubtleſs break any Church in pieces, and deliver it up unto loathſome Contempt.* But if any difficult or divided Agitation was raiſed in the Church, about any matter offered, he would ever put a ſtop to that publick Agitation, by delaying the Vote until another Meeting; before which time, he would ordinarily by private Conferences, gain over ſuch as were unſatisfied. As for the Admiſſion of

Commu-

Communicants unto the Lord's Table, he kept the Examination of them unto the Elders of the Church, as properly belonging unto their *Work* and *Charge*; and with his Elders he would order them to make before the whole Church a Profeſſion of a Repenting Faith, as they were able, or willing to do it. Some, that could unto Edification do it, he put upon thus relating the manner of their Converſion to God; but uſually they only anſwered unto certain probatory Queſtions, which were tendered them; and ſo after their Names had been for a few Weeks before ſignified unto the Congregation, to learn whether any Objection or Exception could be made againſt them, of any thing Scandalous in their Converſations, now conſenting unto the Covenant, they were admitted into the Church Communion. As for Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, he was very watchful to prevent all Proceedures unto them, as far as was conſiſtent with the Rules of our Lord; for which cauſe (except in groſſer Abominations) when Offences happened, he did his utmoſt, that the Notice thereof might be extended no further, than it was when they firſt were laid before him; and having reconciled the Offenders with ſenſible and convenient Acknowledgments of their Miſcarriages, he would let the Notice thereof be confined unto ſuch as were aforehand therewith acquainted; and hence there was but one Perſon admoniſhed in, and but one Perſon excommunicated from the Church of *Hartford*, in all the Fourteen Years, that Mr. *Hooker* lived there. He was much troubled at the too frequent Cenſures in ſome other Churches; and he would ſay, 'Church Cenſures are things, 'wherewith neither we, nor our Father's have 'been acquainted in the practice of them; and 'therefore the utmoſt Circumſpection is needful, that we do not ſpoil the Ordinances of 'God, by our Management thereof. In this point he was like *Beza*, who defended the Ordinance of Excommunication againſt *Eraſtus*; and yet, he with his Collegues, were ſo cautelous in the uſe of it, that in eleven Years, there was but one Excommunication paſſed in all *Geneva*.

§ 26. He would ſay, *That he ſhould Eſteem it a Favour from God, if he might live no longer than he ſhould be able to hold up lively in the Work of his Place; and that when the time of his Departure ſhould come, God would ſhorten the time:* And he had his Deſire. Some of his moſt obſervant Hearers obſerved an aſtoniſhing ſort of a *Cloud* in his Congregation, the laſt Lord's Day of his publick Miniſtry, when he alſo adminiſtred the Lord's Supper among them; and a moſt unaccountable Heavineſs and Sleepineſs, even in the moſt *Watchful Chriſtians* of the Place, not unlike the Drowſineſs of the Diſciples, when our Lord was going to die; for which, one of the Elders publickly rebuked them. When thoſe Devout People afterwards perceived that this was the laſt Sermom and Sacrament wherein they were to have the Preſence of the *Paſtor* with them, 'tis inexpreſſible how much they bewailed their Unattentiveneſs unto his *Farewel Diſpenſations*; and ſome of them could enjoy no Peace in their own Souls, until they had obtained Leave of the Elders to confeſs before the whole Congregation with many Tears, that Inadvertency. But as for Mr. *Hooker* himſelf; an *Epidemical Sickneſs*, which had proved mortal to many, though at firſt ſmall or no Danger appeared in it, arreſted him. In the time of his Sickneſs he did not ſay much to the Standers by; but being asked, that he would utter his Apprehenſions about ſome important things, eſpecially about the State of *New-England*, he anſwered, *I have not that Work now to do; I have already declared the Counſel of the Lord:* And when one that ſtood weeping by the Bed ſide ſaid unto him, Sir, *You are going to receive the Reward of all your Labours*, he replied, *Brother, I am going to receive Mercy!* At laſt he cloſed his own Eyes with his own Hands, and gently ſtroaking his own Forehead, with a Smile in his Countenance, he gave a little Groan, and ſo expired his bleſſed Soul into the Arms of his *Fellow Servants*, the *Holy Angels*, on July 7. 1647. In which laſt Hours, the Glorious Peace of Soul, which he had enjoyed without any Interruption for near Thirty Years together, ſo glorioully accompanied him, that a worthy Spectator then writing to Mr. *Cotton* a Relation thereof, made this Reflection, *Truly Sir, the Sight of his Death, will make me have more pleaſant Thoughts of Death, than ever I yet had in my Life!*

§ 27. Thus lived and thus died one of the *Firſt Three*. He, of whom the great Mr. *Cotton* gave this Character, that he did, *Agmen ducere & dominari in Concionibus, gratia Spiritus Sancti & virtute plenis*; and that he was, *Vir Solertis & Accerrimi Judicii*; and at length uttered his Lamentations in a Funeral *Elegy*, whereof ſome Lines were theſe.

'Twas of Geneva'*s Worthies ſaid with Wonder,*
(Thoſe Worthies Three*)* Farel *was wont to Thunder,*
Viret *like Rain on tender Graſs to ſhow'r,*
But Calvin, *lively Oracles to pour.*

All theſe in Hooker'*s Spirit did remain,*
A Son of Thunder, *and a Show'r of* Rain;
A Pourer forth of lively Oracles,
In ſaving Soul, The Summ of Miracles.

This was *He*, of whom his Pupil Mr. *Aſh*, gives this Teſtimony; *For his great Abilities and glorious Services, both in this and in the other* England, *he deſerves a Place in the firſt Rank of them, whoſe Lives are of late recorded.* And this was *He*, of whom his Reverend Contemporary, Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, tendered this for an Epitaph; in every Line whereof, methinks the Writer deſerves a Reward equal to what *Virgil* had, when for every Line, referring to *Marcellus* in the end of his Sixth *Æneid*, he perceived

received a Sum, not much leſs than Eighty Pounds in Money, or as ample a Requital as Cardinal *Richlieu* gave to a Poet, when he beſtow'd upon him two Thouſand *Sequins* for a witty Conceit in *one Verſe* of but ſeven Words, upon his Coat of Arms.

America, *although She do not Boaſt,*
Of all the Gold *and* Silver *from that Coaſt,*
Lent *to her Siſter* Europe's *Need or Pride*;
(For that repaid her, with much Gain beſide,
In one Rich Pearl, *which Heaven did thence afford,*
As Pious Herbert *gave his honeſt word*;)
Yet thinks, She in the Catalogue may come
With Europe, Africk, Aſia, *for one Tomb.*

But as *Ambroſe* could ſay concerning *Theodoſius, Non Totus receſſit*; *reliquit nobis Liberos, in quibus eum debemus agnoſcere, & in quibus eum Cernimus & Tenemus*; thus we have to this Day among us, our Dead *Hooker* yet living in his worthy Son, Mr. *Samuel Hooker*, an Able, Faithful, Uſeful Miniſter, at *Farmington*, in the Colony of *Connecticut*.

Epitaphium.

THOMAS HOOKER.

Heu! Pietas; *Heu! priſca Fides.*

Or, For a more extended Epitaph, we may take the Abridgement of his *Life*, as offered in ſome Lines of Mr. *Elijah Corlet*, that memorable old *School-maſter* in *Cambridge*, from whoſe Education our Colledge and Country has received ſo many of its *Worthy Men*, that he is himſelf *Worthy* to have his *Name* celebrated in no leſs a Paragraph of our *Church Hiſtory*, than that wherein I may introduce him, endeavouring to celebrate the Name of our Great *Hooker*, unto this purpoſe.

Si mea cum veſtris, valuiſſent vota, Nov-Angli,
Hookerus *Tardo viſerat Aſtra Gradu.*
Te, *Reverende Senex, Sic* Te *dileximus omnes,*
Ipſa Inviſa forent ut tibi Jura poli.
Morte Tua *Infandum Cogor Renovare dolorem,*
Quippe Tua *videat Terra* Nov-Angla *ſuam.*
Dignus eras, Aquilæ *ſimilis, Renovaſſe Juventam,*
Et Fato in Terris Candidiore frui.
Tu Domus Emanuel, *Soror Auguſtiſſima, Mater*
Mille Prophetarum, Tu mihi Teſtis eris.
Te Teſtem apello, quondam Chelmsfordia, *Cœlis*
Proxima; *Te præco Suſtulit ille Tuus.*
Non tulit, hæc Chalcas, *Arcis Phœbique Sacerdos,*
Nam populo Sperni ſic ſua ſacra videt.
Vidit & ex Roſtris Genti prædicere vatem
Bella, *quod in Chriſtum Tota* Rebellis *erat.*
Quem Patria exegit, ferus Hoſtis Epiſcopus; *Hoſtis*
Hunc minus, in Batavis, *vexat amara* Febris.
Poſt varios caſus, Quaſſata Nov-Anglia, *tandem*
Ramifer' inde Tibi Diva Columba *venit.*
Ille Tuos Cætus *Ornat, paſcitque* Fideles,
Laudibus Innumeris addit & ille Tuis.
Dulcis Amicus *erat,* Paſtorque *Inſignis, & Altus*
Dotibus, Eloquio, Moribus, Ingenio.
Proh Pudor! Ereptum Te vivi vidimus, & non
Exceſſuræ Animæ Struximus Inſidias!
Inſidias precibus, Lacrymiſque perennibus, unde
Semita Cæleſtis ſic tibi clauſa foret.
Sed Fruſtra hæc meditor! —
Luſtra per HOOKERUS *ter quinque* Viator, *erat: jam*
Cæleſtem patriam Poſſidet *ille ſuam.*

Sepher

Sepher Jereim, i. e. *Liber Deum Timentium:*

O R,

Dead Abel's yet Speaking, and Spoken of.

In the HISTORY of

Mr. *Francis Higginſon*,
Mr. *John Avery*,
Mr. *Jonathan Burr*,
Mr. *George Philips*,
Mr. *Thomas Shepard*,
Mr. *Peter Prudden*, and ſeveral others of *New-Haven* Colony.
Mr. *Peter Bulkly*,
Mr. *Ralph Partridge*,
Mr. *Henry Dunſter*,
Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*,
Mr. *Nathanael Rogers*,
Mr. *Samuel Newman*,
Mr. *Samuel Stone*,
Mr. *William Thompſon*,
Mr. *John Warham*,
Mr. *Henry Flint*,
Mr. *Richard Mather*,
Mr. *Zechariah Symmes*,
Mr. *John Allin*,
Mr. *Charles Chauncey*,
Mr. *John Fisk*,
Mr. *Thomas Parker*,
Mr. *James Noyes*,
Mr. *Thomas Thacher*,
Mr. *Peter Hobart*,
Mr. *Samuel Whiting*,
Mr. *John Sherman*,
Mr. *Thomas Cobbet*,
Mr. *John Ward*,

Eminent Miniſters of the Goſpel in the Churches of *New-England*.

By *COTTON MATHER*.

The Second Part.

Solus Honor Merito qui datur, ille datur.

Thus *Shine*, ye *Glories* of your Age, while we
Wait to Fill up your *Martyrologie*.

Bono eſtote Animo, (Dilecti Frates) appropinquat Tempus quandò erit Nominum æquè ac Corporum Reſurrectio. Wilkinſon. Concion. ad Academic.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN *the Incomparable* Hevelius *was preparing for the World, his New, and Rare, and moſt Accurate* Selenography, *his Deſign was, to advance into the Heavens, the Names of the moſt Meritorious* Aſtronomers, *by Naming from them the ſeveral diſtinguiſhable Parts of the* Planet, *which was to be deſcribed by him; ſo that in the* Moon, *there would now have been ſeen, an* Oceanus Coperniceus, *an* Oceanus Tychonicus, *a* Mare Kepplerianum, *a* Lacus Galilæi, *a* Palus Mæſtlini, *an* Inſula Scheiveriana, *a* Peninſula Gaſſendi, *a* Mons Merſenni, *a* Vallis Bullialdi, *a* Sinus Wendelini, *a* Promontorum Crugerianum, *a* Deſertum Linnemanni, *and other ſuch Denominations. But upon* Second Thoughts, *he ſaw that this could not be done without* Envy *and* Offence; *for there were certain* Places *more* Eminent *than others, and he might happen to aſſign them unto ſuch* Perſons *as were leſs* Eminent,

nent *in the Opinions of Mankind about their Merits: Wherefore he choſe rather Geographical Denominations, for the* Maculæ Lunares, *which were now to be diſtinguiſhed.*

Reader, *There is a Number of* Divines *now before us, demanding their Places in our* Church-Hiſtory; *their* Souls *are in the Heavens*; *their* Names *alſo ſhould be there. I was thinking to have ranked them according to their Merits; I would have aſſigned their Places, according to their* Eminencies *in the Church of God. But finding that this Attempt would have been too invidious; I will have them to take their Places, as in the Hiſtory of* Lives *uſes to be done*, Secundum Annorum Emortualium Seriem, *according to the* Years *wherein they died.*

What I write, ſhall be written with all Chriſtian Veracity, *and* Fidelity. *Heaven forbid, that I ſhould indulge my Pen, in ſuch flouriſhing* Flatteries, *as fill the* Lives *of the* Lutheran *Divines, in the Collections that* Witten *has made of the* Memoriæ Theologorum noſtri ſæculi Clariſſimorum, renovatæ. *Heaven forbid, that I ſhould in any one Inſtance deſerve to be thought a Writer of ſuch* Legends, *as they* generally (*and it may be ſometimes* unrighteouſly) *have reproached the* Lives *of the Ancients, written by* Simeon Metaphraſtes: *For I will now confeſs to my* Reader, *one thing that has encouraged me, in my Endeavour to preſerve the Memory of theſe worthy Men.*

I read in Prov. 10. 7. The Memory of the Juſt is bleſſed; *or*, for a Bleſſing: *And I know the common Gloſſes upon it. But I have met with a Note of Dr.* Jermyn's *thereupon, which I will now count as worthy to be* tranſcribed, *as I have heretofore counted it worthy to be* pondered.

The very *remembring* of them [*ſaith he*] ſhall bring a *Bleſſing* to ſuch as do *remember* them. God will *bleſs* thoſe that honour the *Memory* of his Servants: And beſides, the *Memory* of them will make them *imitated*, which is a *Bleſſing* that will be rewarded with *Bleſſedneſs*.

I will add, That Examples *do ſtrangely charm us into Imitation. When* Holineſs *is preſſed upon us, we are prone to think, that it is a Doctrine calculated for* Angels *and* Spirits, *whoſe* Dwelling is not with Fleſh. *But when we read the Lives of them that excelled in* Holineſs, *tho' they were Perſons of* like Paſſions *with our ſelves, the Conviction is wonderful and powerful.* Reader, *Behold loud Calls to* Holineſs, *from thoſe who ſaid, not,* Ite illuc; *but,* Venite huc, *when the Calls were uttered.*

CHAP. I.

Janus Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. *FRANCIS HIGGINSON.*

Semper Honor, Nomenque Tuum, Laudeſque Manebunt.

§ 1. WIthout Recourſe to any fabulous, whether *Egyptian* or *Grecian* Shams of *Antiquity*, we have other Intimations enough, that our Father *Noah*, after a *New World* began to be Peopled from him, did remove with his Eldeſt Son *Japhet*, from his own, and his old Country of *Ogyge*, or *Paleſtine*, into the Country which is now called *Italy*. And it is particularly remarkable, that his Great Grandſon *Dodanim*, removing with a Colony of his increaſing Poſterity, into *Epirus*, he built a City, which with the whole Province, was called by the Name of *Dodona*; where he built a Temple, in which the People did aſſemble to worſhip God, and hear the Precepts of the *Patriarch* preach'd upon. But it was not long before a fearful Degeneracy overtaking the Poſterity of theſe Planters, they ſoon left and loſt the *Religion* of their Progenitors; and in that very place where *Dodanim* had his Church, there ſucceeded the *Dodonæan Oracles*. Now among the memorable *Names*, which in other Monuments of Antiquity, beſides thoſe of *Tuſcany*, expos'd by *Inghiramius*, we find put upon our Illuſtrious Father *Noah*, one is that of *Janus*, which at firſt they pronounced *Janes*, from the *Hebrew* word, יין. *Jajin*, for *Wine*, which was the true Original of it; and ſo his famous Vineyard was therein commemorated. For which cauſe *Cato* alſo tells us, *Janus primus invenit Far & Vinum, & ob id ductus fuit Priſcus Oenotrius*: And *Antiochus Syracuſanus*, mentions the *Oenotrii*, which *Noah* carried with him. Of this *Janus*, the *Thuſcians* employed a *Ship*, as a Memorial; they had a *Ship* on his *Coins*, doubtleſs with an Eye to the *Ark* of *Noah*; but there was alſo on the Reverſe, as *Ovid* relates, *Altera Forma Biceps*; and this *Double Face* was aſcrib'd unto *Janus*, becauſe of the View which he had of the *Two* Worlds, the *Old* and the *New*. The *Covenant* which God eſtabliſhed with *Noah*, was by After-Ages referr'd unto, when they feigned *Janus* to be the Preſident of all *Covenant* and *Concord*; and the Figure which *Noah* made among Mankind was confeſſed by them, when they gave *Janus* the Sir-name of *Pater*, as being ſo to all the Hero's, who obtained a place among the *Gods*. Moreover, the *Mythical* Writers tell us, that in the Reign of this *Janus*, all the Dwellings of Men were hedged in with *Piety* and *Sanctity*; in which Tradition the exemplary *Righteouſneſs* of *Noah* ſeems to have been

been celebrated: And hence in their old Rituals, he was called *Cerus, Manus*, which is as much as to ſay, *Sanctus & Bonus*. But without purſuing theſe *Curioſities* any further, I will now lay before my Reader the Story of that worthy Man; who when 'tis conſidered, that he croſſed the *Sea* with a Renowned *Colony*, and that having ſeen an *Old World* in *Europe*, where a Flood of Iniquity and Calamity carried all before it, he alſo ſaw a *New World* in *America*; where he appears the firſt in a Catalogue of *Hero's*, and where he with his People were admitted into the *Covenant* of God; whereupon an Hedge of *Piety* and *Sanctity* continued about *that* People as long as *he* lived, may therefore be called the *Noah*, or *Janus* of *New-England*. This was Mr. *Francis Higginſon*.

§ 2. If in the Hiſtory of the Church for more than Four thouſand Years, contained in the Scriptures, there is not recorded either the *Birth day* of any one Saint whatever, or the *Birth-day* of him that is the *Lord of all Saints*; I hope it will be accounted no Defect in our Hiſtory of this worthy Man, if neither the *Day*, nor the *Place* of his *Birth* can be recovered. We will therefore begin the Hiſtory of his Life, where we find that he began to *live*.

Mr. *Francis Higginſon*, after he had been Educated at *Emanuel*-Colledge, that Seminary of Puritans in *Cambridge*, until he was *Maſter of Arts*: And after that, the true *Emanuel*, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, had by the Work of *Regeneration* upon his Heart, inſtructed him in the better and nobler *Arts*, of *living unto God*; he was by the ſpecial Providence of Heaven, made a Servant of our *Emanuel*, in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, at one of the Five Pariſh-Churches in *Leiceſter*. The main Scope of his Miniſtry, was now to promote, firſt, a thorough *Converſion*, and then a godly *Converſation*, among his People: And beſides his *being* as the famous *Preacher in the Wilderneſs* was, *a Voice*, and preaching Lectures of Chriſtianity by his whole Chriſtian, and moſt Courteous and Obliging Behaviour, he *had* alſo a moſt charming *Voice*, which rendred him unto his Hearers, in all his Exerciſes, another *Ezekiel*: For, Lo, *he was unto them, as a very lovely Song of one that hath a pleaſant Voice, and can play well upon an Inſtrument*: And from all parts in the Neighbourhood they flocked unto him. Such was the Divine Preſence with, and Bleſſing on the Miniſtry of this good Man, in this place, that the Influence thereof on the whole Town, was quickly become a Matter of Obſervation: Many were turned from *Darkneſs to Light, and from Satan to God*; and many were *built up in their moſt Holy Faith*; and there was a notable Revival of Religion among them. And ſuch were his Endeavours to *conform* unto the Example of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our Grand *Exemplar*, in the whole Courſe of his Miniſtry, that we might eaſily have written a *Book of thoſe Conformities*.

§ 3. For ſome Years he continued in his *Conformity*, to the Rites then required and practiſed in the Church of *England*; but upon his Acquaintance with Mr. *Arthur Hilderſham*, and Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, he ſet himſelf to ſtudy the Controverſies, about the Evangelical Church-Diſcipline, then agitated in the Church of God: And then the more he ſtudied the *Scripture*, which is the ſole and full Rule of Church-Adminiſtrations, the more he became diſſatisfied with the Ceremonies, which had crept into the Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, not only without the Allowance of the *Scripture*, but alſo without the Countenance of the earlieſt *Antiquity*. From this time he became a Conſcientious *Non Conformiſt*; and therefore he was deprived of his Opportunity to exerciſe his Miniſtry, in his Pariſh-Church: Nevertheleſs, his Miniſtry was generally ſo deſirable unto the People, that they procured for him the Liberty to preach a conſtant Lecture, on one part of the Lord's Day; and on the other part, as an Aſſiſtant unto a very aged Parſon, that wanted it. He was now maintained by the voluntary Contribution of the Inhabitants; and tho' the reſt of the Miniſters there continued *Conformiſts*, yet they all freely invited him unto the uſe of their Pulpits, as long as they could avoid any trouble to themſelves by their ſo doing: By which means he preached ſucceſſively in *Three* of the Pariſh-Churches, after that he had been by *Non-Conformity* made incapable. He preached alſo at *Belgrave*, a Mile out of the Town; but under God, the chief Author of theſe more eaſie Circumſtances unto ſuch a *Non-Conformiſt*, was the Generous Goodneſs and Candour of Dr. *Williams*, the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to whoſe Dioceſs *Leiceſter* belonged. It continued until the *Fray* between that Biſhop, and *Laud* the Biſhop of *London*, who ſet himſelf to extirpate and extinguiſh all the *Non-Conformiſts*, that were *Williams*'s Favourites, among whom one was Mr. *Higginſon*.

§ 4. The ſignal Bleſſing of God, which accompanied the Miniſtry of Mr. *Higginſon*, in *Leiceſter*, was followed with two very contrary Conſequences. On the one ſide, a great multitude of Chriſtians, then call'd *Puritans*, did not only attend the Worſhip of God more publickly in their *Aſſemblies*, and more ſecretly in their *Families*, but alſo they frequently had their *private Meetings*, for *Prayer* (ſometimes with *Faſting*) and repeating of *Sermons*, and maintaining of profitable *Conferences*, at all which Mr. *Higginſon* himſelf was often preſent: And at theſe times, if any of their Society were ſcandalous in their Converſation, they were perſonally *admoniſhed*, and means were uſed with them to bring them unto Repentance. On the other ſide, there was a *profane Party*, fill'd with Wolviſh Rage againſt the Flock of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and eſpecially againſt this good Man, who was the Paſtor of the Flock: Whoſe impartial Zeal in *reproving* the Common Sins of the Time and Place, did more then a little add unto the Exaſperations of that Party; but alſo divers of them turn'd *Perſecutors* hereupon, yet many *remarkable Providences* laid a Reſtraint upon them,

and the Malignants were ſmitten with a Dread upon their Minds, *That the Judgments of God would purſue thoſe, that ſhould go to harm ſuch a Follower of him that is good.*

§ 5. Even the *Epiſcopal Party* of the *Engliſh* Nation, among whoſe *Thirty Nine Articles*, one is, *That the viſible Church is a Congregation of* Faithful Men, *where the Word of Chriſt is duly preached, and the Sacraments be rightly adminiſtred*; have concluded it, as a *Godly Diſcipline* in the *Primitive Church, That Notorious Sinners were put to open Penance.* And in the *Rubric* before the *Communion*, have ordered Miniſters to advertiſe all *Notorious Evil Livers*, and ſuch as have wronged their Neighbours by *Word* or *Deed*, or ſuch as have *Malice* and *Hatred* reigning between them, That *they ſhould not preſume to come to the Lord's Table, till they have openly declared themſelves to have truly repented.* Under the Encouragement hereof, Mr. *Higginſon*, before he became a *Non-Conformiſt*, *profeſſed* this Principle, *That ignorant and ſcandalous* Perſons, *are not to be admitted unto the Lord's Supper:* And as far as he could, he *practiſed* what he profeſſed. Wherefore he did *Catechiſe* and *Examine* Perſons about their Fitneſs for the *Communion*; and if any Perſons were notoriouſly *ſcandalous*, he not only told them of their Sins in *private*, but alſo in *Publick* declared, that they were not to be admitted unto the *Lord's Supper*, until the Congregation had ſome Teſtimonies of their ſerious *Repentance.*

It was a good Courage of Old *Cyprian*, to declare: *If any think to join themſelves unto the Church, not by their Humiliation and Satisfaction, when they have ſcandalized the Brethren, but by their Great Words and Threats, let them know, that the Church of God will oppoſe them, and the Tents of Chriſt will not be conquered by them.* And no leſs was the good Metal in our *Higginſon.* Accordingly after a Sermon on thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs*, unto this purpoſe applied, going to adminiſter the *Lord's Supper* unto the Communicants, now come into the Chancel, he eſpied one that was known unto them all, to be a common *Drunkard* and *Swearer*, and a very vicious Perſon; he told that Man before them all, *That he was not willing to give the Lord's Supper unto him, until he had profeſſed his Repentance, unto the Satisfaction of the Congregation:* And therefore he deſired the Man to withdraw: The Sinner withdrew, but went out full of ſuch Paſſion and Poiſon againſt Mr. *Higginſon*, and Horror in his own Conſcience, that he fell ſick upon it; and while he lay ſick he was viſited, as well by good People, that endeavoured his Converſion, as by bad People that had been his old Companions, and now threatned what they would do againſt Mr. *Higginſon.* The Wretch continued in an exorbitant Frame for a few Days, and at laſt roared out, *That he was damn'd, and that he was a Dog, and that he was going to the Dogs for ever.* So he cried, and ſo he died: And this was *known to all People.*

§ 6. There were many ſuch marvellous Judgments of God, which came like *Fire* from Heaven, to reſtrain and revenge the Wrongs which were offer'd unto this faithful *Witneſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Particularly, there was a pious Gentlewoman, the Wife of a very *profane* Gentleman, dwelling in another Pariſh, who would frequently go to attend upon Mr. *Higginſon*'s Miniſtry, both in the publick and private Exerciſes of our Holy Religion; whereat her Husband, after many other Expreſſions of his deep Diſpleaſure, vowed, That he would be revenged on *Higginſon*; and accordingly he reſolved upon a Journey to *London*, there to exhibit a Complaint againſt this good Man, at the *High-Commiſſion* Court: But when he had got all things ready for his Journey, juſt as he was mounting his Horſe, he was by an immediate Hand of Heaven, ſmitten with an intolerable *Torment* of Body, and *Horror* of Conſcience, and was led into his Houſe, and laid upon his Bed; where within a few Hours, *Death* did his Office upon him.

§ 7. And unto the remarkable Appearances of Heaven, on the behalf of this *faithful Man*, may be enumerated that which befel a famous Doctor of Divinity, Prebend of a Cathedral, and Chaplain to His Majeſty, who then lived in *Leiceſter:* This *Gentleman* preached but very ſeldom; and when he did at all, it was after that Faſhion, which has been ſometimes called *Gentleman-Preaching*; after a flaunting manner, and with ſuch a vain Oſtentation of *Learning*, and Affectation of *Language*, as ill became the Oracles of God; the People generally flocking more to the more edifying Miniſtry of Mr. *Higginſon*, than to theſe Harangues. Our Doctor ſo extreamly reſented it, that both publickly and privately, on all Opportunities, he expreſſed his Indignation againſt Mr. *Higginſon*, and vow'd, *That he would certainly drive him out of the Town.* Now it ſo fell out, that the Sheriff appointed this Doctor to preach at the General Aſſizes there, and gave him a Quarter of a Year's time to provide a Sermon for that occaſion: But in all this time, he could not provide a Sermon unto his own Satisfaction; inſomuch, that a Fortnight before the time was expired, he expreſſed unto ſome of his Friends, a Deſpair of being well provided: Wherefore his Friends perſwaded him to try; telling him, That if it came to the worſt, Mr. *Higginſon* might be procured to preach in his room; he was always ready. The Doctor was wonderfully averſe unto this laſt Propoſal; and therefore ſtudied with all his might, for an *agreeable Sermon*; but he had ſuch a Blaſt from Heaven upon his poor Studies, that the very Night before the Aſſizes began, he ſent his Wife to the devout Lady *Cave*, who prevail'd with Mr. *Higginſon* to ſupply his place the Day enſuing; which he did, with a moſt ſuitable, profitable, and acceptable Sermon; and unto the great Satisfaction of the Auditory. When the Lady *Cave* had let it be known, how this thing, which was much wondered at, came about, the common Diſcourſe

of

of the Town upon it, ſo confounded the Doctor, that he left the Town, vowing, *That he would never come into it again.* Thus Mr. *Higginſon* was left in the Town! But I pray, *Who* was driven out?

§ 8. We lately Styled Mr. *Higginſon* a *Faithful Man:* And innumerable were the Inſtances, wherein he *ſo* approved himſelf, particularly there was a time when many Courtiers, Lords, and Gentlemen coming in a Frolick to *Leiceſter*, which was counted a *Puritanical* Town, reſolved, that they would put a Trick upon it. Wherefore, they invited the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, whereof divers were eſteemed *Puritans*, unto a *Collation*; and overcame them to drink a number of *Healths*, with the accuſtomed Ceremonies of drinking upon their Knees, till they all became ſhamefully and extreamly *Drunk.* This Buſineſs becoming the common Diſcourſe of the Town, Mr. *Higginſon*, from a Text choſen to the purpoſe, in the Audience of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen* themſelves, demonſtrated the Sinfulneſs of *Health-drinking*, and of *Drunkenneſs*, and the Aggravation of that Sinfulneſs, when it is found in *Magiſtrates*, whoſe Duty 'tis to puniſh it in other Men: Therewithal admoniſhing *them* to Repent ſeriouſly of the Scandal which they had given. This Faithfulneſs of Mr. *Higginſon* was variouſly Reſented: Some of the People diſliked it very much, and ſome of the *Aldermen* were ſo diſturbed and enraged at it, that they *Breathed out Threatnings* till they were *out of Breath:* But the better ſort of the People generally approved it, as a Conformity to that Rule; Them that ſin before all, Rebuke before all, that others may fear; and ſeveral of the *Aldermen* confeſſed their Sin with a very penitent and pertinent Ingenuity. The Iſſue was, that Mr. *Higginſon* was brought into no Trouble; and the God of Heaven ſo diſpoſed the Hearts of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, that after this, upon the Death of old Mr. *Sacheverel*, they choſe Mr. *Higginſon* to be their *Town-preacher*, unto which place there was annexed a large Maintenance, to be paid out of the Town-Treaſury. In anſwer hereunto, Mr. *Higginſon* thank'd them for their good Will; but he told them, that he could not accept of it, becauſe there were ſome Degrees of Conformity therein required, which he could not *now* comply withal: Nevertheleſs there being divers Competitors for the Place, about whom the Votes of the *Aldermen* were much divided, he prevailed with them to give their Votes for a Learned and Godly Conformiſt, one Mr. *Angel*; who thereby came to be ſettled in it. There were alſo made unto him, ſeveral Offers of ſome of the Greateſt and Richeſt Livings in the Country thereabouts; but the Conſcientious Diſpoſition to *Non-Conformity*, now growing upon him, hindred his Acceptance of them.

§ 9. While Mr. *Higginſon* continued in *Leiceſter*, he was not only a *Good Man full of Faith*, but alſo a *Good Man full of Work.* He preached conſtantly in the Pariſh-Churches; and he was called, while a *Conformiſt*, frequently to preach *Viſitation*-Sermons, *Aſſize*-Sermons, and *Funeral*-Sermons: And as well *then*, as *afterwards*, he was often engaged in *Faſts*, both publick and private, both at Home and Abroad; and many repaired unto him with *Caſes of Conſcience*, and for Help about their *Interiour State.* Beſides all this, he was very ſerviceable to the Education of *Scholars*, either going to, or coming from the Univerſity; and ſuch, as afterwards proved eminently ſerviceable to the Church of God: Whereof ſome were Dr. *Seaman*, Dr. *Brian*, Mr. *Richardſon*, and Mr. *Howe*, all of them *Leiceſterſhire* Men, who would often ſay, how much they owed unto Mr. *Higginſon.* And he was very uſeful in forwarding and promoting of Contributions, for the Relief of the *Proteſtant-Exiles*, which came over from the Ruined *Bohemia*, and the Diſtreſſed *Palatinate*, in thoſe Times; and many other Pious Deſigns. But when (as he that writes the Life of Holy Mr. *Bains* expreſſes it) *the Hour and Power of Darkneſs was come from* Lambeth, or when the Biſhop of *London*, prevailed, and the Biſhop of *Lincoln* retired, the Blades of the *Laudian* Faction about *Leiceſter* appeared, Informed and Articl'd againſt Mr. *Higginſon*, ſo that he lived in continual Expectation to be dragg'd away by the Purſevants, unto the *High-Commiſſion-Court*, where a Sentence of *Perpetual Impriſonment* was the beſt thing that could be looked for.

§ 10. Now behold the Interpoſing and Seaſonable Providence of Heaven! A conſiderable Number of Wealthy and Worthy Merchants, obtaining a Charter from K. *Charles* I. whereby they were Incorporated by the Name of, *The Governour and Company of the Maſſachuſet-Bay in New-England*; and intending to ſend over Ships with Paſſengers for the *Beginning* of a *Plantation* there, in the Beginning of the Year *1629.* And reſolving to ſend none upon their Account, but *godly* and *honeſt* Men, profeſſing that Religion, which they declared was the *End* of this *Plantation:* Theſe were informed of the Circumſtances whereto Mr. *Higginſon* was now Reduced; and accordingly they diſpatched a couple of Meſſengers unto him, to invite him unto a Voyage into *New-England*, with kind Promiſes to ſupport him in the Voyage. Theſe two Meſſengers were Ingenious Men; and underſtanding that *Purſevants* were expected every Hour, to fetch Mr. *Higginſon* up to *London*, they deſigned for a while to Act the Parts of *Purſevants:* Coming therefore to his Door, they knock'd roundly and loudly, like Fellows equipp'd with ſome Authority; and ſaid, *Where is Mr.* Higginſon? *We muſt ſpeak with Mr.* Higginſon! Inſomuch that his affrighted Wife ran up to him, telling him that the *Purſevants* were come, and praying him to ſtep aſide out of their way, but Mr. *Higginſon* ſaid, *No, I will go down and ſpeak with them; and the Will of the Lord be done!* When the Meſſengers were come into the Hall, they held out their Papers unto him, and with a certain Roughneſs

 and

and Boldneſs of Addreſs told him, *Sir, We come from* London, *and our Buſineſs is to fetch you up to* London, *as you may ſee by theſe Papers!* Which they then put into his Hands; whereat the People in the Room were confirmed in their Opinion, that theſe Blades were *Purſevants*; and Mrs. *Higginſon* her ſelf ſaid, *I thought ſo:* And fell a weeping. But when Mr. *Higginſon* had lookt upon the Papers, he ſoon perceived, that they were Letters from the *Governour* and *Company* inviting him to *New England*; with a Copy of the *Charter*, and Propoſitions for managing their deſign of Eſtabliſhing and Propagating *Reformed Chriſtianity* in the New Plantation: Whereupon he bad them *welcome!* And there enſued a pleaſant Converſation betwixt him, and his now undiſguiſed Friends. In anſwer to this Invitation, Mr. *Higginſon* having firſt conſulted Heaven with humble and fervent Supplications, for the Divine Direction about ſo great a Turn of his Life, he adviſed then with ſeveral Miniſters; eſpecially with his dear Friend Mr. *Hilderſham*, who told him, *That were he himſelf a younger Man, and under his Caſe and Call, he ſhould think he had a plain Invitation of Heaven unto the Voyage*; And ſo he came unto a Reſolution to comply therewithal.

§ 11. When Mr. *Higginſon*'s Reſolution came to be known, it made ſo much Noiſe among the *Puritans*, that many of them receiving Satisfaction unto the many Enquiries which they made on this Occaſion, reſolved, that they would accompany him. And now it was not long before his *Farewel Sermon* was to be preached! Before he knew any thing about an Offer of a Voyage to *New England*. In his Meditations about the State of *England*, he had ſtrange and ſtrong Apprehenſions that God would ſhortly puniſh *England* with the Calamities of a *War*, and he therefore compoſed a Sermon upon thoſe Words of our Saviour, *Luk.* 21. 20,21. *When you ſee Jeruſalem compaſſed with Armies, then flee to the Mountains.* Now after he was determined for *New-England*, he did, in a vaſt Aſſembly, preach *this* for his *Farewel-Sermon*; and therein having mentioned unto them, what he took to be the Provoking Sins of *England* in General, and of *Leiceſter* in particular, he plainly told them, that he was perſwaded, God would chaſtiſe *England* with a *War*, in the Sufferings whereof *Leiceſter* would have a more than ordinary ſhare. How this *Prediction* was afterwards accompliſhed, is known to Mankind; and it was eſpecially known to *Leiceſter*, which being ſtrongly Fortified and Garriſon'd, and having the Wealth of all the Country about, brought into it, was Beſieged, and at length carried by Storm; and the Town was horribly plunder'd, and Eleven Hundred People were ſlain in the Streets.

But Mr. *Higginſon* having ended this his Prophetical Sermon, he gave thanks to the Magiſtrates, and the other Chriſtians of the Place, for all the Liberty, Countenance, and Encouragement, which they had given unto his Miniſtry: And he told them of his intended Removal to *New England*, the Principal End of which Plantation, he then declared, was the Propagation of Religion; and of the Hopes which he had, that *New-England* might be deſigned by Heaven, as a *Refuge* and *Shelter* for the *Non-Conformiſts* againſt the Storms that were coming upon the Nation, and a Region, where they might practiſe the *Church Reformation*, which they had been bearing *Witneſs* unto. And ſo he concluded with a moſt affectionate Prayer for the King, the Church, the State, and peculiarly for *Leiceſter*, the Seat of his former Labours. And after this he took his Journey, with his Family, for *London*; the Streets as he paſſed along being filled with People of all ſorts, who bid him *Farewel*, with loud Prayers and Cries for his *Welfare*.

§ 12. When he came to *London*, he found *Three Ships* ready to ſail for *New England*, with *Two* more, that were in a Month's Time, to follow after them: Filled with Godly and Honeſt Paſſengers, among whom there were Two other *Non Conformiſt* Miniſters. They ſet ſail from the Iſle of *Wight*, about the firſt of *May*, 1629. and when they came to the Land's End, Mr. *Higginſon* calling up his Children, and other Paſſengers unto the Stern of the Ship, to take their laſt Sight of *England*. He ſaid, *We will not ſay as the Separatiſts were wont to ſay at their leaving of* England, Farewel *Babylon!* Farewel *Rome!* But *we will ſay*, Farewel Dear *England!* Farewel the Church of God in *England*, and all the Chriſtian Friends there! *We do not go to* New-England *as Separatiſts from the Church of* England; *though we cannot but ſeparate from the Corruptions in it: But we go to practiſe the poſitive Part of Church Reformation, and propagate the Goſpel in* America. And ſo he concluded with a fervent Prayer for the King, and Church, and State, in *England*; and for the Preſence and Bleſſing of God with themſelves, in their preſent Undertaking for *New England*. At length by the Good Hand of God upon them, they arrived, after a comfortable Paſſage, unto *Salem* Harbour on the Twenty fourth of *June* enſuing.

§ 13. Mr. *Higginſon* being in this Voyage aſſociated with Mr. *Skelton*, a Miniſter of the like Principles with himſelf, they were no ſooner got on Shore, but they likewiſe aſſociated in purſuing their Principles and Intentions of Religion, which were the end of their coming hither. Accordingly, laying before the chief of the People their Deſires, and their Deſigns of ſettling a *Reformed Congregation* in the Place, after a frequent Converſe about the Methods of it, they came unto a hearty Concurrence, to take a Day in the following *Auguſt* for it. In order hereunto Mr. *Higginſon* drew up a *Confeſſion of Faith* with a Scriptural Repreſentation of the *Covenant of Grace* applied unto their preſent purpoſe, whereof *Thirty Copies* were taken for the *Thirty Perſons*, which were to begin the Working of *Gathering* the *Church*. The Day was kept as a *Faſt*; wherein, after

the

the Prayers and Sermons of the Two Miniſters, theſe *Thirty Perſons* did ſolemnly and ſeverally profeſs their Conſent unto the Confeſſion and *Covenant* then read unto them; and they proceed then to chuſe Mr. *Skelton*, Mr. *Higginſon* their Teachers, and one Mr. *Houghton*, for a Ruling Elder. And after this, many others joined unto the Church, thus gathered; but none were admitted, of whoſe *good Converſation in Chriſt*, there was not a Satisfactory Teſtimony. By the ſame Token, that at this Firſt *Church Gathering*, there fell out a Remarkable Matter which is now to be Related. At a time when the Church was to be gathered at *Salem*, there was about 30 Miles to the Southward of that place, a Plantation of Rude, Lewd, Mad, *Engliſh* People, who did propoſe to themſelves a Gainful Trade with the *Indians*, but quickly came to nothing. A Young Gentleman belonging to that Plantation being at *Salem*, on the Day when the Church was gathered, was at what he ſaw and heard, ſo deeply affected, that he ſtood up expreſſing with much Affection, his deſire to be admitted into their Number, which when they demurr'd about, he deſired that they would at leaſt admit him to make his Profeſſion before them. When they allow'd *this*, he expreſſed himſelf ſo agreeably, and with ſo much *Ingenuity* and *Simplicity*, that they were extreamly pleaſed with it; and the Miniſters told him, That they highly approved of his *Profeſſion*, but inaſmuch as he was a Stranger to them, they could not Receive him into their Communion, until they had a further Acquaintance with his Converſation. However, ſuch was the Hold which the Grace of God now took of him, that he became an Eminent Chriſtian, and a Worthy and Uſeful Perſon, and not only afterwards joined unto the *Church* of *Boſton*, but alſo made a great Figure in the *Commonwealth* of *New England*, as the *Major-General* of all the Forces in the Colony; it was Major-General *Gibbons*.

§ 14. The Church of *Salem* now being ſettled, they enjoyed many *Smiles* of Heaven upon them; and yet there were many things, that lookt like *Frowns:* For, they were exerciſed with many Difficulties, and almoſt an Hundred of good People died the Firſt Winter of their being here; among whom was Mr. *Houghton*, an Elder of the Church. Mr. *Higginſon* alſo fell into an Hectic-Fever, which much diſabled him for the Work of his Miniſtry; and the *laſt Sermon* under the Incurable Growth of this Malady upon him, was upon the Arrival of many Gentlemen, and ſome Hundreds of Paſſengers to *New-England*, in the beginning of the enſuing Summer. He then preached on thoſe Words of our Saviour, Matth. 11. 7. *What went you out into the Wilderneſs to ſee?* From whence, he minded the People of the *Deſign*, whereupon this Plantation was erected, namely, Religion: And of the Streights, Wants, and various *Trials*, which in a *Wilderneſs* they muſt look to meet withal; and of the need which there was for them to evidence the *Uprightneſs* of their Hearts, in the end of their coming hither. After this, he was confined unto his Bed, and viſited by the chief Perſons of the New-Colony, who much *bemoaned* their Loſs of ſo uſeful a Perſon, but comforted him with the Conſideration of his Faithfulneſs to the Lord Jeſus, in his former Sufferings and Services, and the Honour which the Lord had granted him, to begin a Work of *Church-Reformation*, in *America*. He replied, *I have been but an Unprofitable Servant; and all my own Doings I count but Loſs and Dung: All my Deſire is to win Chriſt, and be found in him, not having my own Righteouſneſs!* And he ſeveral times declared, *That though the Lord called him away, he was perſwaded God would raiſe up others, to carry on the Work that was begun, and that there would yet be many Churches of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in this Wilderneſs.* He likewiſe added, *That though he ſhould leave his Deſolate Wife and Eight Children, whereof the Eldeſt but about fourteen Years old, in a low Condition, yet he left them with his God, and he doubted not but the Faithful God would graciouſly provide for them.* So, in the midſt of many Prayers, he fell aſleep; as in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1630. and in the Forty Third Year of his Age, and his Funeral was attended with all poſſible Solemnity.

§ 15. *Reader*, Prepare to behold and admire and adore the Faithfulneſs of our God, in providing for the Children of them, that faithfully have ſerved *him*. He moved the Hearts of many Charitable Chriſtians, who yet were ſpending on the Stocks, which they brought out of *England* with them, to provide as comfortably for the Widow and Off ſpring of this deceaſed Miniſter, as if he had left them ſome Thouſands of Pounds. And his two Sons, who had been brought up at the *Grammar-School* in *Leiceſter*, had a particular Taſt of this Liberality, in the Proviſion which was thus made for their having ſuch a Learned Education, as might fit them for the Service of the Church in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel.

One of theſe, *Francis* by Name, was for a Time a Schoolmaſter at our *Cambridge*; but having attained as much Learning as *New-England* could then afford, he was deſirous to viſit ſome *European* Univerſity; and being recommended unto *Roterdam*, ſome *Dutch* Merchants, out of reſpect unto an hopeful Scholar of *New England*, contributed Fourſcore Pounds in Money to aſſiſt his Juvenile Studies at *Leyden*. Afterwards having viſited ſome other Univerſities in thoſe Parts, he returned into *England*; where he declined a Settlement in ſome other, which he thought more Opinionative, and ſo more Contentious and Undeſireable Places, to which he was invited, and ſettled at *Kerby-Steven* in *Weſtmoreland*, hoping to do moſt good among the ignorant People there. But it pleaſed the God of Heaven to permit the firſt out-breaking of that Prodigious and Comprehenſive Hereſy *Quakeriſm* in that very place; and a Multitude of People being *bewitched* thereinto, it was a great

Affliction

Affliction unto this worthy Man; but it occaſion'd his writing the firſt Book that ever was written againſt that Sink of Blaſphemies, Entituled, *The Irreligion of Northern Quakers.* This Learned Perſon was the Author of a Latin Treatiſe, *De quinq, maximis Luminibus: De Luce Increata; De Luce creata; De Lumine Naturæ, Gratiæ & Gloriæ*; and having *Illuminated* the Houſe of God in that part of it, where our Lord had ſet him to *ſhine*, he went away to the *Light of Glory*, in the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age.

The other named *John*, has been on ſome Laudable Accounts another *Origen*; for the Father of *Origen* would kiſs the uncovered Breaſt of that Excellent Youth, whilſt he lay aſleep, as being the Temple where the Spirit of God was reſident, and as *Origen*, after the untimely Death of his Father, had his poor Mother with Six other Children to look after; whereupon he taught firſt a *Grammar-School*, and then betook himſelf unto the Study of Divinity; thus this other *Higginſon* after a pious Childhood, having been a School-Maſter at *Hartford*, and a Miniſter at *Say brook*, and afterwards at *Guilford*, became at length in the Year *1659.* a *Paſtor*, and a rich and long *Bleſſing*, ſucceeding his Father in his Church at *Salem.* This Reverend Perſon has been always valued for his uſeful *Preaching*, and his holy *Living*; and beſides his conſtant Labours in the *Pulpit*, whereby his own Flock has been edified; the whole Country has, by the *Preſs*, enjoyed ſome of his Compoſures, and by his Hand, the Compoſures of ſome others alſo, paſſing the *Preſs*, have been accompanied. Having formerly born his Teſtimony to, *The Cauſe of God, and his People in* New-England, in a Sermon ſo entituled, which he preached on the greateſt Anniverſary *Solemnity*, which occurr'd in the Land, namely, the Anniverſary *Election*; when he thought, that the Advances of Old Age upon him directed him to *live* in the hourly Expectation of *Death*, he publiſhed a moſt Savoury Book, on *Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to his Diſciples in a Troubleſome World*; *with a Diſcourſe on the Duty of Chriſtians, to be Witneſſes unto Chriſt*; *unto which is added, ſome Help to Self-Examination.*

Nevertheleſs, this true *Simeon* is yet *Waiting for the Conſolation of Iſrael*, This Good Old Man is yet alive; (in the Year *1696.*) arrived unto the Eightieth Year of his Devout *Age*, and about the Sixtieth Year of his Publick Work, and he, that *from a Child knew the Holy Scriptures*, does at thoſe Years wherein Men uſe to be *Twice Children*, continue *preaching* them with ſuch a manly, pertinent, judicious Vigour, and with ſo little Decay of his Intellectual Abilities, as is indeed a Matter of Juſt Admiration. But there was a famous Divine in *Germany*, who on his Death bed when ſome of his Friends took Occaſion to commend his paſt painful, faithful, and fruitful Miniſtry, cried out unto them [*Auferte Ignem adhuc enim puleus habeo!*] *Oh! bring not the Sparks of your Praiſes near me, as long as I have any Chaff left in me!* And I am ſenſible that I ſhall receive the like Check from this my Reverend Father, if I preſume to do him the *Juſtice*, which a few Months hence will be done him, in all the Churches; nor would I deſerve at his Hands, the Blow which *Conſtantine* gave to him, who *Imperatorem auſus eſt, in Os Beatum dicere.*

§ *16.* At the ſame time, that Mr. *Francis Higginſon* was perſecuted for his *Non-Conformity* in *Leiceſter-ſhire*, there was one Mr. *Samuel Skelton*, who underwent the like Perſecution in *Lincolnſhire*; and by means hereof they became *Fellow-Travellers* in their Voyage to *New-England*, and *Fellow-Labourers* in their Service here. All the Remembrance that I can recover of this Worthy Man is, that he ſurviv'd his Colleague, *a Good and Faithful Servant of our Lord, well doing*, until Aug. 2. *1634.* and retired from an Evil World, then to partake with him in the *Joy of their Lord.*

Epitaphium.

Jacet ſub hoc Tumulo, Mortuus,

FRANCISCUS HIGGINSONUS:

Jaceret & ipſa Virtus, ſi mori poſſet.

Abi Viator.

Et ſis hujus Ordinis Franciſcanus.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The DEATH of Mr. *JOHN AVERY*.

THE Divine Oracles have told us, *That the Judgments of God are a Great Deep:* And indeed it is *in the Deep*, that we have ſeen ſome of thoſe *Judgments* executed.

It has been Remarked, that there miſcarried but *One Veſſel* of all thoſe Great Fleets which brought Paſſengers unto *New-England* upon the Pious and Holy Deſigns of the Firſt Settlement; which Veſſel alſo was but a *Pinnace*; nevertheleſs richly laden, as having in it Mr. *Avery*.

Mr. *Avery*, a Worthy Miniſter, coming into *New-England*, was invited unto *Marble-head*; but there being no *Church* there, and the *Fiſhermen* being there generally too remiſs to form a *Church*, he went rather to *Newberry*, intending there to ſettle.

Nevertheleſs, both the Magiſtrates and the Miniſters of the Country urging the Common Good, that would ariſe from his being at *Marble-head*, he embarked in a Pinnace, with Two Families, his own and his Couſin Mr. *Anthony Thacher*'s, which, with ſome others then aboard, made in all Twenty Three Souls; deſigning in a few Hours to have reached the Port.

But on *Auguſt* 14. 1635. in the Night, there came on as mighty a Storm as perhaps was ever known in theſe Parts of the World; a Storm which drove the Veſſel upon a Rock, and ſo tore it, that the poor People ſat preſently up to the middle in Water, expecting every moment the *Waves of Death* to be rolling over them.

The Veſſel was quickly broken all to pieces, and almoſt the whole Company drowned, by being ſucceſſively waſhed off the Rock; only Mr. *Thacher*, having been a conſiderable while toſſed hither and thither, by the Violent Seas, was at laſt very ſtrangely caſt alive upon the Shore; where much wounded, he found his *Wife* a Sharer with him in the like Deliverance.

While theſe diſtreſſed Servants of God were hanging about the Rock, and Mr. *Thacher* had Mr. *Avery* by the Hand, reſolving to die together, and expecting by the Stroke of the next Wave to die, Mr. *Avery* lift up his Eyes to Heaven, ſaying, *We know not what the Pleaſure of God is; I fear we have been too unmindful of former Deliverances: Lord, I cannot challenge a Promiſe of the Preſervation of my Life; but thou haſt promiſed to deliver us from Sin and Condemnation, and to bring us ſafe to Heaven, through the All-ſufficient Satisfaction of Jeſus Chriſt; this therefore I do challenge of thee.* Which he had no ſooner ſpoken, but he was by a *Wave* ſweeping him off, immediately wafted away to Heaven indeed: being well furniſhed with thoſe *unperiſhable Things:* Whereto refers the Advice of the famous Duke of *Bavaria*, *Hujuſmodi comparandæ ſunt opes, quæ nobiſcum poſſunt ſimul evatare in Naufragio.*

The next Iſland was therefore called *Thacher's Woe*, and that Rock *Avery's Fall.*

Who can without ſhedding *Tears*, almoſt enough to make a ſenſible Addition unto the Lake *Leman*, call to mind the Fate of the incomparable *Hottinger*, upon that Lake, in the Year 1667? That incomparably Learned and Godly Man, being by the States-General of the United Provinces, after much Importunity, prevailed withal, to come unto *Leyden*, the Boat wherein he was, with his Wife and three Children, and a Kinſman, and another Perſon of Quality, unhappily overſet, by ſtriking on an unſeen Rock, a little way off the Shoar. He, with the two Gentlemen, got ſafe out of the *Water*; but ſeeing his *Wife*, and *Three Children*, in extream Danger of Drowning, they went into the Water again to ſave them, and there he, with one of the Gentlemen, (and his three Children) were drowned themſelves. But eight Days before this lamentable Accident, he found this Verſe written on the *Doctor's Chair*, at his aſcending it for the Publick Exerciſes; whereof the Writer could never be found:

Carmina jam Moriens, Canit Exequialia Cygnus.

Reader, From *Hottinger*, now return to *Avery*. Compare the manner of their Death; and never forget the memorable *Swan-Song*, which *Avery* not *eight Days*, but ſcarce eight Seconds of a Minute, before his Expiration, ſang in the Ears of Heaven.

What was applied once to *Hottinger*, ſhall now be borrowed for *Avery*, as an

Epitaphium.

Virtutem quis non poſt Te ſectetur eundo,
Virtutem quando gloria tanta manet.

And add,

——Tutum tenet Anchora portum,
Nunc Hilaris Ventos ridet, Tumidaſque procellas.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Natus ad Exemplar. The LIFE of Mr. *JONATHAN BURR.*

Exemplo monſtrante Viam.

§ 1. WHen the Intereſts of *David* were carried into a *Wilderneſs*, the Reſpects and Regards by his *Jonathan*, had thereunto were ſuch, that he at laſt uttered this Exclamation thereupon, *Thy Love to me was wonderful!* The Intereſts of our *Jeſus*, the true *David*, being lodged very much in an *American* Wilderneſs, there was a *Jonathan*, whoſe *Love* thereunto was indeed ſo *wonderful*, that it carried him through the *many Waters* of the *Atlantic* Ocean, to be ſerviceable thereunto; and this was Mr. *Jonathan Burr.*

§ 2. He was born at *Redgrave*, in *Suffolk*, about the Year 1604; deſcended of Godly Parents, who gratified the Inclinations of this their Son, with a Learned Education. But altho' *Literature* did much adorn his Childhood, *Religion* did ſo much more; for he had *from a Child known the Holy Scriptures, which made him wiſe unto Salvation.* It is noted, that the *Rod* of *Aaron* was made of an *Almond-Tree*; of which 'twill be no *Plinyiſm* to obſerve (tho' *Pliny* obſerve it), that it flowers the firſt of all *Trees*, even in *January*, in the more Southern Countries, and bears in *March*; which has been ſometimes employ'd as an Intimation, how *quickly* thoſe that are deſigned for the Miniſtry, ſhould *Bloſſom* towards Heaven, and be young *Jeremiahs*, and *Johns*, and *Timothies*. Thus did our *Jonathan*. Even in his very Childhood, ſo *ſtudious* he was, as to leave his *Food* for his *Book*, but withal ſo *pious*, that he could neither Morning nor Evening dare to go without *Prayers* to God for his Bleſſing. And as it was his endeavour, whilſt a School-boy, to be *every Day* in the *Fear of the Lord*, ſo he would on the *Lord's Day* diſcover a ſingular Meaſure of that *Fear*; not only by abſtaining from the *Liberties* which others of his Age then uſe to take, to *paſs the time away*, but alſo by *devoting the time* to the Exerciſes of *Devotion.* His Father, obſerving this Diſpoſition of the *Child*, hoped, as well he might, that whatever was expended in fitting him for *Service*, would be well repaid, in the *Service* which might be done by him for the Church of God; and therefore after due Preparations for it, he ſent him unto the Univerſity.

§ 3. After he had ſpent three or four Years in *Academical* Studies, the Death of his *Father* fetch'd him ſooner than he would have gone, into the Country; where, tho' he kept a *School*, yet he purſued the Deſign of accompliſhing himſelf with every part of Learning, that when thoſe of his Years were to take their Degrees of *Maſterſhip*, he was one of the *Moderators*, which place he diſcharged with great Acceptation. But he afterwards would ſay, That the awful and humbling Providence of God, in the Death of his *Father*, which hindred him from thoſe Employments and Preferments in the *Univerſity*, for which he had a particular Fondneſs, had an effect upon him, for which he had Reaſon to admire the Wiſdom of Heaven; inaſmuch as it reduced him to that modeſt, gracious, careful Frame, which made him the fitter for the Work of *turning many to Righteouſneſs.*

§ 4. Having for a while attended that Work at *Horninger*, near *Bury* in *Suffolk*, he afterwards undertook the Charge of *Reckingſhal*, in the ſame County, wherein he did moſt exemplarily expreſs the Spirit of a *Miniſter of the New Teſtament.* He would therein be ſometimes ready to envy the more eaſie Condition of the *Husbandmen*; but in Submiſſion and Obedience unto the Call of God, he now ſet his Hand unto the *Plough* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: And therefore in the Form of a Solemn *Covenant*, he obliged himſelf unto the moſt Conſcientious Diſcharge of his Miniſterial Duties; in which Diſcharge he would always beg of God, that whatever *Exhortation* he gave unto others, might firſt be ſhaped in his own *Experience:* And yet ſometimes he would complain unto his Friends: *Alas, I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be.*

§ 5. This *gracious* Man, was indeed a very *humble* Man, and his *Humility* carried him even into a *Dejection* of Spirit; eſpecially when by Importunities he had been prevailed upon to *preach abroad.* Once particularly, there was a Perſon of Quality, for whoſe Converſion many Prayers had been put up to God, by thoſe who hoped that God might have much *Honour* from a *Man of Honour* brought unto himſelf. Mr. *Burr* preaching at a place, far from his own Congregation, had a moſt happy Succeſs in the Converſion of this Gentleman, who not only acknowledged this Change, with much Thankfulneſs, both to God, and the Inſtrument; but alſo approved himſelf a *changed Man*, in the whole Frame of his After-Converſation. And yet coming home, from the Preaching of that Sermon, Mr. *Burr* had a particular Meaſure of his lowly and modeſt Reflections thereupon; adding, *I ſhall conclude, it is of God, if any Good be done by any thing preached by ſuch an Unworthy Inſtrument.*

§ 6. Hence on the *Lord's Day*, after he came home from his publick Work, it was his manner preſently to *Retire*, and ſpend ſome time in *praying* to God, for the *pardon* of the Sins, which accompanied him in his Work, and in *praiſing* of God, for enabling him to go, in any

any meaſure, through it; with Petitions for the good Succeſs of his Labours.

He then would come down to his *Family-Worſhip*, wherein he ſpent ſome Hours *inſtructing* of the *Family*, and performing of other Duties: And when his Wife deſired him to abate of his exceſſive Pains, his Anſwer would be, *'Tis better to be worn out with Work, than to be eaten out with Ruſt.* It was indeed his *Joy*, to be ſpending his *Life* unto the uttermoſt for God, and for his People; yea, he would ſay, tho' he ſhould have no *Temporal Rewards*. Accordingly, when any that had been benefited by his Miniſtry, ſent him any *Tokens* of their Gratitude, he would (like *Luther*) beg of God, *That he might not have his Portion in ſuch things:* And he deſired of his grateful Friends, *That if they had gotten any good of him, they would give unto God alone the Glory of it.* Moreover, if he had underſtood, that any had gained in the Concern of their Souls, by his Labours, he would mention it, in ſome of his privater Devotions, with this Expreſſion, *Lord, of thine own have I given, take then the Glory unto thy ſelf: As for me, let my Portion be in thy Self, and not in the Things of this World.* But when he was debarred of his Liberty to preach, he was even *like a Fiſh out of the Water*; and his very *Body* languiſhed through a Sympathy, with the Reſentments of his *Mind*; ſaying, *That his Preaching was his Life; and if he were laid aſide from that, he ſhould quickly be dead.*

§ 7. It was not on the *Lord's Day* only, but *every Day*, that this good Man was uſually, *In the Fear of the Lord all the Day long.* He might ſay with the *Pſalmiſt*, *When I awake, I am ſtill with God:* For at his firſt *awaking*, he would bleſs God for the Mercies of the Night, and then pray, *That he might ſo number his Days, as to apply his Heart to Wiſdom:* And if he awaked in the Night, it would commonly be with ſome *Thankſgivings* unto Heaven. Riſing in the Morning, he would repair to his beloved *Study*, where he began the Day with *Secret Prayer* before the Lord: After this he would read a Chapter in the *Old Teſtament*, ſpending ſome time in Serious and Solemn, and Heart-ſearching *Meditations* thereupon: He would then come down into his *Family*; where, with his *Prayers*, he would then Read and Expound, and apply the ſame Chapter unto his own Folks, and ſuch of the Neighbours as would come in, to enjoy his *Meditations*, at the uſual Seaſon of them. Retiring then to his *Study* again, he would continue there, till called unto his *Dinner*; and if none came to ſpeak with him after Dinner, he would, after ſome Diverſion for a while with his *Children*, return to his Study, where he would then have a time to pray with his *Wife:* But if at any time he were invited unto a Dinner abroad, he would have a time for *that* Service in the Forenoon, before his going out.

As the Evening drew on, after the like manner, he would read a Chapter in the *New Teſtament*, making his *Family* Partakers of his *Reflections*, with his Prayer upon it. And before his going to Bed, he uſually walked up and down the Room, for half an Hour, or more, pondering upon *ſomething*, which his Wife deſiring to know, *What it was?* He replied, *Seeing thou art ſo near me, if it may do thee good, I'll tell thee: Firſt*, He ſaid, he called himſelf unto an Account, *How he had ſpent the Day?* And what ſinful *Commiſſions*, or *Omiſſions*, he had been overtaken with; for which, he then, begg'd Pardon of God. *Secondly*, He reckon'd up the particular *Mercies* he had received *in the Day*, rendring of Praiſes to Heaven for thoſe Mercies. *Laſtly*, He made his *Petitions* to God, that he might be prepared for *ſudden Death:* Unto which *Third Article* in his Thoughts, that which gave more ſpecial Occaſion was, the *ſudden Death* of his *Brother*, an eminent and excellent *Chriſtian*, whom, he ſaid, he *could never forget*.

§ 8. When he travelled abroad, he thought long to be *at home* again, through his Diſſatiſfaction at his not having elſewhere, ſo convenient Seaſons for his *Communion* with God. And when he took any Journeys with his Friends, it was his manner to enquire, *What Good had been done, or gained therein?* And *what good Examples had been ſeen?* And *what good Inſtructions had been heard?* And that there might be no loſs of *time* in the Journeys, he would be full of *profitable Diſcourſe*, eſpecially by way of *Occaſional Reflection*, upon things that then occurr'd unto Obſervation. What he was in a *Journey*, the ſame he was at the *Table*; even like the *Fire*, (what was once writ of *Athenodorus*) Ἐξάπτων πάντα τὰ παρακείμενα. So that they who would bear no part in a gracious *Communication*, would be *dumb*, where-ever he came; and ſome of the rougheſt and rudeſt Hearers, would have *Tears* fetched from their Eyes, at the Soul melting Expreſſions that paſſed from his Mouth. Moreover, at a *Feaſt* he would eat more ſparingly than at another time, giving us his Reaſon for his Temperance, the Advice of the Wiſe Man: *Put a Knife to thy Throat:* And he would ſay, *Where there are many Varieties, there are many Temptations.*

§ 9. It was his wont, before the *Lord's Supper*, to keep a Day of ſolemn *Faſting* and *Prayer* alone, with his *Wife*, as well to prepare themſelves for that Sacred *Ordinance*; as to obtain the manifold Bleſſings of Heaven upon his Family and Neighbourhood. Such was his *Piety.* And as for his *Charity*, he ſeldom viſited the *Poor*, but with *Spirituals*, he communicated alſo *Temporals* unto them: For which, when ſome of his Friends intimated, that he might err, in reſerving no more for himſelf, he would anſwer, *I often think of thoſe Words, He that ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap ſparingly.* It was alſo remarkable, to ſee how much his own Perſonal *Joys*, and *Griefs*, were ſwallowed up in the *Simpathy* which he had, with the Condition of the whole Church abroad: When he heard it was *well* with the Church, he would ſay, *Bleſſed be God, that it goes well with them, what-*

ever becomes of me! But if *ill*, none of his own private Proſperity kept him from feeling it, as a true Member of that *Myſtical Body*. Finally, All the Graces which thus rendred him amiable to thoſe that were about him, were attended with ſuch *Moſaic Meekneſs*, as made him yet further amiable: He would be *zealous*, when he ſaw Diſhonour caſt on the Name of God, but *patient* under Injury offer'd unto himſelf. If he were informed, that any thought meanly of him, he would not be moved at it, but ſay, *I think as meanly of my ſelf, and therefore may well be content, that others think meanly of me:* And when *Evil* hath been charged on him, he has replied, *If Men ſee ſo much, what does God ſee?* Diſgraceful and unworthy Speeches beſtowed upon him, he would call, *his Gains*; but it was his Trouble to find himſelf applauded. His Friends might indeed have ſaid of him, as *Luther* of *Melancthon*, *Mihi plane videtur ſaltem in hoc errare, quod Chriſtum ipſe fingat longius abeſſe à Corde ſuo, quàm ſit reverâ, certè nimis Nullus in hoc eſt noſter* Jonathan.

§ 10. This bright *Star* muſt move *Weſtward*. He, with many Fellow-Sufferers for the *Teſtimony of Jeſus*, being ſilenced in *England*; and foreſeeing a diſmal *Storm* a coming upon the Nation, till the overpaſſing whereof he ſaw many *Praying Saints* directed unto *America*, for *Chambers of Safety*; and willing to forego all Worldly Advantages, for the Enjoyment of Goſpel Ordinances, adminiſtred without the mixtures of *Humane Inventions*; he removed into *New England*, having his three Children with him, and his Wife big with a Fourth, in his Remove; where arriving, it refreſhed him not a little, to ſee the eſcaped People of God, with *Harps in their Hands*, there ſinging the *Song of Moſes*. He came into *New-England*, at a time, when there was not ſo much want of *Lights*, as of *Golden Candleſticks*, wherein to place the *Lights*; but he was not long there, before he was invited by the Church of *Dorcheſter*, to be an Aſſiſtant unto the well-known Mr. *Richard Mather*.

§ 11. The *Evil One*, diſturbed at the Happineſs of *Dorcheſter*, very ſtrongly endeavoured a *Miſunderſtanding* between Mr. *Mather* and Mr. *Burr*; and the *Miſunderſtanding* did proceed ſo far, as to produce a *Paroxiſm*.

'It was judged by ſome of the Brethren in the Church, that Mr. *Burr* had expreſſed himſelf erroneouſly in certain Points, then much agitated throughout the Country; and Mr. *Mather*, upon their Deſire, examining the Propoſitions which this Good Man had written, thought he could not altogether clear them from Exceptions. Hereupon grew ſuch Alienations, that they could not be well Re-united, without calling in the Help of Neighbour-Churches in a *Council*; which *Council* directing both Mr. *Mather* and Mr. *Burr*, to acknowledge what *Miſunderſtandings* were then diſcovered in this Buſineſs, thoſe two Good Men ſet apart a Day for the *Reconciliation*; and with ſuch Exemplary Expreſſions of *Humility* and *Affection*, Rectified all that had been out of Joint, that God was exceedingly Glorified, and the Peace of the *Church* effectually reſtored and maintained.

§ 12. This true *Barnabas*, was not only to give the Churches of *New England* a *Conſolatory Viſit*, in his Paſſage unto Glory, that he might leave them an Example of that *Love*, *Patience*, *Holineſs*, and *Fruitfulneſs*, which would make them an Happy People. Tho' he had not *Perſecution* to try him in this Wilderneſs, yet he was not without his Trials: For, as 'tis well obſerved in the Diſcourſe, *De Duplici Martyrio*, which goes under the Name of *Cyprian*; *Si deeſt Tyrannus, ſi Tortor, ſi Spoliator, non deerit concupiſcentia, Martyrii, Materiam, quotidianam nobis exhibens*. The next Year after he came to *New-England*, he was taken Sick of the *Small-Pox*; out of which he nevertheleſs recovered, and came forth as *Gold that had been tryed in the Fire*. He then renewed and applied the *Covenant of Grace*, by the ſuitable Recognitions of the following *Inſtrument*.

'I *Jonathan Burr*, being brought in the Arms of Almighty God over the Vaſt *Ocean*, with my Family and Friends, and Graciouſly provided for in a Wilderneſs; and being ſenſible of my own *Unprofitableneſs* and *Self-ſeeking*; yet of Infinite Mercy, being called unto the Tremendous Work of *Feeding Souls*, and being of late with my Family deliver'd out of a Great Affliction of the *Small-Pox*; and having found the Fruit of that Affliction; God Tempering, Ordering, Mitigating the *Evil* thereof, ſo as I have been graciouſly and ſpeedily deliver'd; I do promiſe and *vow* to him, that hath done all things for me; *Firſt*, That I will aim only at his *Glory*, and the *Good* of Souls, and not *my ſelf* and *Vain Glory:* And that, *Secondly*, I will walk *Humbly*, with *lower Thoughts of my ſelf*, conſidering what a poor Creature I am; a Puff of Breath, ſuſtained only by the *Power* of his *Grace*; And therefore, *Thirdly*, I will be more *watchful* over my Heart, to *keep* it in a due Frame of *Holineſs* and *Obedience*, without running out ſo far to the Creature; for I have ſeen, That he is mine only Help in time of need; *Fourthly*, That I will put more weight upon that *firm Promiſe*, and *ſure Truth*, That God is a *God hearing Prayer: Fifthly*, That I will ſet up *God*, more in my *Family*, more in *my ſelf, Wife, Children* and *Servants*; converſing with them in a more ſerious and conſtant manner; for *This*, God aimed at, in ſending his Hand into my Family at this time.

Memento Mori.

'*In Meipſo Nihil*; *in Chriſto Omne.*

Nor

Nor was his *Heavenly Converſation* afterwards diſagreeable to theſe Grateful Reſolutions of his Devout Soul. By the ſame Token, that the famous Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, being one of his Auditors, when he preached in a great Audience at *Charleſtown*, had this Expreſſion about him. *Surely, this Man wont be long out of Heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already.* And the moſt experienced Chriſtians in the Country, found ſtill in his *Miniſtry*, as well as in his whole *Behaviour*, the Breathing of ſuch a *Spirit*, as was very greatly to their Satisfaction. They could not but call him, as *Dionyſius* was once called, Πετεινὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, *The Bird of Heaven.* Had it not been *Old Adam's World*, ſo Innocent, ſo Excellent, ſo Heavenly a Perſon, could not have met with ſuch *Exerciſes* as he and others like him, then ſometimes did, even from their *Trueſt Brethren*,

§ 13. Having juſt been preaching about the *Redemption of Time*, he fell into a Sickneſs of *Ten Days* Continuance; during which Time, he expreſſed a wonderful Patience, and Sub miſſion, upon all Occaſions. His Wife perceiving his *Willingneſs to die*, asked him, *Whether he were deſirous to leave her and his Children?* Whereto his Anſwer was, *Do not miſtake me, I am not deſirous of that; but I bleſs God, that now my Will is the Lord's Will: If he will have me to live yet with my dear Wife and Children, I am willing. I will ſay to you my dear Wife and Children, as the Apoſtle ſays, It is better for you, that I abide with you; but it is better for me to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt.* And perceiving his Wife's Diſconſolation, he asked her, *If ſhe could not be willing to part with him*; whereupon, when ſhe intimated how hard it was, he exhorted her to acquieſce in that God, who would be *Better than Ten Husbands*: Adding, *Our Parting is but for a Time, I am ſure we ſhall one Day meet again.* Being diſcouraged by finding himſelf unable to put on his Clothes, one of his Friends told him, *his Work was now to lie ſtill:* At which he complained, *I lie ſlugging a Bed, when others are at work!* But being minded of *God's Will*, That it ſhould be ſo, *that* quieted him. Obſerving how diligently his Wife tended him, he ſaid unto her, *Don't ſpend ſo much Time with me, but go thy way and ſpend ſome time in Prayer; thou knoweſt not what thou mayſt obtain from God; I fear leſt thou look too much upon this Affliction.* A Day or two before his Death, he bleſſed his Children; and the Night before he died, he was overheard ſometimes to ſay, *I will wait until my Change come*; and *Why art thou ſo loath to die?* A few Hours before his Death, it was obſerved, that he had a ſore Conflict with the *Angel of Death*, who was now ſhooting his laſt *Arrows* at him; and when one of the Standers-by ſaid, *The Sting of Death is taken away; the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has overcome Death for you; this is one of Satan's laſt Aſſaults; his Work is now almoſt at an end; though he be a ſubtil Enemy, and would if it were poſſible, deceive the very Elect*; he preſently laid hold on that laſt Expreſſion, *If it were poſſible*; ſaid he, *Bleſſed be God there is no Poſſibility!* After this, he requeſted the Company might withdraw, that ſo he might have an Opportunity to pray for a while by himſelf; but ſeeing the Company loth to leave the Room, he pray'd in Latin as long as he had Strength to do it. When he was to Appearance juſt expiring, he called for his *Wife*; and ſtedfaſtly fixing his Eyes upon her, he ſaid, *Caſt thy Care upon God, for he careth for thee.* About half an Hour after this, when Death had been for ſome while drawing the Curtains about him, his laſt Words were thoſe unto his Wife. *Hold Faſt, Hold Faſt!* So he finiſhed his Pilgrimage, on *Aug.* 9. 1641.

§ 14. Unto that Vertuous Gentlewoman his Wife, he expreſſed himſelf with great Confidence, *That God would certainly provide well for her*; and that Gentlewoman, ſhortly after being Honourably and Comfortably married unto another Gentleman of Good Eſtate namely, *Richard Dummer*, Eſq; once a Magiſtrate of the Colony, lived with him near Forty Years; and was more than Forty Years after alive to teſtify her Experience of the Accompliſhment, which God had given unto that Faith of her *Dying* Husband: Who at his Death commended his Family to God, in Strains not unlike thoſe of the Dying *Widerus*;

CHRISTE, tibi ſoli mea pignora Viva relinquo,
Quorum poſt Mortem Tu Pater eſto meam:
Qui cunctis Vitæ miſerum me jugiter Annis
Paviſti, Largam dans Mihi ſemper opem;
Tu quoq; Paſce meos defende, tuere, doceq;
Et tandem ad Cæli guadia transfer. Amen.

Epitaphium.

Mortuus hic Jacet, qui in Omnium Cordibus Vivit.
Omnes Virtutes, quæ Vivunt poſt Funera,
In Unius BURRI *Funere invenerunt*
Sepulchrum.

To make up his *Epitaph*, I will borrow a Line or two from the Tomb-ſtone of *Volkmarus.*

Hic Jacet Exutis nimium citò BURRIUS *Annis,*
Adjuga Suggeſtus, Magne MATHERE, *Tui*
Si magis Annoſam licuiſſet condere Vitam,
Ac Scriptis Animum notificare Libris,
Tot Verbis non eſſet opus hoc Scalpere Saxum,
Sufficerent Quatuor, BURRIUS *hic ſitus eſt.*

CHAP. IV.

The LIFE of Mr. *GEORGE PHILIPS.*

Vita Miniſtri eſt Cenſura & Cynoſura.

§ 1. NOT only the Common Sign-Poſts of every Town, but alſo ſome famous Orders of *Knighthood* in the moſt famous Nations of *Europe*, have entertained us with Traditions of a certain Champion, by the Name of St. *GEORGE dignified and diſtinguiſhed.* Now whilſt *many* do with *Calvin*, reckon this Notable St. *George*, with his Brother St. *Kit*, among the *Larvæ* and *Fables* of the Romantic *Monks*; others from the Honourable mention of him in ſo many *Liturgies*, do think there might be ſuch a Man: But then, he muſt be no other, neither better nor worſe, in the moſt probable Opinion of *Rainolds*, than *George* the *Arrian* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the Antagoniſt and Adverſary of *Athanaſius*; of this Memorable Trooper, the *Arrians* feigned Miracles, and with certain Diſguiſes, impoſed the Fame of him upon the *Orthodox*. But the Churches of *New-England* being wholly unconcerned with any ſuch a St. *George*, and wiſhing that they had been leſs concerned with many *Quakers*, whoſe chief Apoſtles have been ſo many of them call'd *George's*, but in Effect ſo many *Dragons*, there was one *George* who was indeed among the firſt *Saints* of *New-England!* And that *Excellent Man of our Land* was Mr. *George Philips*.

§ 2. He was born at *Raymund*, in the County of *Norfolk*; deſcended of Honeſt Parents, who were encouraged by his great Proficiency at the Grammar-School, to ſend him unto the Univerſity; where his good *Invention*, ſtrong *Memory*, and ſolid *Judgment*, with the Bleſſing of God upon all, attained a Degree of Learning that may be called *Eminent*. The diligent Reading of the *Fathers*, while he was yet himſelf among *Young Men*, was one of the things that gave a ſpecial Ornament unto that Skill in *Theology*, whereto he attained; but that which yet further fitted him to become a *Divine*, was his being *made Partaker of the Divine Nature*, by the Sanctification of all his Abilities for the Service of God, in a True *Regeneration*.

§ 3. Devoting himſelf to the Work of the *Miniſtry*, his Employment befel him at *Boxford* in *Eſſex*; whereof he found much Acceptance with Good Men; as being a Man *Mighty in the Scriptures*. But his Acquaintance with the Writings and Perſons of ſome Old *Non-Conformiſts* had inſtilled into him ſuch Principles about *Church Government*, as were like to make him unacceptable unto ſome, who then drove the World before them. Some of theſe Principles he had intimated in his publick Preaching; whereupon ſome of his unſatisfied Hearers repair'd unto Old Mr. *Rogers* of *Dedham*, with ſome Intimations of their Diſſatiſfaction. But Mr. *Rogers*, although he had not much ſtudied the Controverſy, yet had ſo high a Reſpect for Mr. *Philips*, that he ſaid, *He believed Mr.* Philips *would preach nothing without ſome good Evidence for it from the Word of God, and therefore they ſhould be willing to regard whatever Mr.* Philips *might, from that Word, make evident unto them.* And as for Mr. *Philips*, the more he was put upon the Study and ſearching of the *Truth*, in the Matter controverted, the more he was confirmed in his own Opinion of it.

§ 4. When the *Spirit of Perſecution* did at length with the extreameſt Violence, urge a Conformity to *Ways* and *Parts* of Divine Worſhip, conſcientiouſly ſcrupled by ſuch Perſons as our Mr. *Philips*. *He*, with many more of his Neighbours, entertained Thoughts of tranſporting themſelves and their Families into the Deſarts of *America*, to proſecute and propagate the Glorious Deſigns of the Goſpel, and ſpread the *Light* of it in thoſe *Goings down of the Sun*, and being reſolved accordingly to accompany the Excellent Mr. *Winthrop* in that Undertaking, he with many other Devout Chriſtians, embarqued for *New-England*, where they arrived in the Year 1630. through the *Good Hand of God* upon them. Here, quickly after his Landing, he loſt the *Deſire of his Eyes*, in the Death of his *Deſirable Conſort*, who, though an only Child, had cheerfully left her *Parents*, to ſerve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with her Husband, in a Terrible Wilderneſs. At *Salem* ſhe died, entering into the Everlaſting Peace; and was very ſolemnly interr'd near the Right Honourable the Lady *Arabella*; the Siſter of the Earl of *Lincoln*, who alſo took *New England* in her Way to Heaven.

§ 5. Mr. *Philips*, with ſeveral Gentlemen, and other Chriſtians having choſen a place upon *Charles-River*, for a Town which they called *Water-Town*, they reſolved that they would combine into a *Church-Fellowſhip* there, as their *firſt Work*; and build the *Houſe* of God, before they could build many *Houſes* for themſelves; thus they *ſought, firſt, the Kingdom of God!* And indeed, Mr. *Philips* being better acquainted with the True *Church-Diſcipline*, than moſt of the Miniſters that came with him into the Country, their Proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their *Church*, were *Methodical* enough, though not made in all things a *Pattern* for all the reſt. Upon a Day ſet apart

apart for ſolemn *Faſting* and *Prayer*, the very next Month after they came aſhore, they entred into this *Holy Covenant.*

July 30. 1630.

'We whoſe Names are hereto ſubſcribed, 'having through God's Mercy, eſcaped out of '*Pollutions* of the World, and been taken in'to the *Society* of his People, with all Thank'fulneſs do hereby both with *Heart* and *Hand* 'acknowledge, *That* his Gracious Goodneſs, 'and Fatherly Care, towards us: And for fur'ther and more full Declaration thereof, to 'the preſent and future Ages, have undertaken '(for the promoting of his *Glory* and the 'Churches *Good*, and the Honour of our Bleſ'ſed *Jeſus*, in our more full and free ſubject'ing of our ſelves and ours, under his Gra'cious *Government*, in the Practice of, and 'Obedience unto all his Holy Ordinances and 'Orders, which he hath pleaſed to preſcribe 'and impoſe upon us) a long and hazardous 'Voyage from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, from *Old England* 'in *Europe*, to *New-England* in *America*; that 'we may walk before him, and *ſerve him with'out Fear in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, all 'the Days of our Lives:* And being ſafely ar'rived here, and thus far onwards peaceably 'preſerved by his ſpecial *Providence*, that we 'may bring forth our Intentions into *Actions*, 'and perfect our *Reſolutions*, in the Beginnings 'of ſome Juſt and Meet *Executions*; We have '*ſeparated* the Day above written from all 'other Services, and *Dedicated* it wholly to 'the Lord in Divine Employments, for a Day 'of *Afflicting our Souls*, and humbling our 'ſelves before the Lord, to ſeek *him*, and at 'his Hands, a Way to walk in, by *Faſting* and '*Prayer*, that we *might know what was Good 'in his Sight:* And the Lord was intreated 'of us.

'For in the End of that Day, after the fi'niſhing of our publick Duties, we do all, be'fore we depart, ſolemnly and with all our 'Hearts, *perſonally*, Man by Man for our 'ſelves and ours (charging *them* before Chriſt 'and his Elect Angels, even *them* that are not 'here with us this Day, or are yet unborn, 'That they keep the Promiſe unblameably and 'faithfully unto the coming of our Lord Je'ſus) promiſe, and *enter into a ſure Covenant* 'with the Lord our God, and before him with 'one another, by *Oath* and ſerious *Proteſtation* 'made, to Renounce all *Idolatry* and *Superſti'tion*, *Will-Worſhip*, all Humane *Traditions* 'and *Inventions* whatſoever, in the Worſhip 'of God; and forſaking all *Evil Ways*, do 'give our ſelves wholly unto the Lord Jeſus, 'to do him faithful Service, obſerving and 'keeping all his Statutes, Commands, and 'Ordinances, in all Matters concerning our '*Reformation*; his Worſhip, Adminiſtrations, 'Miniſtry, and Government; and in the Car'riage of our ſelves among our ſelves, and one 'towards another, as he hath preſcribed in his 'Holy *Word*. Further ſwearing to cleave unto '*that* alone, and the true Senſe and meaning 'thereof to the utmoſt of our Power, as unto 'the moſt clear *Light* and infallible *Rule*, and 'All-ſufficient *Canon*, in all things that concern 'us in this our Way. In Witneſs of all, we 'do *ex Animo*, and in the preſence of God, 'hereto ſet our *Names* or *Marks*, in the Day 'and Year above written.

About Forty Men, whereof the *Firſt* was that Excellent Knight Sir *Richard Saltonſtal*, then ſubſcribed this *Inſtrument*, in Order unto their Coaleſcence into a *Church-Eſtate*; which I have the more particularly Recited, becauſe it was one of the *Firſt* Eccleſiaſtical Tranſactions of this Nature managed in the Colony. But in after time, they that joined unto the *Church*, ſubſcribed a Form of the *Covenant*, ſomewhat altered, with a *Confeſſion of Faith* annexed unto it.

§ 6. A *Church* of Believers being thus gathered at *Watertown*, this Reverend Man continued for divers Years among them, faithfully diſcharging the Duties of his Miniſtry, to the *Flock, whereof he was made the Overſeer*; and as a *Faithful Steward giving to every one their Meat in due Seaſon.* Herein he demonſtrated himſelf to be *a Real Divine:* But not in any thing more, than in his moſt intimate Acquaintance with the *Divine Oracles* of the Scripture: Being fully of *Jerom*'s Perſwaſion, *Ama Scientiam Scripturarum, & Vitia Carnis non amabis.* He had ſo thoroughly peruſed and pondered them, that he was able on the ſudden to turn unto any *Text*, without the Help of *Concordances*; and they were ſo much his *Delight*, that as it has been by ſome of his Family affirmed, *He read over the whole Bible ſix times every Year:* Nevertheleſs he did uſe to ſay, *That every time he read the Bible, he obſerved or collected ſomething, which he never did before.* There was a Famous Prince of *Tranſylvania*, who found the time to read over the Bible no leſs than Twenty Seven Times. There was a Famous King of *Arragon*, who read over the Bible fourteen Times, with *Lyra*'s Commentaries. A Religious Perſon, who was a cloſe Priſoner, in a dark Dungeon, having a Candle brought him, for the few Minutes in the Day when his poor Meals were to be eaten, choſe then to read a little of his Bible, and eat his *Neceſſary Food*, when the Candle was gone. Yea, the Emperour *Theodoſius* wrote out the *New-Teſtament* with his own Hand; and *Bonaventure* did as much by the *Old*; and ſome have, like *Zuinglius* and *Beza*, lodg'd vaſt Paragraphs of it in the Memories. Among ſuch Memorable Students in the Scriptures, our *Philips* deſerves to have ſome Remembrance: Who was fully of the Opinion expreſſed by *Luther*, *If the Letters of Princes are to be read three times over, ſurely then God's Letters (as* Gregory *calls the Scriptures)* are

are to be read Seven times Thrice, yea, Seventy times Seven, and if it could be a Thouſand times over; and he might ſay with *Ridley*, giving an Account how much of the Bible he had learnt by Heart, *Tho' in time a great Part of the Study departed from me, yet the ſweet Smell thereof, I truſt I ſhall carry with me to Heaven.* Indeed being well ſkill'd in the *Original Tongues*, he could not ſee further into the Scriptures than moſt other Men; And thereby being *made Wiſe unto Salvation*, he alſo became *a Man of God, throughly furniſhed unto all good Works.*

§ 7. Hence alſo, he became an able *Diſputant*; and ready upon all Occaſions, to maintain what he delivered from the Word of God; for which Cauſe, his Hearers counted him, *The Irrefragable Doctor:* Though he were ſo *Humble* and *Modeſt*, as to be very averſe unto *Diſputation*, until driven thereto by extream Neceſſity. One of his Hearers after ſome Conference with him about *Infant-Baptiſm*, and ſeveral Points of *Church Diſcipline*, obtain'd a Copy of the Arguments in Writing for his further Satisfaction. This Copy the Man ſends over to *England*, which an Anabaptiſt there publiſhed with a pretended *Confutation*; whereby the *Truth* loſt nothing, for Mr. *Philips* hereupon publiſhed a Judicious Treatiſe, Entituled, *A Vindication of Infant-Baptiſm*, where to there is added another, *Of the Church.* This Book was honourably received and mentioned, by the Eminent Aſſembly of *London-Miniſters*; and a Preface full of Honour was thereto prefixed by the famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; notwithſtanding the Difference between him and Mr. *Philips*, upon one or two Points, whereabouts thoſe two Learned Neighbours managed a Controverſy with ſo much *Reaſon*, and yet Candor and Kindneſs, that if all *Theological Controverſies*, had been ſo handled, we need not ſo much wiſh, *Liberari ab Implacabilibus Theologorum Odiis.*

§ 8. About fourteen Years continued he in his Miniſtry at *Watertown*; in which time his Miniſtry was Bleſſed, for the *Converſion* of many unto God, and for the *Edification* and *Confirmation* of many that were converted. He was, indeed, *A Good Man, and full of Faith, and of the Holy Ghoſt:* And for that Cauſe he was not only in publick but in private alſo, very full of *Holy Diſcourſe* on all Occaſions; eſpecially on the *Lord's Day* at Noon, the time intervening between the Two Exerciſes, he would ſpend in conferring with ſuch of his Good People, as reſorted unto his Houſe, at ſuch a Rate, as marvellouſly *Miniſtred Grace unto the Hearers*; not wanting any time *then*, as it ſeems, for any further *Preparations*, than what he had ſtill aforehand made, for the publick Sermons of the Afternoon.

§ 9. He laboured under many Bodily Infirmities: But was eſpecially liable unto the *Cholick*; the Extremity of one Fit whereof, was the *Wind* which carried him afore it, into the *Haven* of Eternal Reſt, on July 1. in the Year 1644. much Deſired and Lamented by his Church at *Watertown*; who teſtified their Affection to their Deceaſed *Paſtor*, by a ſpecial Care to promote and perfect the Education of his Eldeſt *Son*, whereof all the Country, but eſpecially the Town of *Rowly*, have ſince reaped the Benefit.

Epitaphium.

Hic Jacet GEORGIUS PHILIPPI.

Vir Incomparabilis, niſi SAMUELEM *genuiſſet.*

CHAP. V.

Paſtor Evangelicus. The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS SHEPARD.*

——— *Nec Mireris,*
Animam tam Subitò in Cælum avolaſſe, nam Vicem
Alarum ſibi ſupplerunt Preces ſuæ & ſuſpiria.

§ 1. IT was the Gracious and Savoury Speech uttered by one of the greateſt Perſonages in *England*, and perhaps in all *Europe*, unto a Grave Miniſter: *I have* (ſaid he) *paſſed through many Places of Honour and Truſt, both in Church and State, more than any of my Order in* England, *for Seventy Years before. But were I aſſured that by my Preaching, I had converted but one Soul unto God, I ſhould herein take more Comfort, than in all the Honours and Offices that have ever been beſtowed upon me.* Let my Reader now go with me, and I will ſhow him one of the *Happieſt* Men, that ever we ſaw; as great a *Converter of Souls*, as has ordinarily been known in our Days.

§ 2. Amongſt thoſe *Famous*, whereof there were *Diverſe*, Miniſters of *New-England*, which were Born in or near the Firſt Luſtre of King *James*'s Reign, one of the leaſt Inconſiderable was our Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; whoſe Father Mr.

Mr. *William Shepard*, called him *Thomas*, becauſe his Birth was Nov. 5. *Anno* 1605. as near as could be gueſſed, at the very *Hour*, when the Blow ſhould have been given in the Execrible *Gun-powder Treaſon*; a Villany, concerning which he ſaid, *This Child of his would hardly be able to believe, that ever ſuch a Wickedneſs could be attempted by the Sons of Men.* His Father had ſix *Daughters* and three *Sons*, whereof this *Thomas* born in *Towceſter*, near *Northampton*, was the youngeſt; and as he lived a prudent, ſo he died a pious Man, while his *youngeſt* Son was but a *Youth*. Our *Thomas* had in his Childhood, labour'd under the Diſcouragements, firſt of a Bitter *Step-Mother*, and then of a Cruel *School-Maſter*, till God ſtirred up the Heart of his *Elder Brother*, to become a *Father* unto him who, for the Uſe of his Portion, brought him up.

§ 3. Bending his Mind now to Study, he became fit for the Univerſity, at fifteen Years of *Age*; where he was placed under the Tuition of Mr. *Cockrel*, a *Northamptonſhire* Man, Fellow of *Immanuel Colledge*.

But when he had been upwards of two Years in that Colledge, this young Man, who had been heretofore under more *Ineffectual Operations* of the Divine Word upon him, was now more *Effectuallly Called* unto a ſaving Acquaintance with him, that is our true *Immanuel*. The Miniſtry of Mr. *Chaderton* and Mr. *Dickinſon*, ſtruck his Heart with powerful *Convictions* of his Miſeries in his *Unregeneracy*; and while he ſhook off thoſe *Convictions*, it pleaſed God that a Devout Scholar walking with him, fell into Diſcourſes about the Miſeries of an Unregenerate Man, whereby the *Arrows* of God were ſtruck deeper into him. At another time, falling into a *pious Company*, where they conferred about, *The Wrath of God*, and the *Extremity* and *Eternity* of it, this added unto his Awakenings; and tho' *profane Company* afterwards cauſed him to loſe much of the Senſe, which he had of theſe things, yet when Dr. *Preſton* came thither, his firſt Sermon on that [*Be Renewed in the Spirit of your Mind*] ſo *Renewed* the former Impreſſions, which had been upon him, that he ſoon approved himſelf a Perſon truly *Renewed in his own Spirit*, and converted unto God. From this time, which was in the Year 1624. he ſet himſelf eſpecially on the Work of Daily *Meditation*, which he attended every Evening before Supper; Meditating on, *The Evil of Sin*, *The Terror of God's Wrath*, *The Day of Death and Judgment*, *The Beauty of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and *The Deceitfulneſs of his own Heart*, until he found the *Transforming Influence* of thoſe Things upon his own Soul; a Courſe which afterwards, he would mightily commend unto others that conſulted him; and he reſted not until coming to ſee, that in the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* alone, there was laid up the full Supply of all Spiritual Wants, he found the Grace of God enabling him to accept of that precious Lord, and rejoice in that *Wiſdom*, and *Righteouſneſs*, and *Sanctification*, and *Redemption*, which *He is made* unto us: Whence afterwards, drawing up a Catalogue of the *Divine Favours* unto him, he had therein theſe Paſſages among the reſt, which are from thence now tranſcribed. *The Lord is the God that ſent, I think, the beſt Miniſters in the World to call me*; Dr. Preſton *and* Mr. Goodwin. *The Words of the firſt, at the firſt Sermon he made, when he came into the Colledge, as Maſter of it; and divers that he preached at that time, did open my Heart, and convince me of my Unbelief, and my total Emptineſs of all, and Enmity againſt all Good. And the Lord made me honour him highly, and love him dearly, though many Godly Men ſpake againſt him. And he is the God that in theſe Ordinances convinced me of my Guilt and Filth of Sin, eſpecially ſelf ſeeking, and Love of Honour of Men in all I did; and humbled me under both, ſo as to make me ſet an higher price upon Chriſt, and Grace, and loath my ſelf the more; and ſo I was eaſed of a World of Diſcouragement. He alſo ſhow'd me the Worth of Chriſt, and made my Soul ſatiſfied with him, and cleave to him, becauſe God had made him Righteouſneſs; and hence alſo Revealed his Free Juſtification, and gave me Support and Reſt upon and in his Promiſes made to them that Receive him as Lord and King; which I found my Heart long unwilling to. And this was the Ground, or rather Occaſion of many horrid Temptations of Atheiſm, Judaiſm, Familiſm, Popery, Deſpair, as having ſinned the Unpardonable Sin; yet the Lord, at laſt, made me yield up my ſelf to his Condemning Will, as good; which gave me great Peace and Quietneſs of Heart, through the Blood and Pity of Chriſt. I have met with all Kinds of Temptations, but after my Converſion. I was never tempted to* Arminianiſm, *my own Experience ſo ſenſibly confuting the* Freedom of Will.

§ 4. One Dr. *Wilſon*, having a purpoſe, with a moſt Noble and Pious Charity, to maintain a Lecture, the Miniſters of *Eſſex*, in one of their Monthly *Faſts*, propounded unto Mr. *Shepard*, the Service of this Lecture to be attended in the Great Town of *Coggeſhal*. But the People of *Earl's Coln*, on that very Day, when the Miniſters were together in *Tarling* at Prayer, for the Direction of Heaven in this Matter, ſo affectionately addreſſed them, for the Benefit of this Lecture, that it was granted unto *Them*, for the Three Years enſuing. Mr. *Shepard*, having proceeded *Maſter of Arts* at *Cambridge*, accepted now an Invitation to *Earls Coln*; and at the End of Three Years the Inhabitants were ſo loath to let him go, that they gathered among themſelves a convenient Salary to ſupport him ſtill amongſt them: Though his *Lecture* were gone. At *Earls-Coln* then he tarried, and prevailed for the *Lecture* to be ſettled the next Three Years in *Towceſter*, the Place of his Nativity; and for Mr. *Stone* to be employed in the Labour of it; which was to him an Extreame Satisfaction.

§ 5. Altho' Mr. *Shepard* were but a young Man, yet there was that *Majeſty* and *Energy* in his

his Preaching, and that *Holineſs* in his Life, which was not ordinary. And God made him a rich Bleſſing, not only to *Coln*, but unto all the Towns round about; wherein there were *many* converted unto God, and *ſundry* were ſo affected unto this Inſtrument of their Converſion, that they afterwards went a thouſand Leagues to enjoy his Miniſtry. But when Dr. *Laud* becomes Biſhop of *London*, Mr. *Shepard* muſt no longer be Preacher at *Coln*: He was quickly ſilenced, for none but that Fault, which was then known by the Name of *Puritaniſm*: And being ſilenced, he withdrew to the kind Family of the *Harlackinden*'s, where applying himſelf more exactly to the Study of the *Ceremonies* in the Worſhip of God then impoſed, the more he ſtudied them, the leſs he liked them. Among other things that ſignalized him, after his Acquaintance with Mr. *Harlackinden*, I find one memorable paſſage reported by Mr. *Woodcock*, with ſufficient Evidence, in Mr. *Baxter*'s Book about, *The Worlds of Spirits*. In the Chamber of a Toumb houſe, where two of Mr. *Harlackinden*'s Men did uſe to lie, there was always, at Two a Clock in the Morning, the Sound of a *Great Bell* tolling. Mr. *Harlackinden* would once lie there, between his two Servants, to ſatisfie himſelf about it. At the uſual time came the uſual Sound, which threw the Gentleman into no little Conſternation. But Mr. *Shepard*, with ſome Chriſtians, having ſpent a Night in Prayer at this place, the Noiſe never gave any diſturbance after.

Once and again after this, finding the Reſolution of the Biſhop to ruine him, if he did not leave the Country, he ſeaſonably received Letters of Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*, Miniſter of *Rowly*, in *Yorkſhire*, encouraging him to viſit thoſe parts, and accept Employment in the Houſe of Sir *Richard Darly*, of *Buttercrambe*, in that County. Driven to follow this Counſel, his Journey proved as troubleſome in all the *Winter-Circumſtances* of it, as a Traveller could have wiſhed for; and after he had ſwam for his Life, by miſſing his way over ſome overflown Bridges, he made it late on *Saturday-night*, before he came to *York*; but there having refreſhed himſelf, he went on to *Buttercrambe* that Night, which was about ſeven Miles further, where wet, and cold, and late, he that Night arrived.

§ 6. It added unto his Diſcouragements, when on the firſt Night of his Arrival, he found groſs *Profanities* prevailing both in the Family, and in the Neighbourhood; but God quickly made him inſtrumental to a bleſſed *Change* in both. The *profaneſt* Perſons thereabouts were ſoon *touched* with the Efficacy of his *Miniſtry*, and his *Conference*; and *Prayer* with *Faſting*, as well as other *Exerciſes of Devotion*, ſucceeded in the room of their former *Wildneſſes*. Both Sir *Richard*, and all his Sons, as well as many others there, had cauſe to bleſs God, that ever they ſaw the Face of this Holy Man: And as a Teſtimony of their Affection for him, they encouraged his Marriage with the *Knight*'s near Kinſwoman, who upon this Account alſo enlarged her Portion, about the Year 1632. But Biſhop *Neal* here, would not allow him any Liberty for his Miniſtry, without a *Subſcription*, which his better informed Conſcience could not make; and this occaſioned his Removal upon a Call, unto a Town of *Northumberland*, call'd *Heddon*; where his Labours were proſpered unto the Souls of many People. One of the Houſes which he then hired, was haunted with a *Devil*, as was commonly conceived upon the departure of a noted *Witch*, who had been the former Inhabitant; and the Houſe was troubled with ſtrange Noiſes, till the earneſt Prayers of this Man of God procured a Deliverance from ſo extream a Trouble. But thither alſo the *Zeal* of the Biſhop reached him, and forbad his preaching there any more; no, nor durſt the more Ingenuous Dr. *Morton*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, afford him any Countenance or Connivance, inaſmuch as the Primate of *England* had look'd with ſo hard an Eye upon him.

§ 7. While he was thus deny'd the Liberty of preaching the Truths of the Goſpel, as much as in the remoteſt Corners of the Land, the Removal of Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Stone*, and Mr. *Weld* into *New-England*, had awaken'd many pious People, all *England* over, to think of the like Removal; and ſeveral of his Friends already gat into *New-England*, as well as others, that were now going thither, invited him to accompany them in the Condition of that Plantation. Wherefore he conſider'd with himſelf, *that* he could not propoſe to himſelf the peaceable Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in any part of *England*; *that* his moſt intimate *Friends* had many ways expreſſed their Deſires of his going with them into another Country; *that* many eminent *Miniſters*, and excellent *Chriſtians*, had already tranſplanted themſelves; *that* he could not with a ſafe Conſcience comply with the *Ceremonies*, and *Mixt Communion* at home; *that* it was his Duty to ſeek the Enjoyment of *Divine Ordinances* in a further meaſure, than was there attainable; and *that* it would be a ſad thing for him, in Caſe of Mortality, to leave his *Wife* and *Son*, in the midſt of the *Northern Barbarities*; which *Conſiderations* now diſpoſed him for *New-England*. So having preach'd his *Farewel Sermon* at *Newcaſtle*, he came from thence in a Diſguiſe to *Ipſwich*, and from thence to *Earls-Cold*: Longing to be in a Country, where he might not loſe any more precious time, thro' the Inconveniences of *Unſettlement*.

§ 8. Mr. *Shepard*, and Mr. *Norton* coming now together unto *Yarmouth*, to take Shipping for *New-England*, they were much way-laid by Purſevants, employ'd for the *Trepanning* and *Entrapping* of them; and theſe Purſevants had proceeded ſo far, as by a Sum of Money to obtain a Promiſe from a Boy, belonging to the Houſe, where they ſcented Mr. *Shepard*'s Quarters, that he would open the Door for them, to take him at a certain Hour of the Night. But behold the watchful Providence of God, over his faithful Servants! The gracious and ſerious Words

Words of Mr. *Shepard*, in the Hearing of this unlucky Boy, ſtruck him with Horror to think, that he ſhould be ſo wicked, as to betray ſuch an Holy Man. Whereupon the convinced Boy, did with Tears diſcover the whole Plot, unto his Godly Maſter, who forthwith convey'd Mr *Shepard* out of the way, and confounded the *Setters* that would have catched him.

§ 9. It was the latter end of the Year 1634, *when Sailing was now dangerous*, that Mr. *Shepard* ſhipped himſelf, in a Ship of about Four hundred Tun; commanded by a very able Seaman, but under a perpetual *Entail* and *Series* of Diſaſters, after ſome *Injuſtice* had been uſed about her. They ſet Sail from *Harwich*, upon the Edge of the Winter; but after ſeveral Deliverances from ſeveral Diſtreſſes, within a few Hours of their firſt ſetting out, the Winds drove them again back into *Yarmouth* Road; where there aroſe one of the moſt fearful Storms that ever was known. They thought they had loſt all their *Anchors*, and with their *Anchors* all their *Hopes*; and tho' Thouſands from *Yarmouth* Walls did pity them, yet none could relieve them: However, the Compaſſions of an eminent Officer, then amongſt the Spectators, were a little diſtinguiſhed, when he ſcoffingly ſaid: *As for a poor Collier there in the Road, he pitied him very much; but as for the Puritans in the other Ship, he was not concern'd, their Faith would ſave them.* In this Extremity, Mr. *Shepard*, with all the *Mariners* in one part of the Ship, and Mr. *Norton*, with Two hundred *Paſſengers* in the other, poured out their moſt fervent Prayers unto Almighty God; whereupon the Wind immediately ſo abated, that the Ship ſtay'd; and they found, tho' the upper part of the Veſſel all broken, yet their laſt Anchor unbroken, and themſelves *deliver'd from ſo great a Death*.

§ 10. The next Day, which was the *Lord's Day*, he went aſhore to *Yarmouth*, where one of his *firſt Works*, was to bury his *Firſt-born Son*; tho' he durſt not himſelf be preſent at the Burial, becauſe his Danger from the *horrid Mancatchers* aſhore, had leſs of Mercy, and more of Horror in it, than what he eſcaped from the mercileſs and horrible Waves of the Sea. Mr. *Bridge* of *Norwich*, now kindly invited him thither; whither, when he came, the worthy Madam *Corbet* freely offered him a great Houſe of hers, then ſtanding empty at *Baſtwick*; and there he ſpent all the Winter, in the Company, and with the Aſſiſtance of Mr. *Harlackinden*, a Friend that *loved him at all times*. In the Spring he went up to *London*; where by a Removal from the Lodgings, which he took at his firſt Arrival there, he again very narrowly eſcaped thoſe, *to whom ſuch a Shepherd was an Abomination.*

The *Perils* wherein he was continually, *from his own Country-men*, compell'd him once more to encounter the *Perils at Sea*; ſo that in *July* following, he ſailed from *Graveſend*, in a Bottom too decay'd and feeble indeed, for ſuch a Voyage; but yet well accommodated with the Society of Mr. *Wilſon*, Mr. *Jones*, and other Chriſtians, which more ſignificantly made good the *Name* of the Ship, *The Defence*. In their firſt *Storm*, the Veſſel ſprang a Leak, which let in the Water faſter, than both *Pumps* were able to turn it out; a *Leak* eighteen Inches long, and an Inch wide: But it was, tho' with much difficulty found and ſtop'd, juſt as they were upon diverting into *Ireland* for their Safety. Being thus again delivered, they got into *New-England*, and on *Oct.* 3. they were ſet aſhore at *Boſton*; from whence, within a Day or two, his Friends at *Cambridge* gladly fetched him.

§ 11. Mr. *Hooker*, with his Congregation at *Cambridge*, now removing to *Hartford*, upon *Connecticut* River, many comfortable Dwellings, and conſiderable Demeſnes, were hereby ſomewhat prepared for Sale to the good People, which Mr. *Shepard* brought over with him, who were loth to loſe any more of their ſhort Lives, by more tedious Removals. Accordingly, taking up their Station at *Cambridge*, Mr. *Shepard*, with ſeveral of his good People, did on the firſt of the enſuing *February*, in a vaſt Aſſembly, wherein were preſent the *Magiſtrates* of the Colony, with the *Miniſters* and *Meſſengers* of the Neighbouring Churches, keep a *Day of Prayer*; in the Cloſe of which Day, they made a *Confeſſion* of their *Faith*, with a *Declaration* of what Regenerating Impreſſions the Grace of God had made upon them; and then they entred into their *Covenant*, whereby they became a *Church*; to which Mr. *Cotton*, in the Name of the reſt, gave the *Right Hand of Fellowſhip*. However, the Ordination of Mr. *Shepard*, unto the *Paſtoral Charge* of this Church, was deferred, until another Day, wherein there was more time to go thro' the other Solemnities, proper to ſuch a great Occaſion.

§ 12. Within a Year after the gathering of the Church at *Cambridge*, and the Ordaining of Mr. *Shepard* in that Church; the Country was miſerably diſtracted by a Storm of *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical Opinions* then raiſed. The *Mother Opinion* of all the reſt was, *That a Chriſtian ſhould not fetch any Evidence of his good State before God, from the ſight of any inherent Qualification in him; or from any Conditional Promiſe made unto ſuch a Qualification.* From the Womb of this *fruitful Opinion*, and from the Countenance hereby given to immediate and unwarranted Revelations, 'tis not eaſie to relate, how many *Monſters*, worſe than *African*, aroſe in theſe Regions of *America*: But a *Synod* aſſembled at *Cambridge*, whereof Mr. *Shepard* was no ſmall part, moſt happily cruſh'd them all. The Vigilancy of Mr. *Shepard* was bleſſed, not only for the Preſervation of his own Congregation from the *Rot* of theſe Opinions, but alſo for the Deliverance of all the *Flocks*, which our Lord had in the Wilderneſs. And it was with a reſpect unto this Vigilancy, and the Enlightning and Powerful Miniſtry of Mr. *Shepard*, that when the Foundation of a *Colledge* was to be laid, *Cambridge* rather than any other place, was pitch'd upon to be the Seat of that happy

Seminary: Out of which there proceeded many notable Preachers, who were made *ſuch*, very much by their ſitting under Mr. *Shepard*'s Miniſtry.

§ 13. It has been a Queſtion of ſome *Curioſity*, what might be the Diſtemper of *Hezekiah*, whereof he recovered ſo remarkably, and miraculouſly? Now when I conſider the *Chattering*, whereto the ſick Prince was brought by his Diſeaſe, and the *Cataplaſm* which he uſed of things diſcuſſive and emollient, I incline, with *Bartholinus*, to think, that his Diſtemper might be a *Malignant Quinſie*, whereof uſually the Sick are either kill'd, or (like *Hezekiah*) cur'd on the *Third Day*. Such a Diſtemper arreſted our holy *Shepard*, when in the Courſe of Nature, and in the Wiſh of good Men, he might have yet lived with us, for much more than *Fifteen Years*; yea, *twice Fifteen* more, would ſcarce have carried him further than the *Common Age* of Man. Returning home from a Council at *Rowly*, he fell into a *Quinſie*, with a Symptomatical Fever, which ſuddenly ſtop'd a *Silver Trumpet*, from whence the People of God had often heard *the joyful Sound*. Among other Paſſages uttered by him, when he lay a dying, he addreſſed thoſe that were about him, with theſe words: *Oh love the Lord Jeſus very dearly; that little part that I have in him, is no ſmall Comfort to me now*. He died, *Auguſt* 25. 1649. when he was Forty Three Years, and Nine Months old; and left behind him of *Three Wives*, which he ſucceſſively married, *Three Sons*, who have ſince been the *Shepherds* of three ſeveral Churches in this Country.

§ 14. 'Tis a good Saying, *Non Annis ſed Factis vivunt mortales*. Accordingly, we will over-again meaſure the *ſhort Life* of Mr. *Shepard*, by the *great Work* which he did in it: In all of which, the Motto of *Weber* was the Deſign of our *Shepard*, *Autori Vitæ Vivendum Deo*.

Now beſides the other frequent and conſtant Labours of his Miniſtry, which left their Impreſſions on the Souls of Multitude, where-ever he came, the *Preſs* has preſerved ſome of his Labours for the ſurviving Generation: And the publiſhed Compoſures of this Laborious Perſon, are of two ſorts; namely, the more *Doctrinal*, and the more *Practical*; tho' indeed he was of ſuch a Spirit, as always to *gain the Point*, of mixing *both* in the ſame Diſcourſes.

§ 15. Among his Compoſures of the more *Doctrinal* ſort, the *Bell* ſeems to be born by his Elaborate and Judicious Treatiſe, entituled, *Theſes Sabbaticæ*; wherein he hath handled the *Morality of the Sabbath*, with a degree of Reaſon, Reading, and Religion, which is truly extraordinary. It was his Obſervation, *If any State would reduce the People under it, unto all ſort of Superſtition and Impiety, let them erect a* Dancing Sabbath; *and if the God of this World would have all Profeſſors enjoy a total Immunity from the Law of God, and all manner of Licentiouſneſs allow'd them without Check of Conſcience, let him then make an* Every-day Sabbath. And it was an extreme Grief unto his devout Soul, to ſee the extreme *Ignorance* and *Profaneneſs*, wherewith many in the *Engliſh* Nation decried the Sacred Obſervation of the *Lord's Day*, as a *Novelty* no older than *Perkins*, and as the Stratagem of a few old Diſciplinarian *Puritans*. Wherefore as the moſt Comprehenſive Service to be done for the true *Power of Godlineſs*, which he ſaw would *riſe* and *fall* with the *Sabbath*, he did in theſe learned *Theſes* maintain the *Morality*, and adviſe the *Sanctification* of that *Sacred Reſt*. Having thus manifeſted his Concern for the *Fourth* Commandment, he manifeſted a Concern for the *Second* alſo; by a Diſcourſe, wherein beſides a more full opening of ſundry Particulars concerning *Liturgies*, the Power of the *Keys*, the Matter of the *Viſible Church*, there is more largely handled the Controverſie concerning the *Catholick Viſible Church*; tending to clear up the *Old Way* of Chriſt, in the Churches of *New-England*. That which inſpired him, with Mr. *John Allin* of *Dedham*, to write this Diſcourſe, was eſpecially a two-fold Conſideration, expreſſed among other things, in the *Fair Porch* of this Book, about the *Temple* of God. One thing that moved him, was his Deſire of *Reformation*; whereof he ſays, *We freely confeſs, that we think the Reformation of the Church doth not only conſiſt in purging out corrupt Worſhip, and ſetting up the true, but alſo in purging the Churches from ſuch Profaneneſs and Sinfulneſs, as is ſcandalous to the Goſpel, and makes the Lord weary of his own Ordinances.*

About the way of attaining which *Reformation*, he adds, *'Tis true; where there is no Church-Relation, but a People are ready to begin a new Conſtituting of Churches, Reformation is to be ſought in the firſt Conſtitution: This is our Caſe——But where corrupted Churches (ſuch as we conceive the Congregation of* England *generally to be) are to be Reformed; there we conceive, that ſuch Congregations ſhould be called by able Miniſters unto Repentance for former Evils, and confeſſing and bewailing their Sins, renew a Solemn Covenant with God, to reform themſelves, and to ſubmit unto the Diſcipline of Chriſt. By which means ſuch as refuſe ſo to do, exclude themſelves, and others, by the Severity of Diſcipline ſhould be purged out, if falling into Sin they remain impenitent in the ſame.*

Another thing that moved him, was his Regard for *New-England*; whereof his Words there muſt never be forgotten; and the Reaſon of my tranſcribing them, is, becauſe *the Church Hiſtory of my Country*, is briefly compriſed in them, ſaith he, '*The Lord knows how many* '*Longings and Pantings of Heart, have been in* '*many after the Lord Jeſus*, to ſee his *Goings* '*in the Sanctuary*, as the *one thing their Souls* '*deſired and requeſted of him*, and that they 'might *dwell in his Houſe for ever*; the Fruit 'of which Prayers, and Deſires, this Liberty of '*New-England*, hath been taken to be, and 'thankfully received of God. Yea, how many 'ſerious *Conſultations* with one another, and 'with

'with the faithful Miniſters, and other eminent 'Servants of Chriſt, have been taken about this 'Work, is not unknown to ſome; and ſurely 'all the Perſons, whoſe Hearts the Lord ſtirred 'up in this Buſineſs, were not *raſh, weak-ſpirited, 'inconſiderate of what they left behind, or of what 'it was to go into a Wilderneſs.* But if we were 'able to recount the ſingular Workings of Di- 'vine Providence, for the bringing on this 'Work, to what it is come unto, it would ſtop 'the Mouths of all; whatever many may ſay 'or think, we believe *After-times* will *admire 'and adore the Lord herein, when all his Holy 'Ends, and the Ways he has uſed to bring them 'about, ſhall appear.* Look from one end of 'the Heaven unto another, Whether the Lord 'hath aſſayed to do ſuch a Work as this, in 'any Nation! *To carry out a People of his own, 'from ſo flouriſhing a State, to a Wilderneſs ſo 'far diſtant, for ſuch Ends, and for ſuch a Work; 'yea, and in few Years hath done for them, as he 'hath here done, for his poor deſpiſed People.* 'When we look back and conſider, what a 'ſtrange *Poiſe* of Spirit, he hath laid upon ma- 'ny of our Hearts, we cannot but wonder at 'our ſelves, that ſo *many*, and ſome ſo *weak* 'and *tender*, with ſuch *Cheerfulneſs* and con- 'ſtant *Reſolutions*, againſt ſo many *Perſwaſions* 'of Friends, and *Diſcouragements* from the ill 'Report of this Country, the *Straits*, *Wants*, 'and *Trials* of God's People in it, yet ſhould 'leave our Accommodations, and Comforts, 'forſake our deareſt Relations, Parents, Bre- 'thren, Siſters, Chriſtian Friends and Acquain- 'ces; over-look all the Dangers and Difficul- 'ties of the *vaſt Seas*, the Thoughts whereof 'was a Terror to many; and all this, to go into 'a *Wilderneſs*, where we could forecaſt nothing 'but *Care* and *Temptations*, only *in hopes of 'enjoying Chriſt in his Ordinances, in the Fel- 'lowſhip of his People.* Was this from a ſtupid '*Senceleſneſs*, or deſperate *Careleſneſs*, what 'became of us, or ours? Or want of *Natural 'Affections* to our dear Country, or neareſt Re- 'lations? No ſurely, with what Bowels of 'Compaſſions to our dear *Country*; with what 'Heart breaking Affections to our dear *Relati- 'ons*, and Chriſtian *Friends*, many of us at leaſt, 'came away, the Lord is Witneſs. What ſhall 'we ſay of the ſingular Providence of God, 'bringing ſo many *Ship-loads* of his People thro' 'ſo many Dangers, as upon *Eagles Wings*, with 'ſo much Safety from Year to Year? The *Fa- 'therly Care* of our God, in *Feeding* and *Cloath- 'ing* ſo many in a *Wilderneſs*, giving ſuch *Health- 'fulneſs*, and great Increaſe of Poſterity? What 'ſhall we ſay of the Work it ſelf of the *King- 'dom of Chriſt*? And the Form of a *Common- 'wealth* erected in a Wilderneſs, and in ſo few 'Years brought to that State, that ſcarce the 'like can be ſeen in any of our *Engliſh Colonies*. 'in the richeſt places of this *America*, after 'many more Years ſtanding? That the Lord 'hath carried the Spirits of ſo many of his 'People, through all their toilſome Labours, 'Wants, Difficulties, Loſſes, with ſuch a Mea- 'ſure of Cheerfulneſs and Contentment. But 'above all, we muſt acknowledge the ſingular 'Pity and Mercies of our God, that hath done 'all this, and much more, for a People ſo *un- 'worthy*, ſo ſinful, that by *Murmurings* of 'many, *Unfaithfulneſs in Promiſes*, *Oppreſſions*, 'and other *Evils*, which are found among us, 'have ſo diſhonoured his Majeſty, expoſed his 'Work here to much Scandal and Obloquy, 'for which we have cauſe for ever to be aſha- 'med, that the Lord ſhould yet own us, and 'rather correct us in Mercy, than caſt us off in 'Diſpleaſure, and ſcatter us in this Wilderneſs; 'which gives us cauſe to ſay, *Who is a God 'like our God, that pardons Iniquities, and paſ- 'ſes by the Tranſgreſſions of the Remnant of 'his Heritage; even becauſe he delighteth in 'Mercy!*

Having almoſt written the Life of Mr. *Shepard*; yea, and of many other his *Fellow Exiles*, in tranſcribing this Paſſage, I may now go on to add, That there has been directed now unto the whole *Engliſh* World, a moſt excellent Letter of Mr. *Shepard*, about, *The Church-Memberſhip of Children, and their Right to Baptiſm.* This Letter, like that of the glorious Martyr *Philpot*, written at the like *Time*, for the like *End*, recited in *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, was written by him, not *three Months* before his going to that Lord, whoſe Charge had been, *For little Children to be conſidered as belonging to the Kingdom of Heaven:* And it was written to one that was then wavering about the Point of *Infant-Baptiſm*, but hereby recovered and eſtabliſhed. The Son of this Reverend Perſon publiſhed this Letter, with hopes, that it might have a better Effect, than the famous Letter of *Elijah* had upon *Jehoram*, which many think written before his Tranſlation, and concealed until a fit Seaſon, afterwards, appeared, for the preſenting of it. But I ſhall conclude the *Catalogue* of his *Doctrinal* Tracts, with the mention of another Letter of his, Printed at *London* in the Year 1645, under the Title of, *New England's Lamentation, for Old England's Errors.*

§ 16. But Compoſures of a more *Practical* ſort, were thoſe to the writing whereof he had a more lively Diſpoſition of Mind. And among theſe, to paſs by the Sermon of his, Printed under the Title of, *Wine for Goſpel Wantons, or Cautions againſt Spiritual Drunkenneſs.* In which Sermon, about as long as fifty Years ago, he uttered his Complaint of this Tenour, *Do not we ſee great Unſetledneſs in the Covenant of God, walking with God at Peradventures, and Hanckerings after the Whoredoms of the World, at this Day? And Diviſions and Diſtractions? Nothing done without Diviſion and Contention? Certainly ſomething is amiſs?* And to paſs by a Treatiſe of his, Printed under the Title of, *Subjection to Chriſt, in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the beſt Means to preſerve our Liberty.* To which Treatiſe is annexed another, *Concerning Ineffectual Hearing of the Word.* There are eſpecially three of his Books, which have been more

conſidered. The firſt and leaſt of thoſe Books, is called, *The Sincere Convert:* Which the Author would commonly call, *His Ragged Child:* And once, even after its *Fourth Edition,* wrote unto Mr. *Giles Firmin,* thus concerning it: *That which is call'd,* The Sincere Convert: *I have not the Book: I once ſaw it. It was a Collection of ſuch Notes in a dark Town in* England, *which one procuring of me, publiſhed them without my Will, or my Privity. I ſcarce know what it contains, nor do I like to ſee it; conſidering the many* Σφάλματα *Typographica, moſt abſurd; and the Confeſſion of him that publiſhed it, That it comes out much altered from what was firſt written.* The many Injudicious Readers, which that uſeful *Book* has found, among devout and ſerious People, and the woful *Horrors* which have thereby been raiſed in many Godly Souls, oblige me to add the Cenſure of Mr. *Giles Firmin,* whoſe Words in his *Real Chriſtian* are: 'In ſhort, as to that *Book,* for the general part of it, the *Book* is very ſolid, quick, and ſearching, it cuts very ſharply. *It is not a Book for an unſound Heart to delight in:* I mean, in thoſe Places where he agrees, both with the Scriptures, and with other able Divines, and of theſe makes uſe; but for the other paſſages which do not agree with either (as there are *ſome things* in it) I will let them go, as being none of Mr. *Shepard*'s, and not trouble my ſelf with 'em; and wiſh no *Chriſtian* that is *tender* and *ſincere,* to trouble himſelf with them. *This* I put in, becauſe I hear that Book hath cauſ'd much Trouble in *Gracious Chriſtians:* Had it been to *Chriſtians in Name* only, *unſound Believers,* Hypocrites, I ſhould not have troubled my ſelf about it, for I know it is not for their Tooth. But this Book was followed with a ſecond and larger, called, *The Sound Believer;* which in a more diſtinct, correct, and moſt judicious Treatiſe of *Evangelical Converſion,* diſcovers *the Work of the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* in reconciling of a Sinner unto God. And, as in the Preface to that Book, he gives that Reaſon for his writing it, 'I *conſidered* my *weak Body,* and my *ſhort Time* of ſojourning here, and that I ſhall not ſpeak long to Children, Friends or God's precious People; *I am ſure not to many in* England, *to whom I owe almoſt my whole ſelf, and whom I ſhall ſee in this World no more; I have been therefore willing to take the Seaſon, that I might leave ſome part of God's precious Truth on Record,* that it might ſpeak (Oh! that it might be to the *Heart*) among whom I cannot, and when I ſhall not be: So the next Book of his occurring to our Notice, is a *Poſthumous* one. And that is a Volume in *Folio,* opening and applying the *Parable* of the *Ten Virgins;* and handling the *Dangers* incident unto the moſt Flouriſhing Churches or Chriſtians; which Book is from the Author's Notes, a Tranſcript of Sermons preached at his Lecture, from *June* 1696. to *May* 1640. Whereof the Venerable Names of *Greenhil, Calamy, Jackſon, Aſh, Taylor,* have ſubſcribed the Teſtimony, *That though a Vein of ſerious, ſolid and hearty Piety run through all this Author's Works, yet he hath reſerved the beſt Wine till the laſt.* Theſe were the *Works* of that Man, whoſe *Death in the Lord* has now carried him to a *Reſt from his his Labours.*

§ 17. As he was a very *Studious* Perſon, and a very *Lively* Preacher; and one who therefore took great Pains in his *Preparations,* for his publick Labours, which Preparations he would uſually finiſh on *Saturday,* by two a Clock in the Afternoon; with Reſpect whereunto he once uſed theſe Words, *God will curſe that Man's Labours, that lumbers up and down in the World all the Week, and then upon* Saturday *in the Afternoon goes to his Study; whenas God knows, that Time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his Heart into a fit Frame for the Duties of the approaching Sabbath.* So the Character of his daily Converſation was *A Trembling Walk with God.* Now to take true Meaſures of his Converſation, one of the beſt *Glaſſes* that can be uſed, is the *Diary,* wherein he did himſelf keep the Remembrances of many Remarkables that paſſed betwixt his *God* and *himſelf;* who were indeed *A ſufficient Theatre to one another.* It would give ſome *Inequality* to this Part of our *Church Hiſtory,* if all the Holy *Memoirs* left in the Private Writings of this *Walker with God,* ſhould here be Tranſcribed: But I will ſingle out from thence a few Paſſages, which might be more agreeably and profitably expoſed unto the World.

§ 18. We will begin with what his Eminent Succeſſor Mr. *Mitchel* entred in his own *Diary,* as Reported by Mr. *Shepard* unto himſelf; which runs in theſe Latin Terms, *Olim* Cantabrigiæ, *Ego Horrore & Tenebris oppletus,* An ad Menſam Domini accederem, *maxime Dubitavi; Tandem autem acceſſi utcunq;. Cum vero* Panis & Vinum *jam eſſent Communicanda, mihi Exeundem putavi; tantâ confuſione fui Oppreſſus! Sed Deus me ibi retinuit, ac tandem huc me adegit, ut, Licet, ego nihil poſſim in accipiendo Chriſto; ad illum tamen reſpicerem, ut* Ille *me prehenderet & ad me veniret. Statim, tam perſpicuè, ſenſi Chriſtum illuceſcentem Animo, quam* ſolem Orientem *ſentire poſſum. Hoc tantopere me evexit, & de Vita Fidei hac uſq; Erudivit, ut non poſſum non magni pendere.* Mr. *Mitchel* had this of Mr. *Shepard,* Aug. 13. 1646.

§ 19. How experimentally acquainted he himſelf was with the *Practice* and *Import* of the *Doctrine* wherein he chiefly inſiſted, in his preaching unto *others,* will be illuſtrated from this moſt *Edifying Record* in his Diary.

'*April* 10. I had many Thoughts which came in, to preſs me to give up my ſelf to *Chriſt Jeſus,* which was the *Deareſt Thing I had:* And I ſaw, that if when I gave my ſelf to Chriſt, he would give himſelf to me again, it would be a *Wonderful Change;* to have the Bottomleſs Fountain of all Good,

' thus

‘thus communicated unto me! Thus, *Two* or *Three* Days, I was exerciſed about this; and at laſt, (which was the Day wherein I fell ſick on the Sabbath) in my Study I was put to a Double Queſtion; *Firſt*, Whether Chriſt would take me, if I gave my ſelf to him? *Then*, Whether I might take him again upon it? And ſo I reſolved to ſeek an Anſwer to both, from God in *Meditation*. So on the *Saturday*, April 11. I gave my ſelf to the *Lord Jeſus*, thus. *Firſt*, I acknowledged all I was, or had, was *his own*; as *David* ſpake of their Offerings, I acknowledged him the *Owner* of all. *Secondly*, I reſigned not only my *Goods* and *Eſtate*, but my *Child*, *Wife*, *Church* and *Self* unto the Lord; out of *Love*, as being the beſt and deareſt things, which I have. *Thirdly*, I prized it as the *Greateſt Mercy*, if the Lord will *take* them; and ſo I deſired the Lord to do it. *Fourthly*, I deſired him to take all for a Threefold end; *to* do with me what he would; *to* love me; *to* honour himſelf by me, and all mine. *Fifthly*, Becauſe there is a ſecret *Reſervation*, that the Lord ſhall do all for the Soul that giveth up it ſelf to the Lord; but 'tis that God may pleaſe *my* Will and Love *me*, and if he doth not, then the Heart dieth; hence I gave up my *Will* alſo, into the Lord's Hands, to do with it what he pleaſe. *Sixthly*, My many Whoriſh Luſts I alſo reſigned, but that he would take *them* all away. And *Seventhly*, That he would keep me alſo from all Sin and Evil. Thus, I gave my ſelf unto the Lord; but then I queſtioned, *Will the Lord take me?* In anſwer whereto, *Firſt*, I ſaw that the Lord deſired and commanded me to *Give me my Heart*. *Secondly*, I ſaw, that this was *pleaſing* to him, and the contrary diſpleaſing. *Thirdly*, I ſaw, that it was *fit* for him to take me, and to do what he will with me. But then I queſtioned, *Will the Lord receive, and do me good everlaſtingly?* becauſe I gave up my Friends and the whole *Church* to the Lord alſo, as I did my ſelf; and *will the Lord take all them?* For anſwer, Here I ſaw the Great *Privilege* of it, and the *Wiſdom* of God in committing ſome Men's Souls to the Care of *One Godly Man* of a *Publick Spirit*, becauſe he, like *Moſes*, commends them, gives them, returns them all to the Lord again; and ſo a World of Good is communicated for his Sake. The Third Queſtion was, *But might I take the Lord?* And my Anſwer was, If the Lord did apprehend and take me to himſelf, then I might take him, for I had no other to lay hold on.

§ 20. Of what *Thoughts* and what *Frames*, he ſometimes had in his Preparations, for the *Lord's Table*, we will recite but *one* Expreſſive Meditation.

‘*July* 10. 1641. On the Evening of this Day, before the *Sacrament*, I ſaw it my Duty to ſequeſter my ſelf from all other things, for the Lord the next Day —— And now I ſaw my Bleſſedneſs did not lie in *Receiving* of *Good* and *Comfort* from God, but in *holding forth* the *Glory* of God, and his *Virtues*. For 'tis, I ſaw, an Amazing Glorious Object, *To ſee God in the Creature!* God ſpeak, God act, the Deity not being the Creature, and turned into it; but filling of it, ſhining through it; to be covered with God as with a Cloud, or as a Glaſs-Lanthorn to have his Beams penetrate through it. *Nothing is good but God, and I am no further good than as I hold forth God.* The Devil overcame *Eve* to damn her ſelf, by telling her, that ſhe ſhould be *like God*. Oh! That is a Glorious Thing! And ſhould not I be *Holy*, and be *like him?* *Moreover*, I found my Heart drawn more ſweetly to cloſe with God, thus as my *End*, and to place my Happineſs therein. *Alſo*, I ſaw it was my Miſery, to hold forth *Sin* and *Satan* and *Self* in my Courſe. And I ſaw one of theſe two things muſt be done. Now becauſe my Soul wanted *Pleaſure*, I purpoſed then to *hold forth God*, and did hope it ſhould be my *Pleaſure* ſo to do, as it would be my Pain to do otherwiſe.

§ 21. How *watchful* he was in the Diſcharge of his *Miniſtry*, let this his Meditation intimate.

‘*Auguſt* 15. I ſaw, on the Sabbath, *Four Evils* which attend me in my Miniſtry. *Firſt*, Either the Devil treads me down by *Diſcouragement* and *Shame*; from the Senſe of the Meanneſs of what I have provided in private Meditations, and unto this I ſaw alſo an Anſwer; to wit, that every thing ſanctified to *do Good*, Its Glory is not to be ſeen in it ſelf, but in the Lord's *ſanctifying* of it: Or, from an Apprehenſion of the Unſavourineſs of *Peoples Spirits*, or their Unreadineſs to hear in *Hot* or *Cold* Times. *Secondly*, or *Careleſneſs* poſſeſſes me; ariſing, becauſe I have *done well*, and been enlarged, and have been reſpected formerly, hence it is no ſuch matter, though I be not always alike; *Beſides*, I have a Natural *Dulneſs* and *Cloudineſs* of Spirit, which does naturally prevail. *Thirdly*, Infirmities and *Weakneſs*, as want of *Light*, want of *Life*, want of a Spirit of *Power* to *Deliver* what I am affected with for Chriſt; and hence I ſaw many Souls not ſet forward nor God felt in my Miniſtry. *Fourthly*, Want of *Succeſs*, when I have done my beſt. I ſaw theſe, and that I was to be humbled for theſe. I ſaw alſo many other Sins, and how the Lord might be angry. And this Day, in muſing thus, I ſaw, that when I ſaw God angry, I thought to *pacify* him by *abſtaining* from all Sin, for the time to come. But then I remembred, *Firſt*, that my *Righteouſneſs* could not ſatisfie, and that this was Reſting on my own *Righteouſneſs*. *Secondly*, I ſaw I could not do it. *Thirdly*, I ſaw *Righteouſneſs* ready made, and already finiſhed,

'ſhed, fit only for that purpoſe. And I ſaw 'that God's afflicting me for Sin, was not that 'I ſhould go and *ſatisfy* by *reforming*, but only 'be *humbled* for, and ſeparated from Sin, be'ing reconciled and made *Righteous by Faith* '*in Chriſt*, which I ſaw a little of that Night. 'This Day alſo I found my Heart untoward, 'ſad and heavy, by muſing on the many *Evils* '*to come*; but I ſaw, if I carried four things 'in my Mind always, I ſhould be comforted. '*Firſt*, That in my ſelf, I am a dying condem'ned Wretch, but by Chriſt reconciled and 'alive. *Secondly*, In my ſelf and in all Crea'tures finding *Inſufficiency*, and no Reſt but 'God All-ſufficient, and enough to me. *Third*'*ly*, Feeble and unable to do any thing my 'ſelf; but in Chriſt able to do all things. '*Fourthly*, Although I enjoyed all theſe but in 'part, in this World, yet I ſhould have them 'all perfectly ſhortly in Heaven; where God 'will ſhow himſelf fully reconciled, ſufficient 'and efficient, and aboliſh all Sin, and live in 'me perfectly.

§ 22. How ſenſible he was of the *Leaſt Failings* in himſelf, and how deſirous to mend thoſe Failings, may be gathered from the enſuing Brief Meditations.

'*Decemb.* 1. A *ſmall thing* troubled me. 'Hence I ſaw that though the Lord had made 'me that Night attain that part of *Humiliation*, 'that I deſerved nothing but Miſery, yet I fell 'ſhort in this other part; namely, to *ſubmit* unto 'God in any Croſſing Providence, or Command'ment; but I had *a Spirit ſoon touched and pro*'*voked*. I ſaw alſo, that the Lord let Sin and 'Satan prevail there, that I might ſee my Sin 'and be more humbled by it, and ſo get 'Strength againſt it.

Again,

'*Mar.* 19. I ſaid, as *Pride* was my Sin, ſo '*Shame* ſhould be my Puniſhment. And many 'Fears I had of *Eli*'s Puniſhment, for *not re*'*proving Sin*, when I ſaw it, and that ſharp'ly; and here I conſidered, that the Lord 'may, and doth ſometimes make one Good 'Man a Terrour and dreadful Example of 'Outward Miſeries, that all others may fear 'that be Godly, leſt his Commands ſhould be 'ſlighted, as he did *Eli*.

Once more.

'*Octob.* 10. When I ſaw the *Gifts* and Ho'nour attending them in *another*, I began to 'affect ſuch an *Excellency*; and I ſaw hereby 'that uſually in my Miniſtry, I did affect an '*Excellency*, and hence ſet upon the Work: 'Whereas the Lord hereupon humbled me for 'this, by letting me ſee this was, *A Diabo*'*lical Pride*; and ſo the Lord made me thank'ful for *ſeeing* it, and put me in Mind to 'watch againſt it.

§ 23. Of how *Humble* and of how *Publick* a Spirit he was, we will inform our ſelves, eſpecially from *Two* Meditations, which he wrote on ſuch *Days of Prayer*, as he was uſed unto.

The Firſt was this.

'*Nov.* 3. On a *Faſt-Day* at Night, in Pre'paration for the Duty, the Lord made me 'ſenſible of theſe Sins in the Churches. 1. Ig'norance of *themſelves*; becauſe of ſecret Evils. '2. Of *God*; becauſe moſt Men were full of 'Dark and Doubtful Conſciences. 3. Not ca'ring for *Chriſt*, dearly, only. 4. Neglect of '*Duties*; becauſe of our Place of Security. '5. Standing againſt all *Means*, becauſe we 'grow not better. 6. *Earthlineſs*; becauſe we 'long not to be with Chriſt. And I ſaw *Sin*, 'as my Greateſt Evil, becauſe I ſaw my *ſelf* 'was not better than *God*. I was *vile*, but he 'was *Good* only, whom my *Sin* did croſs; and 'I ſaw what cauſe I had to loath my ſelf, and 'not to ſeek *Honour* unto my ſelf. Will any 'deſire his *Dunghill* to be commended? Will 'he grieve, if it be not? If he judge ſo indeed 'of it. So my Heart began to fall off from 'it; and the Lord alſo gave me ſome Glimpſe 'of my ſelf, and a good Day and time it was 'to me.

'On the End of the *Faſt*, I *firſt* went unto 'God, I reſted upon him as ſufficient; *Second*'*ly*, Waited on him as efficient; and ſaid, '*Now, Lord, Do for thy Churches and Help in* '*Mercy!* In the Beginning of the Day, I be'gan to conſider, *Whether all the Country did* '*not fare the worſe for my Sins?* I ſaw it was 'ſo, and this was an humbling Thought to me; 'and I thought, if every one in particular, 'thought ſo and was humbled, it would do 'well. I conſider alſo, That if *Repentance* 'turn away Judgments, then, if the Queſtion 'be, *Who they are that bring Judgments?* The 'Anſwer would be, *They that think their Sins* '*ſo ſmall as that God is not angry with them* '*at all.*

The Second was this.

April 4. Preparing for a *Faſt*.

'May not I be the Cauſe of the *Church's* 'Sorrows, which are Renewed upon us? For, '*What have the Sheep done?*

'I. My Heart has been long lying out from 'the Lord. The Lord *firſt* ſent a Terrible '*Storm* at Sea, to awaken me; and the Deli'verance from it was ſo ſweet, that I could 'not but think my Life after *that*, ſhould be 'only *Heavenly*, as being pull'd from an ap'parent *Death* to live a *New Life*. *Then*, im'mediately upon this my *Child* was taken away 'from me; my *Firſt-Born*, which made me re'member, how bitter it was to croſs the Lord's

'Love

‘ Love. *Thirdly*, I ſet my Face to *New-England*, where conſidering the *Liberties* of God's ‘ Houſe, I reſolved and thought it fit to be ‘ wholly for the Lord, in all manner of *Holineſs*, at Bed, at Board, every where. *Fourthly* Then the Lord took my Dear *Wife* from ‘ me, and this made me reſolve to delight no ‘ more in *Creatures*, but in the Lord, and to ‘ ſeek him. *Fifthly*, The Lord then threatned ‘ *Blindneſs* to my Child; and this made God's ‘ Will *Afflicting* ſweet to me, but much more ‘ *Commanding* and *Promiſing*: And then I could ‘ do his Will, and leave thoſe things to himſelf. But Oh! How is my *Gold become dim*? ‘ And how little have I anſwered the Lord! ‘ Conſidering my *Ship Reſolutions*. I have ‘ wanted Remembrance, Heart and Strength or ‘ Will to do any of theſe things. And therefore, I have not cauſe to blame the Lord; ‘ for he has perſwaded my Heart to this; but ‘ my own Concupiſcence and vile Nature, ‘ which Lord! that I might mourn for! That ‘ thou mayſt *Reſtore Comforts* to me! *Apoſtacy* ‘ from God is grievous, tho' it be in a *little* ‘ *Degree*; to ſerve Satan *without* Promiſe! To ‘ forſake the Lord *againſt* Promiſe! What Evil ‘ have I found in the Lord? This brings more ‘ Diſgrace upon the Lord, than if there had ‘ never been any coming to him.

‘ II. The *People* committed to me: They are ‘ not pitied ſo much nor *prayed* for, nor *viſited*, ‘ as ought to have been; nor have I ſhewed ‘ ſo much *Love* unto them.

‘ III. The *Family*, I have not Edified nor Inſtructed, nor taken all Occaſions of Speech ‘ with them.

‘ IV. The *Goſpel*, I have preached, has not ‘ been *ſeen* in its Glory; not *Believed*, not ‘ *Affecting*.

‘ V. Not ſeeking to Chriſt for Supply; ſo ‘ that all hath been *Dead Works*, and Fruit of ‘ *Pride*, walking daily without Chriſt, and ‘ without approving my ſelf unto him. And ‘ hence, tho' I do *his Work*, I don't mind *him* ‘ in it; *His* Command, *His* Preſence, nor yet ‘ endeavour to grow ſomewhat every Day.

‘ My not lamenting the *Falls* of Profeſſors, ‘ and the Condition of the Country, who are ‘ not indeed the *Glory of God* in the World, ‘ nor the *Holy People*. Is it not hence, that ‘ many *Pillars* in the Church have fallen, as ‘ if the Lord would not beturſt ſuch *precious* ‘ *Veſſels* to *my* Care? And hath not the Sorrow lain upon me? And hence *Univerſal* ‘ *Mortality*? When *Hezekiah*'s Heart was *lifted* ‘ *up*, then *Wrath* came not only on him, but ‘ on all the reſt:

‘ And I have now had a *long Sickneſs*, as if ‘ the Lord would delight no more in me to ‘ uſe me. *Oh! My God, who ſhall be like o* ‘ *thee in pardoning and ſubduing mine Ini-* ‘ *quities*.

Behold, Reader, the Language of an Holy Soul!

But I will now take my Leave of Mr. *Shepard*'s Memory, with one Diſtick, in the Funeral Elegy, which Mr. *Peter Bulkly* made on him: A Comprehenſive.

EPITAPH.

Nominis, Officiiq; fuit Concordia Dulcis;
Officio Paſtor Nomine Paſtor erat.

CHAP. VI.

Prudentius. The LIFE of Mr. PETER PRUDDEN, and ſeveral other Divines, Famous in the Colony of *Newhaven*.

THAT Greateſt of *Peace-Makers*, the *Son* of God, has aſſured us, *Bleſſed are the Peace-Makers, for they ſhall be called the Children of God*. I am ſure then, 'tis a *Bleſſed Child of God*, whoſe Name is now before us; (*Prudden* ſhall we call him? or, *Prudent*,) who beſides his other Excellent Qualities, was noted for a Singular Faculty to ſweeten, compoſe and qualify *Exaſperated Spirits*, and ſtop or heal all Contentions. Whence 'twas that his Town of *Milford* enjoyed *Peace with Truth* all his Days, notwithſtanding ſome Diſpoſitions to Variance, which afterwards broke forth among them.

God had marvellouſly Bleſſed his Miniſtry in *England*, unto many about *Herefordſhire*, and near *Wales*; from whence when he came into *New England*, there came therefore many conſiderable Perſons with him.

At their Arrival in this Country, they were ſo mindful of their *Buſineſs* here, that they gathered *Churches*, before they had erected *Houſes*, for the *Churches* to meet in. There were then Two Famous *Churches* gathered at *New-haven*; gathered in Two Days, one following upon t'other; Mr. *Davenport*'s and Mr. *Prudden*'s: And this with one ſingular Circumſtances, That a mighty *Barn* was the Place, wherein the Duties of that Solemnity were attended. Our Glorious Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being *Born* in a *Stable*, and laid in one of thoſe Moveable and Four-ſquar'd Little *Veſſels* wherein they brought Meat unto the Cattel, it was the more allowable, that a *Church*,

Church, which is the *Myſtical Body* of that Lord, ſhould thus be born in a *Barn*. And in this Tranſlation, I behold our Lord, *With his Fan in his Hand, purging his Floor, and gathering her Wheat into the Garner.*

That holy Man, Mr. *Philip Henry*, being reproached by his Perſecutors, that his Meeting-place had been a *Barn*, pleaſantly anſwered, *No new thing*, *to turn a Threſhing-floor into a Temple.* So did our Chriſtians at *New-haven.*

The next Year Mr. *Prudden*, with his Church, removed unto *Milford*; where he lived many Years an Example of Piety, Gravity, and *boiling Zeal*, againſt the growing Evils of the Times.

And tho' he had a numerous Family, yet ſuch was his *Diſcretion*, that without much *Diſtraction*, he provided comfortably for them, notwithſtanding the difficult Circumſtances, wherewith an *Infant-Plantation* was encumbred.

He continued an able and faithful Servant of the Churches, until about the *Fifty ſixth* Year of his own Age, and the *Fifty ſixth* of the preſent Age; when his Death was felt by the Colony, as the *Fall* of a Pillar, which made the whole Fabrick to ſhake.

Like that of *Piccart*, now let our *Prudden*, lie under this

EPITAPH.

Dogmate non tantum fuit Auditoribus Idem
Exemplo in Vitâ; jam quoque morte præit.

But our *Pen* having flown as far off as the Colony of *New-haven*, it may not return, without ſome Remarks and Memoirs, of Three other Worthy Divines, that were ſometimes famous in that Colony. The Reader muſt excuſe my Ignorance of the firſt Circumſtances, if he find them to be *Born Men* in our Hiſtory.

Mr. *Blackman.*
Mr. *Pierſon.*
Mr. *Denton.*

CHAP. VII.

The LIFE of Mr. *ADAM BLACKMAN.*

AMong thoſe *Believers* who firſt enjoyed the Name of *Chriſtians*, there were ſeveral famous *Teachers*, whereof one (*Acts* 13. 1.) had the Name of *Niger*. And in the Primitive Churches of *New-England* alſo, there was among our famous *Teachers*, a good Man, who wore the ſame Sir-name, this was our Mr. *Blackman*, concerning whom, none but a *Romaniſt* would have uſed that Rule:

Hic Niger eſt, hunc tu Romane, caveto.

For he was highly eſteemed in the *Proteſtant* Country, where he ſpent the latter Days of his Life.

He was a uſeful Preacher of the Goſpel, firſt in *Leiceſterſhire*, then in *Derbyſhire*: But coming to *New-England*, from the Storm that began to look black upon him, he was attended with a deſirable Company of the *Faithful*, who ſaid unto him, *Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you: For whither you go, we will go; and your God ſhall be our God.*

New-England having received this Holy Man, who notwithſtanding his *Name*, was for his Holineſs, *A Nazarite purer than Snow, whiter than Milk.* It was firſt at *Guilford*, and afterwards at *Stratford*, that he employ'd his Talents: And if a famous Modern Author be known by the Name of *Adamus Adamandus*, our *Adam Blackman*, was by the Affections of his People ſo likewiſe called.

It was his Opinion, that as for our *Bodies*, thus for our *Spirits* alſo, *Cibus ſimplex eſt Optimus*: And accordingly he ſtudied *plain Preaching*, which was entertained by his People with a *profitable Hearing*. And as *Luther* would ſay, He is the ableſt Preacher, *Qui pueriliter, Trivialiter, Populariter, ſimpliciſſime docet*: So our *Hooker*, for the ſake of the ſacred and ſolid *Simplicity*, in the Diſcourſes of this worthy Man, would ſay, *If I might have my Choice, I would chooſe to live and die under Mr.* Blackman's *Miniſtry.*

There was a Great Perſon among the Reformers in *Germany*, who had almoſt the ſame Name with our *Blackman*; that was *Melancthon*, and indeed this good Perſon was a *Melancthon*, among the Reformers of *Newhaven*; in this happier than he, that his Lot was caſt among a pious People, who did not adminiſter ſo frequent Occaſions as the *Germans* did for the Complaint, *That Old* Adam *was too hard for his young Name-ſake.*

For a Cloſe, I may apply to him the ingenious Epitaph of *Beza* upon *Melancthon.*

Cui Niveus *toto Regnabat pectore Candor;*
Unum cui Cœlum, cura laborque fuit:
Num Rogitus, quâ ſit dictus Ratione Melancthon?
Scilicet Euxinum, *quâ Ratione vocant.*

[For this is a well known Sea, call'd *Euxine*, or *Harborous*, becauſe there are no good *Harbors* in it.]

CHAP. VIII.

The LIFE of Mr. *ABRAHAM PIERSON.*

'TIs reported by *Pliny*, and perhaps 'tis but a *Plinyiſm*, that there is a Fiſh called *Lucerna*, whoſe *Tongue* doth ſhine like a *Torch*, if it be a Fable, yet let the *Tongue* of a Miniſter be the *Moral* of that Fable: Now ſuch an illuminating *Tongue*, was that of our *Pierſon*.

He was a *Yorkſhire* Man, and coming to *New-England*, he became a Member of the Church at *Boſton*; but afterwards thus employed, towards the Year 1640. The Inhabitannts of *Lyn*, ſtraitned at home, looked out for a new Plantation; ſo going to *Long-Iſland*, they agreed both with the Lord *Starling*'s Agent, and with the *Indian* Proprietors, for a Situation at the *Weſt-end* of that Iſland: Where the *Dutch* gave them ſuch diſturbance, that they deſerted their Place for another at the *Eaſt-end* of it. Proceeding in their Plantation, by the Acceſſion of near an hundred Families, they called Mr. *Pierſon* to go thither with them; who with ſeven or eight more of their Company, regularly incorporated themſelves into a *Church State* before their going: the whole Company alſo entring at the ſame time, with the Advice of the Government of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*, into a Civil Combination, for the maintaining Government among themſelves. Thus was there ſetled a Church at *Southampton*, under the Paſtoral Charge of this worthy Man; where he did with a laudable Diligence undergo two of the three hard Labors, *Docentis* and *Regentis*, to make it become (what *Paradiſe* was called), *An Iſland of the Innocent.*

It was afterward found neceſſary for this Church to be divided. Upon which occaſion Mr. *Pierſon* referring his Caſe to Council, his Removal was directed unto *Brainford*, over upon the Main, and Mr. *Fordham* came to ſerve, and to feed that part of the Flock, which was left at *Southampton*; but where-ever he *came*, he *ſhone*.

He left behind him the Character of a pious and prudent Man; and a *true Child of Abraham*, now ſafely lodged in *Sinu-Abraha*.

Epitaphium.

Terris diſceſſit, ſuſpirans Gaudia cœli,
Pierſonus *Patriam ſcandit ad Aſtra ſuam.*

CHAP. IX.

The LIFE of Mr. *RICHARD DENTON.*

THE Apoſtle deſcribing the *falſe Miniſters* of thoſe Primitive Times, he calls them, *Clouds without Water, carried about of Winds.* As for the *true Miniſters* of our Primitive Times, they were indeed *carried about of Winds*; tho' not the *Winds* of *ſtrange Doctrines*; yet the *Winds* of *Hard Sufferings*, did carry them as far as from *Europe* into *America*; the *Hurricano's* of Perſecution, whereon doubtleſs the *Prince of the Power of the Air* had his Influence, drove the Heavenly *Clouds*, from one part of that Heaven, the Church, unto another. But they were not *Clouds without Water*, where they came; they came with *Showers of Bleſſing*, and *rained* very gracious Impreſſions upon the Vineyard of the Lord.

Among theſe *Clouds* was our *Pious* and *Learned* Mr. *Richard Denton*, a *Yorkſhire* Man, who having watered *Halifax* in *England*, with his fruitful Miniſtry, was by a Tempeſt then hurried into *New-England*, where firſt at *Weathersfield*, and then at *Stamford*, *his Doctrine dropt as the Rain, his Speech diſtilled as the Dew, as the ſmall Rain upon the tender Herb, and as the Show'rs upon the Graſs.*

Tho' he were a *little Man*, yet he had a great *Soul*; his well-accompliſhed Mind, in his leſſer *Body*, was *an Iliad in a Nut-ſhell.*

I think he was blind of one Eye; nevertheleſs he was not the leaſt among the *Seers* of our *Iſ-*

rael; he ſaw a very conſiderable Proportion of thoſe things which *Eye hath not ſeen.*

He was far from Cloudy in his Conceptions and Principles of Divinity; whereof he wrote a *Syſtem*, entituled, *Soliloquia Sacra*; ſo acurately, conſidering the Fourfold State of Man, in his, I. Created *Purity*. II. Contracted *Deformity*. III. Reſtored *Beauty*. IV. Cœleſtial *Glory*. That Judicious Perſons, who have ſeen it, very much lament the *Churches* being ſo much deprived of it.

At length he got into Heaven beyond *Clouds*, and ſo beyond *Storms*; waiting the Return of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in *the Clouds of Heaven*, when he will have his *Reward* among the *Saints*.

Epitaphium.

Hic Jacet, & fruitur Tranquilla ſede Richardus
Dentonus, *cujus Fama perennis erit.*
Incola jam cæli velut Aſtra micantia fulget,
Qui multis Fidei Lumina clara dedit.

CHAP. X.

The LIFE of Mr. *PETER BULKLY.*

Ipſe Aſpectus Boni viri delectat. Sen.

§ 1. IT has been a Matter of ſome Reflection, that among the pretended Succeſſors of Saint *Peter*, there never was any *Pope*, that would pretend unto the Name of *Peter*; but if any of them had been Chriſtened by that Name at the *Font*, they afterwards changed it, when they came unto the *Chair*. No doubt, as *Raphael Urbine*, the famous Painter, being tax'd, for making the Face in the Picture of *Peter* too Red, replied, He did it on purpoſe, that he might repreſent the Apoſtle *Bluſhing* in *Heaven*, to ſee what Succeſſors he had on *Earth*: So theſe infamous Apoſtates, might bluſh to hear themſelves called *Peter*, while they are Conſcious unto themſelves, of their being Strangers to all the Vertues of that Great Apoſtle. But the Denomination of *Peter*, might be with an Everlaſting Agreeableneſs claimed by our eminent *Bulkly*, who, according to the Spirit and Counſel of *Peter*, *Fed the Flock of God among us, taking the Overſight thereof, not by Conſtraint, but Willingly; not for filthy Lucre, but of a willing Mind.*

§ 2. He was deſcended of an Honourable Family, in *Bedfordſhire*; where for many ſucceſſive Generations, the Names of *Edward* and *Peter*, were alternatively worn by the Heirs of the Family. His Father was *Edward Bulkly*. D D. a faithful Miniſter of the Goſpel; the ſame whom we find making a Supplement unto the laſt Volume of our *Books of Martyrs*. He was born at *Woodhil*, (or *Odel*) in *Bedford-ſhire*, *January* 31ſt. 1582.

His *Education* was anſwerable unto his *Original*; it was *Learned*, it was *Genteel*, and which was the top of all, it was very *Pious*: At length it made him a *Batcheilor* of *Divinity*, and a Fellow of Saint *John*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*: The Colledge whereinto he had been Admitted, about the Sixteenth Year of his Age; and it was while he was but a *Junior Batchellor* that he was choſen a Fellow.

§ 3. When he came abroad into the World, a good Benefice befel him, added unto the Eſtate of a Gentleman, left him by his Father; whom he ſucceeded in his Miniſtry, at the place of his Nativity: Which one would imagine *Temptations* enough to keep him out of a *Wilderneſs*.

Nevertheleſs, the Concern which his *renewed Soul* had for the *pure Worſhip* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and for the Planting of *Evangelical Churches* to exerciſe that Worſhip, cauſed him to leave and ſell *all*, in hopes of gaining the *Pearl of great Price*, among thoſe that firſt Peopled *New-England*, upon thoſe Glorious Ends. It was not long that he continued in Conformity to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*; but the good Biſhop of *Lincoln* connived at his *Non-Conformity* (as he did at his Fathers), and he lived an unmoleſted *Non-Conformiſt*, until he had been Three Prentice-ſhips of Years in his Miniſtry. Towards the *latter end* of this *time*, his Miniſtry had a notable Succeſs, in the Converſion of many unto God; and this was one occaſion of a *latter end* for this *time*. When Sir *Nathanael Brent* was Arch-Biſhop *Laud's* General, as Arch-Biſhop *Laud* was *another's*, Complaints were made againſt Mr. *Bulkly*, for his Non-Conformity, and he was therefore Silenced.

§ 4. To *New-England* he therefore came, in the Year 1635; and there having been for a while, at *Cambridge*, he carried a good Number of Planters with him, up further into the *Woods*, where they gathered the *Twelfth Church*, then formed in the Colony, and call'd the Town by the Name of *Concord*.

Here he *buried* a great Eſtate, while he *raiſed* one ſtill, for almoſt every Perſon whom he employ'd in the Affairs of his Husbandry. He had many, and godly Servants, whom after they had lived with him a fit Number of Years, he ſtill diſ-

diſmiſſed with beſtowing *Farms* upon them, and ſo took others after the like manner, to ſucceed them in *their* Service, and *his* Kindneſs. Thus he caſt his *Bread* both upon the *Waters*, and into the *Earth*, not expecting the Return of this his Charity to a Religious Plantation, until *after many Days*.

§ 5. He was a moſt excellent *Scholar*, a very *well-read* Perſon, and one, who in his Advice to young Students, gave Demonſtrations, that he knew what would go to make a *Scholar*. But it being eſſential unto a *Scholar*, to love a *Scholar*, ſo did he; and in Token thereof, endowed the Library of *Harvard*-Colledge, with no ſmall part of his own.

And he was therewithal a moſt exalted *Chriſtian*; full of thoſe Devotions, which accompany a *Converſation in Heaven*; eſpecially, ſo an exact a *Sabbath-keeper*, that if at any time he had been asked, *Whether he had ſtrictly kept the Sabbath?* He would have replied, *Chriſtianus ſum, intermittere non poſſum*. And *Conſcientious* even to a degree of *Scrupuloſity*. That *Scrupuloſity* appeared particularly in his avoiding all *Novelties* of Apparel, and the *Cutting of Hair* ſo cloſe, that of all the famous Name-ſakes he had in the World, he could have leaſt born the *Sir-name* of that well-known Author, *Petrus Crinitus*.

§ 6. It was obſerved, that his Neighbours hardly ever came into his Company, but whatever *Buſineſs* he had been talking of, he would let fall ſome Holy, Serious, Divine, and Uſeful *Sentences* upon them, e'er they parted: An Example many ways worthy to be imitated, by every one that is called, *A Miniſter of the Goſpel*.

In his Miniſtry he was another *Farel*, *Quo Nemo tonuit fortius*: He was very *Laborious*, and becauſe he was through ſome Infirmities of Body, not ſo able to Viſit his Flock, and inſtruct them from Houſe to Houſe, he added unto his other Publick Labours on the Lord's Days, that of conſtant Catechiſing; wherein, after all the Unmarried People had anſwered, all the People of the whole Aſſembly were edified, by his Expoſitions and Applications.

His firſt Sermon was on *Rom.* 1. 16. *I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt*. At *Odel* he preached on part of the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, and part of *Jonah*, and a great part of the Goſpel of *Matthew*, and of *Luke*; the Epiſtles to the *Philippians*, and of *Peter* and of *Jude*; beſides many other Scriptures. At *Concord* he preached over the Illuſtrious Truths, about the *Perſon*, the *Natures*, the *Offices* of *Chriſt*. [What would he have ſaid, if he had lived unto this *Evil Day*, when 'tis counted good Advice for a Miniſter of the Goſpel, *Not to preach much on the Perſon of Chriſt?*] The greateſt part of the Book of *Pſalms*; the Converſion of *Zacheus*; *Paul*'s Commiſſion, in *Act.* 26. 18. His Death found him handling the *Commandments*; and *John* 16. 7, 8, 9. He expounded Mr. *Perkins* his *Six Principles*, whereto he added a *Seventh*, and Examined the young People, what they underſtood and remembred of his Expoſition.

Moreover, by a ſort of winning, and yet prudent *Familiarity*, he drew Perſons of all Ages in his Congregation to *come* and ſit with him, when he could not *go* and ſit with them; whereby he had opportunity to do the part of a faithful Paſtor, in conſidering the *State of his Flock*.

Such was his pious Conduct that he was had in much Reverence by his People; and when at any time, he was either *haſty* in *ſpeaking* to ſuch as were about him, whereto he was diſpoſed by his Bodily Pains, or *ſevere* in *Preaching* againſt ſome things, that others thought were no way momentous, whereto the great Exactneſs of his Piety inclined him; yet thoſe little *Stingineſſes* took not away the Intereſt which he had in their Hearts; they *knowing him to be a juſt Man, and an holy, obſerved him*.

And the *Obſervance* which his own People had for him, was alſo paid him from all ſorts of People throughout the Land; but eſpecially from the Miniſters of the Country, who would ſtill addreſs him as a *Father*, a *Prophet*, a *Counſellor*, on all Occaſions.

§ 8. Upon his importunate preſſing a piece of *Charity*, diſagreeable to the Will of the *Ruling Elder*, there was occaſioned an unhappy *Diſcord* in the Church of *Concord*; which yet was at laſt healed, by their calling in the help of a *Council*, and the *Ruling Elder*'s Abdication. Of the Temptations which occurr'd on theſe Occaſions, Mr. *Bulkly* would ſay, *He thereby came*, 1. *To know more of God*. 2. *To know more of Himſelf*. 3. *To know more of Men*. *Peace* being thus reſtored, the *ſmall things* in the beginning of the Church there, increaſed in the Hands of their faithful *Bulkly*, until he was tranſlated into the Regions, which afford nothing but *Concord* and *Glory*; leaving his well-fed *Flock in the Wilderneſs*, unto the Paſtoral Care of his worthy Son Mr. *Edward Bulkly*.

§ 9. It is remarked, That a Man's *Whole Religion* is according to his Acquaintance with the *New Covenant*. If then, any Perſon would know what Mr. *Peter Bulkly* was, let him read his Judicious and Savory Treatiſe of the *Goſpel Covenant*; which has paſſed through ſeveral Editions, with much Acceptance among the People of God. Quickly after his firſt coming into this Country, he preached many Sermons on *Zech.* 9. 11. *The Blood of thy Covenant*. The Importunity of his Congregation prevailed with him, to preach this Doctrine of the *Covenant* over again in his Lectures, and fit it for the Preſs. He did accordingly; and of that Book the well-known Mr. *Shepard* of *Cambridge*, has given this Teſtimony. *The Church of God is bound to bleſs God, for the holy, judicious, and learned Labours, of this aged, experienced, and precious Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, who hath taken much pains to diſcover, and that not in Words and Allegories, but in the Demonſtration and Evidence of the Spirit, the great Myſtery of Godlineſs wrapt up in the* Covenant; *and hath now fully*

fully opened many knotty Queſtions concerning the ſame, which happily have not been brought ſo full to Light until now; which cannot but be of ſingular and ſeaſonable uſe to prevent Apoſtaſies from the Simplicity of the Covenant *and Goſpel of Chriſt.*

§ 10. Having offered this particular Account of a *Book*, which is to be reckoned among the *Firſt-born* of *New-England*, I may not forbear doing my Country the Service of extracting from it one Paragraph, which we may reckon the dying Charge of a *Moſes* to an *Iſrael* in a *Wilderneſs*.

‘And thou, *New-England*, which art exalted in Priviledges of the Goſpel, above many other People, know thou the *Time of thy Viſitation*, and conſider the Great Things the Lord hath done for thee. The Goſpel hath *free paſſage* in all Places where thou dwelleſt: Oh! that it might be *glorified* alſo by thee! Thou enjoyeſt many faithful Witneſſes, which have teſtified unto thee, the *Goſpel of the Grace of God.* Thou haſt many *bright Stars ſhining* in thy Firmament, to give thee the *Knowledge of Salvation from on high, to guide thy Feet in the way of Peace.* Be *not high-minded*, becauſe of thy Priviledges, but *fear* becauſe of thy danger. The more thou haſt committed unto thee, the more thou muſt account for. *No Peoples Account will be heavier than thine*, if thou do not walk worthy of the Means of thy Salvation. The Lord looks for more from thee, than from other People, more *Zeal* for God, more *Love* to his Truth, more *Juſtice* and Equity in thy ways: Thou ſhouldeſt be a *ſpecial* People, an *only* People, none like thee in all the Earth. Oh! be ſo, in loving the Goſpel, and the Miniſters of it, having them in *ſingular Love for their Work's ſake.*

‘Glorifie thou the *Word* of the *Lord*, which has glorified *thee*. Take heed, leaſt for neglect of either, God *remove thy Candleſtick* out of the midſt of thee; leſt being now, *as a City upon an Hill*, which many ſeek unto, thou be left *like a Beacon upon the top of a Mountain*, deſolate and forſaken. If we walk unworthy of the Goſpel brought unto us, the greater our *Mercy* hath been, in the enjoying of it, the greater will our *Judgment* be for the Contempt.

§ 11. His firſt Wife was the Daughter of Mr. *Thomas Allen*, of *Goldington*: A moſt vertuous Gentlewoman, whoſe Nephew was the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Thomas Allen*. By her he had nine Sons, and two Daughters. After her Death, he lived eight Years a Widdower, and then married a vertuous Daughter of Sir *Richard Chitwood*; by whom he had three Sons, and one Daughter.

Age at length creeping on him, he grew much afraid of out-living his *Work*; and his Fear he thus expreſſed, in a ſhort *Epigram*, compoſed *March* 25. 1657.

Pigra ſenectutis jam venit inutilis ætas,
Nil aliud nunc ſum quàm ferè pondus iners.
Da tamen, Alme Deus, dum vivam, vivere laude
Æternum ſancti Nomines uſque Tui.
Ne vivam (moriar potius!) nil utile Agendo;
Finiat opto magis, mors properata Dies.
Vel doceam in Sancto Cætu tua verba ſalutis,
Cæleſtive canam Cantica ſacra Choro.
Seu vivam, moriarve, tuus ſim, Chriſte, quod uni
Debita Vita mea eſt, debita morſque tibi.

He was *ill*, as well as *old*, when he writ theſe Verſes; but God granted him his Deſire. He recovered, and preached near two Years after this, and then expired, *March* 9. 165$\frac{8}{9}$, in the Seventy ſeventh Year of his Age.

§ 12. The *Epigram* newly mentioned, invites me to remember, that he had a competently good Stroke at *Latin* Poetry; and even in his Old Age, affected ſometimes to improve it. Many of his Compoſure are yet in our Hands. One was written on his *Birth-Day*, June 31ſt, 1654.

Ultimus iſte Dies Menſes, mihi primus habetur;
Quo cæpi lucem cernere primus erat.
Septuaginta duos Annos exindè peregi.
Atque tot Annorum eſt Ultimus iſte Dies.
Præterito Veteri jam nunc novus incipit Annus
O utinam mihi ſit mens nova, vita nova.

Another of them was written on an *Earthquake*, Oct. 29. 1653.

Ecce Dei nutu Pellus pavefacta tremiſcit,
Terra Tremens mota eſt ſedibus ipſa ſuis,
Nutant Fulcra Orbis, mundi compago ſoluta eſt;
Ex vultu frati contremit ille Dei.
Contremuit tellus, imis concuſſa Cavernis,
Ponderibus quanquam ſit gravis illa ſuis.
Evomit ore putres magno cum murmure ventos,
Quos in viſceribus clauſerat ante ſuis.
Ipſa tremit Tellus ſcelerum gravitate virorum,
Sub ſceleris noſtri pondere Terra tremit.
O nos quam duri! Sunt ferrea pectora nobis
Non etenim gemimus cum gemit omne ſolum.
Quis te non metuit, metuit quem Fabrica mundi
Quemque timent cæli, terraque tota tremit.
Motibus à Tantis nunc tandem terra quieſcat,
Sed ceſſent potius crimina noſtra precor.

The reſt we will bury with him, under this

EPITAPH.

Obiit jam qui jamdudum obierat Bulklæus;
Nec Patriam ille mutavit, nec penè vitam:
Eò ivit, quò ire conſueverat, & ubi jam erat.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The LIFE of Mr. *RALPH PARTRIDGE*.

WHen *David* was driven from his Friends into the Wilderneſs, he made this Pathetical Repreſentation of his Condition, *'Twas as when one doth hunt a Partridge in the Mountains.* Among the many worthy Perſons who were perſecuted into an *American* Wilderneſs, for their Fidelity to the Eccleſiaſtical Kingdom of our true *David*, there was one that bore the *Name*, as well as the *State*, of *an hunted Partridge.* What beſel him, was, as *Bede* ſaith of what was done by *Fœlix*, *Juxta nominis ſui Sacramentum.*

This was Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, who for no Fault but the *Delicacy* of his good *Spirit*, being diſtreſs'd by the Eccleſiaſtical *Setters*, had no Defence, neither of *Beak*, nor *Claw*, but a *Flight* over the Ocean.

The Place where he took Covert, was the Colony of *Plymouth*, and the Town of *Duxbury* in that *Colony.*

This *Partridge* had not only the Innocency of the *Dove*, conſpicuous in his blameleſs and pious Life, which made him very acceptable in his Converſation; but alſo the Loftineſs of an *Eagle*, in the great Soar of his intellectual Abilities. There are ſome Interpreters, who underſtanding *Church Officers* by the *living Creatures*, in the Fourth Chapter of the *Apocalypſe*, will have the *Teacher* to be intended by the *Eagle* there, for his quick Inſight into remote and hidden things. The Church of *Duxbury* had ſuch an *Eagle* in their *Partridge*, when they enjoy'd ſuch a *Teacher.*

By the ſame Token, when the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline* was to be compoſ'd, the *Synod* at *Cambridge* appointed three Perſons to draw up each of them, *A Model of Church-Government, according to the Word of God*, unto the end, that out of thoſe, the Synod might form what ſhould be found moſt agreeable; which three Perſons were Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Mather*, and Mr. *Partridge.* So that in the Opinion of that Reverend Aſſembly, this Perſon did not come far behind the firſt three, for ſome of his Accompliſhments.

After he had been *Forty Years* a faithful and painful Preacher of the Goſpel, rarely, if ever, in all that while interrupted in his Work, by any Bodily Sickneſs, he dy'd in a good Old Age about the Year 1658.

There was one ſingular Inſtance of a *weaned Spirit*, whereby he ſignalized himſelf unto the Churches of God. That was this: There was a time, when moſt of the Miniſters in the Colony of *Plymouth*, left the Colony, upon the Diſcouragement which the want of a *competent Maintenance* among the needy and froward Inhabitants, gave unto them. Nevertheleſs Mr. *Partridge* was, notwithſtanding the *Paucity* and the *Poverty* of his Congregation, ſo afraid of being any thing that look'd like *a Bird wandring from his Neſt*, that he remained with his poor People, till he *took Wing* to become a *Bird of Paradiſe*, along with the winged *Seraphim* of Heaven.

Epitaphium.

Avolavit! ———

CHAP. XII.

Pſaltes. The LIFE of Mr. *HENRY DUNSTER.*

NOtwithſtanding the Veneration which we pay to the *Names* and *Works* of thoſe Reverend Men, whom we call *the Fathers*, yet even the *Roman Catholicks* themſelves confeſs, that thoſe *Fathers* were not *infallible*. *Andradius*, among others, in his Defence of the Council of *Trent*, has this paſſage, *There can be nothing deviſed more ſuperſtitious, than to count all things delivered by the Fathers*, Divine Oracles. And indeed, it is plain enough, that thoſe excellent Men, were not without *Errors* and *Frailties*, of which, I hope, 'twill not be the part of a *Cham* to take ſome little Notice. Thus *Jerom* had his Erroneous Opinion of *Peter*'s being unjuſtly reprehended; and was fearfully *aſleep* in the other matters, wherein he oppoſed *Vigilantius*. *Auguſtin* was for admitting the *Infants* of Chriſtians unto the Lord's Supper: And alas! How much of *Babylon* is there in his beſt Book, *De Civitate Dei*. *Hilary* deny'd the *Soul-Sorrows* of our Lord in his Paſſion, if you will believe the Report of *Bellarmine*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirm'd, That our Lord neither *Eat* nor *Drank* from the Neceſſities of Human Life; and that he and his Apoſtles after their Death, preached unto the *Damned* in Hell, of whom there were many converted. *Origen* taught many things contrary unto the *true Faith*,

and frequently confounded the Scriptures with Falſe Expoſitions. *Tertullian* fell into *Montaniſm*, and forbad all *ſecond Marriages*. How little Agreement was there between *Epiphanius* and *Chryſoſtom*, *Irenæus* and *Victor*, *Cornelius* and *Cyprian?* And indeed, that I may draw near to my preſent purpoſe, the Erroneous Opinion of *Rebaptiſm* in *Cyprian*, is well known to the World.

Wherefore it may not be wondred at, if among the firſt *Fathers* of *New-England*, there were ſome things, not altogether ſo agreeable to the *Principles*, whereupon the Country was in the main Eſtabliſhed. But among thoſe of our *Fathers*, who differ'd ſomewhat from his *Brethren*, was that Learned and Worthy Man Mr. *Henry Dunſter*.

He was the Preſident of our *Harvard College* in *Cambridge*, and an able Man: [As we may give ſome Account, when the Hiſtory of that *College* comes to be offered.]

But wonderfully falling into the Errors of *Antipædobaptiſm*, the *Overſeers* of the College became ſollicitous, that the Students there might not be unawares enſnared in the Errors of their *Preſident*. Wherefore they laboured with an extreme Agony, either to reſcue the Good Man from his *own Miſtake*; or to Reſtrain him from impoſing them upon *The Hope of the Flock*, of both which, finding themſelves to Deſpair, they did as quietly as they could, procure his *Removal*, and provide him a Succeſſor, in Mr. *Charles Chauncey*.

He was a very good *Hebrician*, and for that Cauſe, he bore a great Part in the Metrical Verſion of the *Pſalms*, now uſed in our Churches. But after ſome ſhort Retirement and Seceſſion from all Publick Buſineſs, at *Scituate* in the Year 1659. he went thither, where he bears his part in Everlaſting and Cæleſtial *Hallelujahs*. It was juſtly counted an Inſtance of an *Excellent Spirit*, in *Margaret Meering*; That tho' ſhe had been excommunicated by the Congregation of Proteſtants, whereof Mr. *Rough* was Paſtor, and ſhe ſeem'd to have hard Meaſure alſo in her Excommunication; yet when Mr. *Rough* was impriſon'd for the Truth, ſhe was very ſerviceable to him, and at length ſuffer'd Martyrdom for the Truth with him. Something that was not altogether unlike this *Excellent Spirit* was inſtanced by our *Dunſter*. For, he died in ſuch *Harmony* of Affection with the Good Men, who had been the Authors of his Removal from *Cambridge*, that he, by his *Will*, ordered his Body to be carried unto *Cambridge* for its Burial, and bequeathed *Legacies* to thoſe very Perſons.

Now I know not where, better than here, to inſert that Article of our *Church-Hiſtory*, which concerns our *Metrical Tranſlation* of the PSALMS now ſung in our *Churches*.

About the Year 1639. the *New-Engliſh Reformers*, conſidering that their Churches enjoy'd the other Ordinances of Heaven in their *Scriptural Purity*, were willing that the Ordinance of *The Singing of Pſalms*, as ſhould be reſtored among them, unto a Share in that *Purity*. Tho' they bleſſed God for the Religious Endeavours of them who tranſlated the *Pſalms* into the *Meetre* uſually annex'd at the End of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Tranſlation ſo many *Detractions* from, *Additions* to, and *Variations* of, not only the Text, but the very *Senſe* of the Pſalmiſt, that it was an Offence unto them. Reſolving then upon a New Tranſlation, the chief Divines in the Country, took each of them a Portion to be Tranſlated: Among whom were Mr. *Welds* and Mr. *Eliot* of *Roxbury*, and Mr. *Mather* of *Dorcheſter*. Theſe, like the reſt, were of ſo different a *Genius* for their Poetry, that Mr. *Shepard* of *Cambridge*, on the Occaſion addreſſed them to this Purpoſe.

You Roxb'ry *Poets, keep clear of the Crime,*
Of miſſing to give us very good Rhime.
And you of Dorcheſter, *your Verſes lengthen,*
But with the Texts own Words, you will them ſtrengthen.

The *Pſalms* thus turn'd into *Meetre* were Printed at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1640. But afterwards, it was thought, that a little more of Art was to be employ'd upon them: And for that Cauſe, they were committed unto Mr. *Dunſter*, who Reviſed and Refined this Tranſlation; and (with ſome Aſſiſtance from one Mr. *Richard Lyon*, who being ſent over by Sir *Henry Mildmay*, as an Attendant unto his Son, then a Student in *Harvard Colledge*, now reſided in Mr. *Dunſter*'s Houſe:) he brought it into the Condition wherein our Churches ever ſince have uſed it.

Now, tho' I heartily join with thoſe Gentlemen, who wiſh that the *Poetry* hereof were mended; yet I muſt confeſs, That the *Pſalms* have never yet ſeen a *Tranſlation*, that I know of, nearer to the *Hebrew Original:* And I am willing to receive the Excuſe which our Tranſlators themſelves do offer us, when they ſay; *If the Verſes are not always ſo elegant, as ſome deſire or expect, let them conſider, That God's Altar needs not our Poliſhings; we have reſpected rather a plain Tranſlation, than to ſmooth our Verſes with the Sweetneſs of any Paraphraſe. We have attended Conſcience rather than Elegance, Fidelity rather than Ingenuity; that ſo we may ſing in Zion the Lords Songs of Praiſe according unto his own Will, until he bid us enter into our Maſters Joy, to ſing Eternal Hallelujahs.*

Reader, When the Reformation in *France* began, *Clement Marot*, and *Theodore Beza*, turn'd the *Pſalms* into *French Meetre*; and *Lewis Guadimel* ſet Melodious Tunes unto them. The *Singing* hereof charm'd the Souls of Court and City, Town and Country. They were ſung in the *Lovre* it ſelf, as well as in the Proteſtant Churches: Ladies, Nobles, Princes, yea, King *Henry* himſelf ſang them. This one thing mightily contributed unto the Downfal of

of Popery, and the Progreſs of the Goſpel. All Ranks of Men practis'd it; a Gentleman of the Reformed Religion, would not eat a Meal without it. The Popiſh Clergy raging hereat, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* got the Profane and Obſcene *Odes* of the Pagan Poets to be turn'd into *French*, and ſang at the Court: And the Divine *Pſalms* were thus baniſhed from that Wicked Court.

Behold, the Reformation purſued in the Churches of *New-England*, by the *Pſalms* in a *New Meetre*: God grant the Reformation may never be loſt, while the *Pſalms* are ſung in our Churches.

But in this Matter, Mr. *Dunſter* is to be acknowledged. And if unto the Chriſtian, while ſinging of *Pſalms* on Earth, *Chryſoſtom* could well ſay, Μετ' Ἀγγέλων ᾄδεις, μετ' Ἀγγέλων ὑμνεῖς, *Thou art in a Conſort with Angels!* How much more may that *Now* be ſaid of our *Dunſter*?

From the *Epitaph* of *Henricus Rentzius*, we will now furniſh our *Henry Dunſter* with an

Epitaph.

Præco, Pater, Servus; Sonui, Fovi, Coluiq;
Sacra, Scholam, Chriſtum; Voce, Rigore, Fide.
Famam, Animam, Corpus; Diſpergit, Recreat, Abdit;
Virtus, Chriſtus, Humus; Laude, Salute, Sinu.

CHAP. XIII.

The LIFE of Mr. *EZEKIEL ROGERS.*

Si in Doctore Eccleſiæ, ad ἀνυπόκειτον πίστιν, *acceſſerit* σύνεσις δεόντων, *& Polita Eruditio, ad Eruditionem* δύναμις ἑρμηνευτική, *ac Facundia; næ hic Talis Omnibus Abſolutis videbitur.*

Melc. Adam. in Vita Hatteri.

§ 1. IT is among the *Greater Prophets* of *Iſrael*, that we find an *Ezekiel*; who had in his very Name *The Fortitude of God.* And it is not among the *ſmaller Prophets* of *New-England*, that we have alſo ſeen an *Ezekiel*; one inſpired with a *Divine Fortitude*, for the Work of a *Witneſs propheſying* in the *Sackcloth* of a *Wilderneſs*. This was our famous *Ezekiel Rogers*, of whom we have more to ſay, than barely that he was *born* in the Year 1590. and that he *died* in the Year 1660.

§ 2. His Father was Mr. *Richard Rogers* of *Weathersfield* in *England*, the well-known Author of the Book, that is known by the Name of *The Seven Treatiſes.* Of that *Richard* we will content our ſelves with one pithy Paſſage, mentioned by his Grandſon Mr. *William Jenkyns*, in his Expoſition upon *Jude*, 'That 'Bleſſed Saint, *ſaith he*, was another *Enoch* in 'his Age; a Man whoſe *walking with God* appeared by that Incomparable Directory of a 'Chriſtian Life, called *The Seven Treatiſes*, 'woven out of Scripture, and his own experimental Practice; he would ſometimes ſay, '*That he ſhould be ſorry, if every Day were* '*not to him as his laſt Day.* It is his *Ezekiel Rogers*, whereof we are now to give an Account. The early Sparklings of Wit, Judgment and Learning, in him, gave his Father no little Satisfaction, and Expectation of his Proficiency; and at Thirteen Years of Age made him capable of Preferment in the *Univerſity*; where he proceeded *Maſter of Arts* at the Age of Twenty. Removing thence to be Chaplain in a Family, famous for both *Religion* and *Civility*, namely the Family of Sir *Francis Barrington* at *Hatfield Broad-Oak* in *Eſſex*, he there had opportunity not only to *do Good*, by his profitable Preaching, but alſo to *get Good*, by his Converſation with Perſons of Honour, who continually reſorted thither, and he *knew* and *us'd* his opportunity to the utmoſt.

§ 3. Both in *Praying* and *Preaching*, he had a very notable Faculty; 'twas accompanied with *Strains* of *Oratory*, which made his Miniſtry very acceptable. Hence, after Five or Six Years Reſidence in this Worſhipful Family, Sir *Francis* beſtowed upon him the Benefice of *Rowly* in *Yorkſhire*; in hopes, that his more lively Miniſtry might be particularly ſucceſsful in *Awakening* thoſe drowſy Corners of the North: And accordingly the Church there, ſtanding in the *Center* of many Villages, there was now a great Reſort unto the Service therein performed.

§ 4. Nevertheleſs Mr. *Rogers* had much Uneaſineſs in his Mind about his own *Experience* of thoſe Truths which he preached unto others; he feared, that notwithſtanding his pathetical Expreſſions, wherewith his Hearers were affected, he was himſelf, in his own Soul, a Stranger to that *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Converſion*, which he preſſed upon *them*. This Conſideration very much perplexed him; and his Perplexity was the greater, becauſe he could not hear of any *Experienced Miniſter* in thoſe Parts

Parts of the Kingdom, to whom he might utter the Trouble that was upon him. At laſt, hoping that either from his Brother of *Weathersfield*, or his Coſin of *Dedham*, he might receive ſome Satisfaction, he took a Journey into *Eſſex* on purpoſe to be by them reſolved of his *Doubts*. His Deſign was to have came at his famous Kinſman before his Lecture began; but miſſing of *that*, he gat into the Aſſembly before the Beginning of the Sermon; where he found that by the ſingular Providence of God, his *Doubts were* as punctually and exactly reſolved, as if the excellent Preacher had been acquainted with his *Doubts* beforehand.

§ 5. Being now ſatisfied of his own *Effectual Vocation*, he went on in his Miniſtry with a very ſignal Bleſſing of Heaven upon it, unto the *Effectual Vocation* of many more: His *Miniſtry* was much *frequented*, and remarkably *ſucceſsful*. In the Exerciſe whereof, he once had opportunity to preach in the ſtately *Minſter* of *York*, on a publick Occaſion, which he ſerved and ſuited notably. Dr. *Matthews* was then the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, who permitted the uſe of thoſe *Lectures*, which Arch-Biſhop *Grindal* had erected; whereby the *Light* of the Goſpel was marvellouſly diffuſed unto many Places that ſat in *the Region and the Shadow of Death*. All the pious Miniſters in ſuch a Precinct, had a Meeting once a Month, in ſome noted Place, when and where ſeveral of them did uſe to preach one after another; beginning and concluding the whole Exerciſe with Prayer. Mr. *Rogers* bore his part in theſe *Lectures*, as long as Dr. *Matthews* lived; from one of which, an *Accuſer of the Brethren*, went once unto the *Arch-Biſhop* with this Accuſation, That one of the Miniſters had made his Petition in his Prayer, *May the Almighty ſhut Heaven againſt the Arch-Biſhop's Grace*; whereat the *Arch-Biſhop* inſtead of being offended, as the Pick-thankly Reporter hoped he would have been, fell a laughing heartily and anſwered, *Thoſe Good Men know well enough, that if I were gone to Heaven, their Exerciſes would ſoon be put down.* And it came to paſs accordingly!

§ 6. In Deliverying the *Word* of God, he would ſometimes go beyond the *Strength*, which God had given him; for though he had a *Lively Spirit*, yet he had a *Crazy Body*; which put him upon ſtudying *Phyſick*, wherein he attained unto a Skill conſiderable. But the worſt was this, That riding far from home, ſome violent Motion uſed by him in ordering of his Horſe, broke a *Vein* within him; whereupon he betook himſelf to his Chamber, and there kept private, that his Friends might not perſecute him, with any of their Unſeaſonable Kindneſs. But in two Month's time, he obtained a Cure, ſo that he returned unto his Family and his Employment: God would not ſuffer that *Mouth* to be ſtopped, which had ſo many *Teſtimonies* to bear ſtill for his *Truths* and *Ways*!

§ 7. At laſt, the Severity wherewith *Subſcription* was then urged, put a Period unto the Twenty Years publick Miniſtry of our Uſeful *Rogers* although the Man, who ſuſpended him, ſhew'd him ſo much Reſpect, as to let him enjoy the Profits of his *Living*, two Years after the Suſpenſion, and let him alſo put in another, as good as he could get. He employed one Mr *Biſhop* to ſupply his Place in the Miniſtry, from which a *Biſhop* had confined him; nevertheleſs this good Man alſo was quickly ſilenced, becauſe he would not in publick read the *Cenſure* which was paſſed upon Mr. *Rogers*.

§ 8. Many *prudent* Men in thoſe times, *foreſeeing* the Storms that were likely in a few Years to break upon the *Engliſh* Nation, did propoſe *New-England* for their *Hiding-place*. And of theſe, our Mr. *Rogers* was one, who had been accompanied by Sir *William Conſtable* and Sir *Matthew Boynton* alſo in his Voyage hither, if ſome ſingular Providences had not hindred them. Hither did the Good Hand of God bring him, with many of his *Yorkſhire* Friends, in the Year 1638. Ships having been by his Diſcretion and Influence brought from *London* unto *Hull*, to take in the Paſſengers. Arriving at *New England*, he was urged very much to ſettle with his *Yorkſhire* Folks at *New-Haven*; but in Conſideration of the Dependance, that ſeveral Perſons of Quality had on him to chuſe a meet Place for their Entertainment in this Wilderneſs, when they ſhould come hither after him, he was adviſed rather to another Place, which he was profered very near his Reverend Kinſman, Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* of *Ipſwich*. The Towns of *Ipſwich* and *Newberry* were willing, on eaſy Terms, to part with much of their Land, that they might admit a *Third Plantation* in the middle between them; which was a Great Advantage to Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*; who called the Town *Rowly*, and continued in it about the ſame Number of Years, that he had ſpent in that *Rowly*, from whence he came on the other ſide of the *Atlantic* Ocean.

§ 9. About five Years after his coming to *New England*, he was choſen to preach at the Court of *Election* at *Boſton*; wherein though the Occaſion and the Auditory were *Great*, yet he ſhew'd his Abilities to be *Greater*; inſomuch, that he became famous through the whole Country. And what Reſpect all the *Churches* abroad paid him, he much more found in his *own Church* at Home; where he was exceedingly ſucceſsful, and approved in his Miniſtry, in which the Points of *Regeneration* and *Union* with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt by *Faith*, were thoſe whereon he moſt inſiſted.

In the Management of thoſe Points, he had a notable Faculty at penetrating into the Souls of his Hearers, and manifeſting the very *Secrets of their Hearts*. His *Prayers* and *Sermons* would make ſuch lively *Repreſentations* of the *Thoughts* then working in the Minds of his People, that it would amaze them to ſee their

own Condition ſo exactly repreſented. And his *Occaſional Diſcourſes* with his People; eſpecially with the *young ones* among them; and moſt of all, with ſuch as had been, by their Deceaſed Parents, recommended unto his watchful Care; were marvellouſly profitable. He was a *Tree of Knowledge*, but ſo laden with *Fruit,* that he ſtoopt for the very *Children* to pick off the Apples ready to drop into their Mouths. Sometimes they would come to his Houſe, a Dozen in an Evening; and calling them up into his Study, one by one, he would *examine* them, *How* they walked with God? *How* they ſpent their Time? *What* good Books they read? *Whether* they pray'd without ceaſing? And he would therewithal *admoniſh* them to take heed of ſuch *Temptations* and *Corruptions*, as he thought moſt endangered them. And if any *Differences* had fallen out amongſt his People, he would forthwith ſend for them, to lay before him the Reaſon of their *Differences*; and ſuch was his Intereſt in them, that he uſually heal'd and ſtopt all their little Contentions, before they could break out into any open *Flames*.

§ 10. After Ten or Twelve Years moſt proſperous Attendance on his Miniſtry in *Rowly*, ſome unhappy Griefs befel him, which were thus occaſioned. It was thought pity, that ſo *Great an Ability*, as that wherewith Mr. *Rogers* was *Talented*, ſhould be confined into ſo *ſmall an Auditory*, as that whereto his *Lord's Day* Labours were confined; and he was perſwaded therefore to ſet up a *Lecture*, once in a Fortnight, whereto the Inhabitants of other Towns reſorted, with no ſmall Satisfaction. A moſt Excellent Young Man was, upon this Increaſe of his Labours, obtained for his Aſſiſtent: But through the *Devices* of Satan, there was raiſed a *Jealouſy* in the Hearts of many among the People, that their *Old Paſtor* was not Real and Forward enough, in proſecuting the Settlement of that *Aſſiſtent*; and this Jealouſy broke forth into almoſt unnaccountable *Diſſatisfactions* between him and them; which though they were afterwards cured, yet the Cure was in ſome Regards too *Palliative*.

§ 11. The Reſt of this Good Man's Time in the World was *Winter*; he ſaw more *Nights* than *Days*, and in Viciſſitudes of Affliction, *The Clouds returning after the Rain.* He buried his *Firſt Wife*, and all the *Children* he had by that Wife. He then married a Virgin Daughter of the well-known Mr. *John Wilſon*, in hopes of Iſſue by her; but God alſo took her away, with the Child ſhe had conceived by him.

After this, he married once more a Perſon, in Years agreeable to him; but that very Night a Fire burnt his *Dwelling-Houſe* to the Ground, with all the Goods that he had under his Roof. Having *Rebuilt* his Houſe, he received a *Fall* from his Horſe, which gave to his *Right Arm* ſuch a Bruiſe, as made it ever after uſeleſs unto him; upon which Account he was now put upon Learning to Write with his *Left Hand.*

——*Pollebat mira Dexteritate tamen.*——

Thus having *done* the Will of God, he was put upon further Trial of his *Patience!* But there was this Comfortable in his Trial, that the Good *Spirit* of God enabled him to bear his Croſſes chearfully, and *Rejoice in his Tribulations.*

§ 12. The Natural Conſtitution of his Body was but Feeble and Crazy: Nevertheleſs, by a Prudent Attendance to the *Rules of Health*, his Life was lengthened out conſiderably: But at laſt a Lingring Sickneſs ended his Days, *Jan.* 23. 1660. in the Seventieth Year of his Age. His *Books* wherewith he had Recruited his Library, after the *Fire*, which conſumed the good Library, that he had brought out of *England*, he beſtowed upon *Harvard College*.

His *Lands*, the greateſt part of them, with his Houſe, he gave to the Town and Church of *Rowly*.

§ 13. Becauſe 'twill give ſome Illuſtration unto our *Church Hiſtory*, as well as notably deſcribe the Excellent and Exemplary Spirit of this Good Man, and it hath been ſometimes noted, *Optima Hiſtoria, eſt Hiſtoria Epiſtolaris*; I will here inſert one of his Letters, written (with his *Left Hand*) unto a Worthy Miniſter in *Charleſtown*, the 6th of the 12th Month, 1657.

Dear Brother,

‘Though I have now done my Errand in the other Paper, yet methinks, I am not ſatisfied to leave you ſo ſuddenly, ſo barely. Let us hear from you, I pray you; How you do. Doth your *Miniſtry* go on comfortably? Find you Fruit of your Labours? Are *New Converts* brought in? Do your *Children* and *Family* grow more Godly? I find greateſt Trouble and Grief about the *Riſing Generation. Young People* are little ſtirred here; but they ſtrengthen one another in Evil, by Example, by Counſel. Much a do I have with my own *Family*; hard to get a *Servant* that is Glad of *Catechiſing*, or *Family-Duties:* I had a rare Bleſſing of Servants in *Yorkſhire*; and thoſe that I brought over were a Bleſſing: But the *Young Brood* doth much afflict me. Even the *Children* of the Godly here, and elſewhere, make a woful Proof. So that, *I tremble to think, what will become of this Glorious Work that we have begun, when the Ancient ſhall be gathered unto their Fathers.* I fear *Grace* and *Bleſſing* will die with them, if the Lord do not alſo ſhow ſome Signs of Diſpleaſure, even in *our* Days. ——— We grow *Worldly* every where; methinks I ſee little *Godlineſs*, but all in a Hurry about the *World*; every one

'for himſelf, little Care of *Publick* or *Common* 'Good.

'It hath been God's way, not to ſend ſweeping Judgments, when the Chief *Magiſtrates* 'are Godly and grow more ſo. I beſeech all 'the *Bay Miniſters*, to call earneſtly upon *Magiſtrates* (that are often among them) tell 'them, That *their Godlineſs* will be *our Protection:* If *they* fail, I ſhall fear ſome ſweeping Judgment ſhortly. The *Clouds* ſeems to be 'gathering.

'I am haſtning Home, and grown very *Aſthmatical*, and *Short-breathed*. Oh! that I might 'ſee ſome Signs of Good to the Generations 'following, to ſend me away *Rejoicing!* Thus 'I could weary *you* and *my ſelf*, and my *Left* '*Hand*; but I break off ſuddenly. O, Good 'Brother, I thank God, I am *near Home*; and '*you* too are not far. *Oh! the Weight of Glory, that is ready waiting for us*, *God's poor* '*Exiles!* We ſhall *ſit next* to the *Martyrs* 'and *Confeſſors*. O, the *Embraces* wherewith 'Chriſt will embrace us! Cheer up your Spirits in the *Thoughts* thereof; and let us be 'zealous for our God and Chriſt, and make a '*Concluſion*. Now the Lord bring us well 'thro' our *Poor Pilgrimage*.

Your Affectionate Brother,

Ez. Rogers.

EPITAPH.

A Reſurrection to Immortality,
is here Expected,
For what was Mortal,
of the Reverend

EZEKIEL ROGERS.

Put off, *Jan.* 23. 1660.

When Preachers *Die*, what Rules the *Pulpit* gave
Of *Living*, are ſtill Preached from the *Grave*.
The *Faith* and *Life*, which your *Dead Paſtor* Taught
Now in *One Grave* with him, Sirs, Bury not.

Abi, Viator.

A Mortuo diſce Vivere ut Moriturus;
E Terris diſce Cogitare de Cœlis.

CHAP. XIV.

Eulogius. The LIFE of Mr. *NATHANAEL ROGERS.*

In JESU mea Vita meo, mea Clauſula Vitæ
Eſt, & in hoc JESU Vita perennis erit.

§ 1. IT is a Reflection, carrying in it ſomewhat of *Curioſity*; that as in the *Old Teſtament*, God ſaw the *Firſt Sinners* under a *Tree*, ſo in the *New Teſtament*, Chriſt ſaw one of the *Firſt Believers* under a *Tree*, with a particular Obſervation. The *Sinner* hid himſelf among the Trees of the *Garden*, aſſiſted with *Fig-Leaves*, but it was a falſe Covert and Shelter whereto he truſted; the moſt High diſcovered him. The *Believer* alſo hid himſelf under a *Fig-Tree*, where neverthelesſ, the Shady Leaves hindred not our Lord from ſeeing of him. The *Sinner* when he was diſcovered, expreſſed his *Fear*, ſaying, *I heard thy Voice, and I was afraid.* The *Believer* ſeen by our Lord, expreſſed his *Faith*, ſaying, *Maſter, Thou art the Son of God.* The Name of this *Believer* was *Nathanael*. At the Beginning of the *Law* under the *Old* Teſtament, you have *Nature* in an *Adam* under a *Tree*; at the Beginning of the *Goſpel*, under the *New* Teſtament, you have *Grace* under a *Tree* in a *Nathanael*. Truly, at the Beginning of *New-England* alſo, among the *Firſt Believers*, that formed a Church for our God in the Country, there was a Famous *Nathanael*, who retired into theſe *American Woods*, that he might ſerve the *King of Iſrael:* This was our *Nathanael Rogers*. One of the Firſt *Engliſh* Arch-biſhops *aſſumed* the Name of *Deus dedit*, and the Hiſtorian ſays, he *anſwered* the Name that he *aſſumed*. Our *Nathanael* was not in the Rank of Arch-biſhops; but *as was his Name*, A GIFT OF GOD, *ſo was he!*

§ 2. *Cornelius Tacitus*, who is by the Great *Budæus* called, *The Wickedeſt of all Writers*, reports of the Jews, That they adored an *Aſs's Head*; Becauſe by a Direction from a *Company of Aſſes*, *errorem ſitimque depeclerant*; and this Report, received by him from a Railing *Egyptian*, became ſo received, that no Defence againſt it would be allowed. That Excellent *Company of Divines*, which led the People of God

God, unto the ſweet *Waters* of his Inſtitutions, in the *Wilderneſs* of *New-England*, whereinto they were driven, have been eſteemed no better than a *Company of Aſſes*, by the *Romiſhly* affected Writers of this Age. But thoſe *Heads*, which are juſtly *admired* (tho' not *adored)* among that People, had more of *Angels*, than of *Aſſes* in them: The *Engliſh* Nation had few better *Chriſtians* than moſt, and it had not many better *Scholars* than *ſome*, who then retired into theſe Ends of the Earth. Now among all thoſe *Great Men* who ſubmitted themſelves unto all the *Littleneſſes* of a *Wilderneſs*, there is a very high Rank to be aſſigned unto one, who is now to be deſcribed.

He was the Second Son of that famous Man, Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*; and born while his Father was Miniſter of *Haveril*, about the Year 1598. He was educated at the Grammar School in *Dedham*, till he was near Fourteen Years old, and then he was admitted into *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge*. There he became a remarkable and incomperable Proficient in all *Academick Learning*; but ſome Circumſtances of his Father would not permit him to wait for *Preferments*, after he was become capable of *Employments* in other places. His uſual *manner there*, was to be an *early* and an *exact Student*; by which means he was quickly laid in with a good Stock of *Learning*; but unto all his other Learning, there was that Glory added, *The Fear of God*, for the Crown of all; the Principles whereof were inſtilled into his young Soul, with the Counſels of his pious *Mother*, while he yet ſat on her Knees, as well as his holy *Father*, when he came to riper Years. From his very Childhood he was exemplary for the Succeſs which God gave unto the Cares of his Parents, to principle him with ſuch things, as rendred him *wiſe unto Salvation*.

§ 3. Having from his Youth been uſed unto the moſt Religious Exerciſes, not only *Social*, but alſo *Secret*, nevertheleſs the Hurries of *Avocation* carried him abroad *one Morning* before he had attended his uſual Devotions in his Retirements; but his Horſe happening to ſtumble in a plain Road, it gave him a bruiſing, bloody, dangerous *Fall*; which awakened him ſo to conſider of his *Omiſſion* in the Morning, that for the reſt of his Life, he was wondrous careful to omit nothing of his *Daily Duties:* Wherein at length he ſo abounded, that as *Carthuſian* ſpeaks, *Dulciſſimo Deo totus immergi cupis, & inviſcerari.*

§ 4. Tho' he were of a pleaſant and cheerful *Behaviour*, yet he was therewithal ſometimes inclined unto *Melancholly*; which was *attended* with, and perhaps *productive* of ſome *Dejections* in his own Mind, about his Intereſt in the Favour of God. Whence even after he had been a *Preacher* of ſome ſtanding, he had ſometimes very ſore Deſpondencies and Objections in his own Soul, about the Evidences of his own *Regeneration*; he would conclude, that no *Grace* of God had ever been wrought in him. Whereupon a Miniſter, that was his near Friend, gave him once that Advice, *To let all go for loſt, and begin again upon a new Foundation*; but upon his recollecting himſelf, he found that he could not forego, he might not renounce all his former bleſſed *Experience*. And ſo his Doubts expired.

§ 5. The firſt *Specimen* that he gave of his Miniſterial Abilities, was as a *Chaplain* in the Houſe of a Perſon of Quality; whence after a Year or two thus *fledged*, he adventured a Flight unto a great Congregation at *Bocking*, in *Eſſex*, under Dr. *Barkam*; not without the wonder of many, how the Son of the moſt noted *Puritan* in *England*, ſhould come to be employed under an Epiſcopal Doctor, ſo gracious with Biſhop *Laud*; but this Dr. *Barkam* was a *good Preacher* himſelf, and he was alſo willing to gratifie his Pariſhioners, who were many of them Religiouſly diſpoſed: Hence, tho' the Doctor would not ſpare a *Tenth-part* of his Revenues, which from his *divers Livings*, amounted unto near a Thouſand a Year, to one who did above *Three Quarters* of his Work, yet he was otherwiſe very Courteous and Civil to our Mr. *Rogers*, whom his Pariſhioners handſomely maintained out of their own *Purſes*, and ſhew'd what a room he had in their *Hearts*, by their doing ſo.

§ 6. All this while, Mr. *Rogers* had, like his Father, applied his Thoughts only to the main Points of *Repentance from dead Works*, and *Faith towards God*; and he had never yet look'd into the controverted Points of *Diſcipline*. Indeed the Diſpoſition of his famous Father towards thoſe things, I am willing to relate on this occaſion; and I will relate it in his own words, which I will faithfully tranſcribe, from a MSS. of his now in my Hands: 'If ever I come into 'Trouble, [he writes] for want of Conformity, 'I reſolve with my ſelf, by God's Aſſiſtance, 'to come away with a clear Conſcience, and 'yield to nothing in preſent, until I have pray'ed and faſted, and conferred: And tho' the 'Liberty *of my Miniſtry* be precious, yet buy it 'not with a *guilty Conſcience*. I am ſomewhat 'troubled ſometimes at my Subſcription, but I 'ſaw ſundry Men of *good Gifts*, and *good Hearts*, 'as I thought, that did ſo. And I could not 'prove that there was any thing contrary to 'the Word of God: Tho' I miſliked them 'much, and I knew them *unprofitable Burthens* '*to the Church of God*. But if I be urged unto 'the Uſe of them, I am rather reſolved never to 'yield thereto. They are to me very irkſome 'Things; yet ſeeing I was not able to prove 'them flatly unlawful, or contrary to God's 'Word, I therefore thought better to ſave my 'Liberty with Subſcribing, (ſeeing I did it not 'againſt my Conſcience) than to loſe it, for 'not yielding ſo far. Yet this was ſome ſmall 'trouble to me, that I did it, when I was in 'no ſpecial Peril of any preſent Trouble; which 'yet I thought I were as good do of my ſelf, 'as when I ſhould be urged to it. But it may 'be, I might not have been urged of a long 'time, or not at all; but might have eſcaped

‘ by Friends and Money, as before; which yet ‘ I feared: But it was my Weakneſs, as I now ‘ conceive it; which I beſeech God to pardon ‘ unto me. Written 1627. This I ſmarted for ‘ 1631. If I had read this, it may be, I had ‘ not done what I did.

Reader, In this one Paſſage thou haſt a large Hiſtory, of the Thoughts and Fears, and Cares, with which the *Puritans* of thoſe Times were exerciſed.

But Mr. *Hooker*, now Lecturer at *Chelmsford*, underſtanding that this young Preacher was the Son of a Father, whom he moſt highly reſpected, he communicated unto him the Grounds of his own Diſſatisfaction, at the *Ceremonies* then impoſed. Quickly after this, the Doctor of *Bocking* being preſent at the Funeral of ſome eminent Perſon there, he obſerved that Mr. *Rogers* forbore to put on the *Surplice*, in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry on that occaſion; which inſpired him with as much Diſguſt againſt his *Curate*, as his Curate had againſt the *Surplice* it ſelf. Whereupon, tho' the Doctor were ſo much a Gentleman, as to put no *Publick Affront* upon Mr. *Rogers*, yet he gave him his *private Advice* to provide for himſelf, in ſome other place.

§ 7. See the Providence of our Lord! About that very time, *Aſſington*, in *Suffolk*, being void by the Death of the former Incumbent, the Patron thereof was willing to beſtow it upon the Son of his honoured Friend in *Dedham*; whither he now removed, after that *Bocking* had for four or five Years enjoyed his Labours. The Inhabitants of *Bromly*, near *Colcheſter*, were at the ſame time extreamly diſcontented at their miſſing of him. However, ſee again the Providence of our Lord; the Biſhop of *Norwich* let him live quietly five Years at *Aſſington*, which the Biſhop of *London* would not have done at *Bromly*. This was the Charge now betruſted with our *Rogers*; concerning whom, I find an eminent Perſon publiſhing unto the World, this Account: *Mr.* Nathanael Rogers, *a Man ſo able and ſo judicious, in Soul-work, that I would have betruſted my Soul with him, as ſoon as with any Man in the Church of Chriſt.*

§ 8. Here his Miniſtry was both highly reſpected, and greatly *proſpered*, among Perſons of all Qualities, not only in the Town it ſelf, but in the Neighbourhood. He was a lively, curious, florid *Preacher*; and by his *Holy Living*, he ſo farther preached, as to give much *Life* unto all his other preaching. He had uſually, every Lord's Day, a greater Number of Hearers than could croud into the Church; and of theſe many *Ignorant* Ones were inſtructed, many *Ungodly* Ones were Converted, and many *Sorrowful* Ones were comforted. Tho' he had not his Father's notable *Voice*, yet he had ſeveral Miniſterial Qualifications, as was judged, beyond his Father; and he was *one prepared unto every good Work*; tho' he was alſo exerciſed with *Bodily Infirmities*, which his Labours brought upon him. 'Tis a thing I find obſerv'd by Mr. *Firmin*, *John Rogers* was not *John Chryſoſtom*; and yet God honoured no Man in thoſe Parts of *England* with the Converſion of Souls more than him. And good Biſhop *Brownrig* would ſay, *John Rogers* will do more good with his *Wild Notes*, than we ſhall do with our *Set Muſick*. But our *Nathanael Rogers*, was a *Fiſher of Men*, who came with a *Silken Line*, and a *Golden Hook*, and God proſpered *him* alſo. He was an *Apollo*, who had his *Harp* and his *Arrows*; and the *Arrows* his charming and piercing Eloquence, which had ὕψος καὶ βάρος, in it were *Arrows in the Hand of a mighty Man*. He not only knew how to build the Temple, but alſo how to carve it: And he could ſay with *Lactantius*, (his very Names-ſake) *Vellem mihi dari Eloquentiam, vel quia magis credunt Homines Veritati ornatæ vel ut ipſi ſuis Armis vincantur.*

§ 9. But a Courſe was taken to extinguiſh theſe *Lights*, as faſt as any Notice could be taken of them. It was the Reſolution of the *Hierarchy*, that the Miniſters who would not conform to their Impoſitions, muſt be *ſilenced* all over the Kingdom. Our Mr. *Rogers* perceiving the Approaches of the *Storm* towards himſelf, did out of a particular *Circumſpection* in his own Temper, chooſe rather to *prevent* than to receive the *Cenſures* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*; and therefore he reſigned his place to the Patron, that ſo ſome Godly and Learned *Conformiſt*, might be inveſted with it: Nevertheleſs, not being free in his Conſcience, wholly to lay down the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, he deſigned a Removal into *New-England*; whereunto he was the rather moved, by his Reſpect unto Mr. *Hooker*, for whom his Value was extraordinary. *Reader*, In all this, there is no *Reproach* caſt upon this excellent *Rogers*. Κατηγορία τοιαύτη ἐγκώμιον ἐστιν·

§ 10. He had married the Daughter of one Mr. *Crane* of *Cogeſhal*, a Gentleman of a very conſiderable Eſtate, who would gladly have mentioned this his worthy Son-in-Law, with his Family, if he would have tarried in *England*; but obſerving the ſtrong Inclination of his Mind unto a *New-Engliſh* Voyage, he durſt not oppoſe it. Now, tho Mr. *Rogers* were a Perſon very unable to bear the Hardſhips of *Travel*, yet the *Impreſſion* which God had made upon his Heart, like what he then made upon the Hearts of many Hundreds more, perhaps as weakly and feeble as *he*, carried him through the Enterprize with an unwearied *Reſolution*; which Reſolution was tried, indeed, unto the utmoſt. For whereas the Voyage from *Graveſend* unto *Boſton*, uſes to be diſpatched in about Nine or Ten Weeks, the Ships which came with Mr. *Rogers*, were fully *Twenty four Weeks* in the Voyage; and yet in this tedious Paſſage, not one Perſon did miſcarry. After they had come Two Thirds of their way, having reached the length of *Newfound-land*, their *Wants* were ſo multiplied, and their *Winds* were ſo contrary, that they entred into a ſerious *Debate*, about returning back to *England*: But upon their ſetting apart a Day for ſolemn *Faſting* and *Prayer*, the Weather cleared up; and in a little time they arrived at their deſired Port; namely, about

bout the middle of *November*, in the Year *1636*.

§ 11. It was an extream Diſcouragement unto him, at his Arrival, to find the Country thrown into an horrible Combuſtion, by the *Familiſtical Opinions*, which had newly made ſuch a Diſturbance, as to engage all Perſons, on *one ſide* or t'other of the *Controverſies*, all the Country over. But God bleſſed the *Prayers* and *Pains* of his People, for the ſpeedy ſtopping of that *Gangreen*; and ſetled the Country in a comfortable Peace, by a *Synod* convened at *Cambridge* the next Year; whereto our Mr. *Rogers*, and Mr. *Patridge*, who came in the ſame Ship with him, contributed not a little by their Judicious Diſcourſes and Collations.

§ 12. His firſt Invitation was to *Dorcheſter*; but the Number of Good Men who came hither, deſirous of a Settlement under his Miniſtry, could not be there accommodated; which cauſed him to accept rather of an Invitation to *Ipſwich*, where he was Ordained *Paſtor* of the Church, on *Feb.* 20. 1638. At his Ordination preaching on 2 *Cor.* 2. 16. *Who is ſufficient for theſe things:* A Sermon ſo Copious, Judicious, Accurate, and Elegant, that it ſtruck the Hearers with admiration. Here was a Renowned Church conſiſting moſtly of ſuch illuminated Chriſtians, that their Paſtors in the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, might (as *Jerom* ſaid of that brave Woman *Marcella*) *Sentire ſe non tam Diſcipulos habere quam Judices.* His Collegue here, was the Celebrious *Norton*; and glorious was the Church of *Ipſwich* now, in two ſuch extraordinary Perſons, with their different Gifts; but united Hearts, carrying on the Concerns of the Lord's Kingdom in it. While our humble *Rogers* was none of thoſe, who do, Τὰς τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαμπρότητας, ἑαυτῶν ἀμαυρώσεις νομίζειν, *Think the Brightneſs of their Brethren to ſhadow and obſcure themſelves.* But if *Norton* were excellent, there are Perſons of good *Judgment*, who think themſelves bound in *Juſtice* to ſay, That *Rogers* came not ſhort of *Norton*, in his greateſt Excellencies.

§ 13. While he lived in *Ipſwich*, he went over the Five laſt Chapters of the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, in his Miniſtry; the Twelfth Chapter to the *Hebrews*; the Fourteenth Chapter of *Hoſea*; the Doctrine of *Self-denial*, and *walking with God*; and the Fifty third Chapter of *Iſaiah*; to the great Satisfaction of all his Hearers, with many other Subjects more occaſionally handled. It was counted pity that the Publick ſhould not enjoy ſome of his Diſcourſes, in all which he was, οὐ τῶν ἐμούντων ἀλλα τῶν ἀκριβούντων: But his Phyſician told him, That if he went upon *tranſcribing* any of his Compoſures, his Diſpoſition to *Accuracy* would ſo deeply engage him in it, as to endanger his Life: Wherefore he left few Monuments of his Miniſtry, but in the *Hearts* of his People, which were many. But tho' they were ſo *many*, that he did juſtly reckon that well inſtructed, and well-inclined People, his *Crown*, yet in the *Paroxiſm* of *Temptation* among them, upon Mr. *Norton*'s Removal, the melancholy Heart of Mr. *Rogers*, thought for a while, they were too much a *Crown of Thorns* unto him.

§ 14. It belongs to his Character, that he *feared God above many*, and *walked with God*, at a great Rate of *Holineſs*: Tho' ſuch was his *Reſervedneſs*, that none but his intimate Friends knew the *Particularities* of his *Walk*, yet ſuch as were indeed intimate with him could obſerve, that he was much in *Faſting* and *Prayer*, and *Meditation*, and thoſe Duties wherein the *Power of Godlineſs* is moſt maintained: And as the *Graces* of a Chriſtian, ſo the *Gifts* of a Miniſter, in him, were beyond the *ordinary Attainments* of good Men. Yea, I ſhall do a wrong unto his Name, if I do not freely ſay, That he was one of the *greateſt Men*, that ever ſet foot on the *American Strand.* Indeed, when the Apoſtle *Paul* makes that juſt Boaſt, *I was not a whit behind the very chiefeſt Apoſtles:* He does not ſpeak (as we commonly take it) in reſpect of ſuch as were *true Apoſtles*, but in reference to thoſe *falſe Apoſtles*, who had nothing to ſet them out, but their own *lofty Words*, with an unjuſt ſlight of *him.* Whereas our bleſſed *Rogers*, I may without *Injury*, or *Odium*, venture to compare with the very beſt of the *true Miniſters*, which made the beſt Days of *New-England*, and ſay, *He came little, if at all behind the very chiefeſt of them all.*

§ 15. He was much troubled with Spitting of *Blood*; wherein he would comfort himſelf with the Saying of one Mr. *Price*, upon ſuch an Occaſion, *That tho' he ſhould ſpit out his own Blood, by which his Life was to be maintained, yet he ſhould never*, Expuere Sanguinem Chriſti, *or loſe the Benefits of Chriſt's Blood, by which he was redeemed.* He was alſo ſubject unto the *Flatus Hypocondriacus*, even from his *Youth*; wherewith when he was firſt ſurprized, he thought himſelf a *dying Man*; but a good Phyſician, and a long Experience, convinced him, that it was a more *Chronical* Diſtemper. And while he was under the early Diſcouragements of this Diſtemper, I find the famous Mr. *Cotton*, in a Letter dated *March* 9. 1631. thus encouraging of him:

'I bleſs the Lord with you, who ſupporteth 'your *feeble Body*, to do him Service, and mean 'while perfecteth the *Power* of his Grace in 'your *Weakneſs.* You know who ſaid it, *Unmortified Strength poſteth hard to Hell, but ſanctified Weakneſs creepeth faſt to Heaven.* Let 'not your *Spirit* faint, tho' your *Body* do. Your '*Soul* is precious in God's ſight; your *Hairs are numbred*, and the number and meaſure of 'your *fainting Fits*, and weariſome Nights, are 'weighed and limited by his Hand, who hath 'given you his Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to *take upon him your Infirmities*, and *bear your Sickneſſes.*

Nor was it this Diſtemper which at laſt ended his Days; but it was a Flood of *Rheum*, occaſioned partly by his diſuſe of *Tobacco*, whereto he

he had formerly accuſtomed himſelf, but now left it off, becauſe he found himſelf in Danger of being *Enſlaved* unto it; which he thought a thing below a *Chriſtian*, and much more a *Miniſter*. He had often been ſeized with Fits of Sickneſs in the Courſe of his Life: And his laſt ſeemed no more threatning than the former, till the *laſt Morning* of it. An Epidemical ſort of *Cough* had arreſted moſt of the Families in the Country; which proved moſt particularly Fatal to *Bodies*, before labouring with *Rheumatic* Indiſpoſitions. *This* he felt; but in the whole time of his Illneſs, he was full of *Heavenly* Diſcourſe and Counſel, to thoſe that came to viſit him. One of the laſt things he did, was to *Bleſs* the Three Children of his only Daughter, who had purchaſed his Bleſſing by her ſingular Dutifulneſs unto him. It is a notable Paſſage in the *Talmuds*, That the Inhabitants of *Tſippor* expreſſing an extreme Unwillingneſs to have the *Death* of R. *Judah* (whom they Surnamed, *The Holy*,) reported unto them, he that brought the Report, thus expreſſed himſelf, *Holy Men and Angels took hold of the Tables of the Covenant, and the Hand of the Angels prevailed, ſo that they took away the Tables!* And the People then perceived the meaning of the Parabolizer to be, That *Holy Men* would fain have detained R. *Judah* ſtill in this World; but the *Angels* took him away. *Reader*, I am as lothe to tell the Death of *Rogers the Holy*; and the Inhabitants of *Ipſwich* were as lothe to hear it: But I muſt ſay, The *Hand of the Angels prevailed*, on *July* 3. 1655. in the Afternoon, when he had uttered thoſe for his laſt Words, *My Times are in thy hands.*

§ 16. He was known to keep a *Diary*; but he kept it with ſo much Reſervation, that it is not known, that ever any one but himſelf *did* read one Word of it: And he determined that none ever *ſhould*; for he ordered a couple of his Intimate Friends to caſt it all into the Fire, without ever looking into the *Contents* of it.

Surely, with the *Loſs* of ſo Incomparable a Perſon, the Survivors muſt lament the Loſs of thoſe *Experiences*, which might in theſe *Rich Papers*, have kept him, after a ſort, ſtill *Alive* unto us! But as *they* would have prov'd him, *An Incarnate Seraphim*, ſo the other *Seraphim*, who carried him away with them, were no Strangers to the *Methods*, by which he had Ripened and Winged himſelf, to become one of their Society.

I cannot find any Compoſures of this Worthy Man's offered by the *Preſs* unto the World; except one, and that is only a Letter which he wrote from *New-England*, unto a Member of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, at *Weſtminſter*, in the Year 1643. Wherein obſerving, That *Eccleſiam ad Mundi Normam Regnorum & ſtatuum componere, eſt mere Domum Tapetibus accommodare*; he pathetically urged, That the *Parliament* would confeſs the Guilt of Neglecting, yea, Rejecting Motions of *Reformation* in former Parliaments, and proceed now more fully to anſwer the juſt Expectations of Heaven. But I have in my Hands, a brief *Manuſcript*, written in a Neat Latin Style, whereof he was an Incomparable Maſter. 'Tis a Vindication of the *Congregational Church-Government*; and there is one Paſſage in it, by Tranſcribing whereof, I will take the Leave to addreſs the preſent Age.

Non raro Reformationem *impedit Difficultas* Reformandi, & *Eccleſias veræ Diſciplinæ Conformes reddendi. Jehoſhaphat* excelſa non amovebat quia Populus non Comparaverat Animum Deo. '*Non defuerunt (inquit* Bucerus) *intra 'hos Triginta Annos, qui Videri voluerint Juſtam Evangelii Prædicationem plane amplecti, 'atq; Religionis Chriſti rite Conſtituendæ præ-'cipuam Curam ſuſcipere, propter quam etiam 'non parum periclitari ſunt. Verum perpauci 'adhuc reperti ſunt, qui ſe Chriſti Evangelio & 'Regno omnino ſubjeciſſent. Multo vero minus 'permiſſum fuit fides, probatiſq; Eccleſiarum 'Miniſtris, nec adeo multi Miniſtrorum volu-'iſſent id ſibi concedi, ut qui Privatis Admoni-'tionibus non acquieviſſent, atq; a manifeſtis 'peccatis ſuis recipere ſe noluiſſent, eos una cum 'Eccleſiæ Senioribus, ad hoc electis, nomine to-'tius Eccleſiæ, ad Pænitentiam Vocaſſent & Li-'gaſſent; eoſq; qui & hoc Salutis ſuæ Reme-'dium reſpuiſſent, cum aſſenſu Eccleſiæ pro 'Ethnicis & Publicanis habendos Publice pro-'nunciaſſent. Cujus Rationem etiam poſuit* Peter Martyr; '*Videntur aliqui ſubvereri Tumul-'tus, & Turbas, quod ſuæ Tranquilitati con-'ſulant, ſibiq; fingant atq; ſomnient, quandam 'Tranquilitatem in Eccleſia, quam impoſſibile 'eſt ut habeant, ſi Gregem Chriſti recte paſci 'voluerint. Hinc Regula* Prudentiæ *pro Regula* Præcepti *proponitur*; & *Quæriter potius quid fieri convenienter* poſſit, *quam quid* debeat. *Fallit hæc Regula; cum multa Deus efficiat per* Zelotas (*quos vocant*) *quæ* Politicis *Impoſſibilia Viſa fuerint*; *Puta* Hezekiam, Joſiam, & Edvardum *Sextum*, Angliæ *Regem. Cum videas unum* Ezram *Cinere & Cilicio, fletu & Jejunio, tam Spiſſum & Arduum Opus ſuperaſſe, quo Cariſſimas Conjuges, & liberos deſideratiſſimos, e Maritorum Gremio, & Paternis Genibus, revulſit & ablegavit; eorumq; non tantum infimæ Plebis*; etiam Manus ipſorum Principum & Antiſtitum, prima fuit in Prævaricatione iſta: *Quis inquam, fidelis Miniſter adeo* ὀλιγόπιστος *eſt, ut in repurganda Eccleſia, nihil non audeat, cum Bono Deo? Magna quidem eſt Veritatis & Sanctitatis, Vis & Majeſtas: Fidelis & Efficax eſt Aſſiſtentia Spiritus, iis qui Zelo accenſi Gloriæ Dei ſedulo incumbunt. Tempori quidem aliquando eſt cedendum; ſed Operi Dei non eſt ſuperſedendum*,

God will one Day cauſe theſe Words to be Tranſlated into *Engliſh*!

In the mean Time, *Go thy way*, NATHANAEL, *until the End*; *for thou ſhalt Reſt*—

and

and on thy *Reſting Place* I will inſcribe the Words of *Luther* upon his *Neſenus*, for thy

EPITAPH.

O NATHANAEL, *Si mihi datum eſſet Donum*
Miraculoſum Excitandi Mortuos,
Et ſi ullum unquam Excitaſſem,
TE *nunc Excitorem.*

And for the ſame Uſe borrow the Words, in the Epitaph of *Brentius*, the Younger.

Morte Pia rapitur, Cœliq; fit Incola : Semper
Audiet, O magno digna propago Patre.

APPENDIX.

THE Invaluable *Diary* of Mr. *Nathanael Rogers* is loſt: Something of his *Fathers* is not ſo: We'll do ſomething towards Repairing our Loſs out of *That* : Some *Secret* Papers of Old Mr. *John Rogers*, are fallen into my Hands: I will make them as *Publick* as I can; and I will annex them to the *Life* of his Excellent Son, becauſe that Son of his, did *live* over the Life of his Renowned Father. Thus, *Father* and *Son* ſhall live here together; and by offering the Reader an Extract of ſome Obſervable *Memorials for a Godly Life*, contained in Reſerved Experiences of Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, I ſhall alſo deſcribe the very Spirit of the Old *Puritans*, in the *Former* Age, by the View whereof, I hope there will more be made in that Age which is *to come*. Sirs, Read theſe Holy *Memorials*, and let it not be ſaid of us, according to the Complaint which the *Talmuds* thus utter; *Si priſci fuerunt Filii Regnum, nos ſumus Filii Hominum Vulgarium*; & *ſi priſci fuerunt Homines Vulgares, nos ſumus velut Aſini.* Let it not be ſaid, as it uſes to be by the Jewiſh Rabbi's, *Elegantior eſt Sermo familiaris Patrum, quam Lex Filiorum.*

Sixty MEMORIALS *for a* Godly Life.

A COVENANT.

I. I Have firmly purpoſed, (by God's Grace,) to make my *whole Life*, a Meditation of a *Better Life*, and *Godlineſs in every part*; That I may from Point to Point, and from Step to Step, with more Watchfulneſs, *walk with the Lord.*

Oh! The Infinite Gain of it! No ſmall Help hereto, is Daily *Meditation* and often *Conference*. Therefore, ſince the Lord hath given me to ſee in ſome ſort, the Coldneſs of the *Half Service*, that is done to his Majeſty, by *the moſt*, and even by *my ſelf*, I renew my Covenant more firmly with the Lord, to come nearer unto the *Practice of Godlineſs*, and oftener to have my Converſation in *Heaven*, my Mind ſeldomer, and more lightly ſet upon the things of this *Life*, to give to my ſelf leſs Liberty in the ſecreteſt and ſmalleſt *Provocations to Evil*, and to endeavour after a more *continual Watch* from thing to thing, that as much as may be, I may walk with the Lord for the Time of my abiding here below.

A Form of Direction.

II. This Reſolutely Determine, That *God* be always my *Glory*, through the Day: And, as occaſion ſhall be offered, help forward ſuch as ſhall Repair to me, or among whom, by God's Providence, I ſhall come: And theſe two being regarded, That I may tend *my own Good*, going forward, (my own Heart, I mean, Calling and Life, and my Family and Charge) looking for my *Change*, and preparing for the *Croſs*, yea, for *Death* it ſelf: And to *like little* of mine Eſtate, when I ſhall not ſenſibly find it thus with me: And whiles God affordeth me Peace, Health, Liberty, an Heart delighting in him, outward Bleſſings with the ſame, to beware that *Godlineſs* ſeem not pleaſant to me, for *Earthly Commodity*, but for it ſelf: If in this Courſe, or any part of it, I ſhould halt, or miſlike, not to admit of any ſuch *Deceit* : And for the Maintenance of this Courſe, to take my Part in all the *good Helps*, appointed by God for the ſame; as theſe: Firſt, To *Begin* the Day with Meditation, Thankſgiving, Confeſſion and Prayer: To put on my *Armour* : To *Watch* and *Pray* oft and earneſtly in the Day, for holding faſt this Courſe: To hearten on my ſelf hereto by mine own *Experience* (who have ever ſeen, that it goeth well with thoſe, which *walk after this Rule*, 1 Pet. 3. 13. Gal. 6. 16.) and by the *Example* of others. (Heb. 13. 7.) And for the better helping my ſelf forward, ſtill in this Courſe, my Purpoſe and Deſire is, to learn *Humility* and *Meekneſs* more

ard

and more, by God's *Chaſtiſements*, and encourage my ſelf to this Courſe of Life, by his daily *Bleſſings* and *Mercies*; and to make the ſame uſe of all Exerciſes in my *Family*. And faithfully to peruſe and *examine* the ſeveral parts of my *Life* every *Evening*, how this Courſe hath been kept of me, where it hath to keep it ſtill, where it hath not, to ſeek Pardon and Recovery; and all Behaviour that will not ſtand with this, to hold me from it, as from *Bane*.

A Form for a *Miniſter's* Life.

III. In *Solitarineſs* to be leaſt ſolitary: In *Company*, taking or doing of Good; to Wife, to Family, to Neighbours, to Fellow-Miniſters, to all with whom I deal, *kind*; amiable, yet *modeſt*; *low* in mine own Eyes; oft with the Sick and Afflicted: Attending to *Reading*; painful for my *Sermons*; not eaſily provoked unto *Anger*; not carried away with *Conceits* haſtily; not wandring in fond Dreams, about *Eaſe* and *deceivable Pleaſures*; not ſnared in the *World*, nor making *lawful Liberties* my delight; helpful to all that need my help, readily, and all thoſe that I ought to regard: And all this, with continuance, even all my Days.

IV. *Chief Corruptions* to be watch'd againſt, be, Sourneſs, Sadneſs, Timorouſneſs, Forgetfulneſs, Fretting, and Inability to bear Wrongs.

V. I am very backward to *private Viſiting* of Neighbours Houſes, which doth much hurt: For thereby their Love to me cannot be ſo great as it would be; and I know not their particular Wants and States ſo well, and therefore cannot ſpeak ſo fitly to them as I might.

VI. A Miniſter had need look, that he profit by all his Preaching *himſelf*, becauſe he knows not what *others* do: Many, he knows, get no good; of many more he is uncertain: So that if he get no good himſelf, his Labour and Travail ſhall be in vain.

VII. Begin the Day with *half an Hour's Meditation and Prayer*. And let me reſolutely ſet my ſelf to walk with God through the Day: If any thing fall out amiſs, recover again ſpeedily, by humble Confeſſion, hearty Prayer for Pardon, with Confidence of obtaining. And ſo proceed.

VIII. Oh! *Mildneſs*, and *Cheerfulneſs*, with *Reverence*, how ſweet a Companion art thou!

IX. Few rare and worthy Men, continue ſo to their End; but one way or other, fall into Coldneſs, groſs Sin, or to the World: Therefore *beware*.

X. Count not the *Daily Direction*, nor Chriſtian Life, to be Bondage; but count it the ſweeteſt *Liberty*, and the only way of true *Peace*. Whenſoever this is counted hard, that State that is embraced inſtead thereof, ſhall be harder.

XI. *Worldly Dealings*, are great Lets to Fruitfulneſs in Study, and cheerful proceeding in our Chriſtian Courſe.

XII. One can never go about *Study*, or *Preaching*, if any thing lie heavy on the *Conſcience*.

XIII. The worſt Day wherein a Man keeps his Watch, and holds to the daily Rules of Directions, is freer from danger, and brings more Safety than the beſt Day, wherein this is not known or practiſed.

XIV. I am oft, I confeſs, aſhamed of my ſelf, when I have been in Company, and ſeen *Gifts of Knowledge*, in many careleſs unconſcionable, and odd Miniſters; which (with better Reaſons) hath ſtirred up a Deſire oftimes in me, that I could follow my Studies. Yet I would never have been willing to have changed with them: For what is all *Knowledge*, without a ſanctified and comfortable uſe of it, thro' Love; and without Fruit of our Labour, in doing good, and winning and building up of Souls, or at leaſt a great endeavour after it.

XV. Many *Miniſters* ſet their Minds much upon *this World*, either Profit, or Preferment, for which they venture dangerouſly, and ſome of them are *ſoon ſnatch'd away*. Therefore God keep me ever from ſetting my Foot on ſuch a Path, as hath no Continuance, and is not without much Danger in the End.

XVI. It's good for a Man to delight in that, wherein he may be bold to delight without Repentance: And that is, to be always doing, or ſeeking occaſion to do ſome *Good*. The Lord help me herein.

XVII. When God hedgeth in a Man with many Mercies, and gives him a comfortable *Condition*, its good to *acknowledge* it often, and be highly *thankful* for it. Elſe God may ſoon bring a Man ſo low, as he would think that State happy, that he was in before, if now he had it again. Therefore, *God make me wiſe*.

XVIII. Right *good Men* have complained, that they are oft-times in very *bad Caſe*, their Hearts diſordered and diſtempered very ſore, for want of taking to themſelves a *certain Direction* for the Government of their Lives.

XIX. Idle and unprofitable *Talk* of *By-matters*, is a Canker that conſumeth all Good, and yet our Heart much luſteth after it: Therefore reſolve firmly againſt it.

XX. A neceſſary and moſt comely thing it is, for a Miniſter to carry himſelf ſo wiſely and amiably unto all, as he may do good unto *all ſorts*; to bring back them that be fallen off, in meekneſs and kindneſs, to paſs by an Offence in thoſe that have wronged him, which is an high Point of Honour, and not to keep from them, and eſtrange himſelf from their Acquaintance, and ſo ſuffer them to fall further, to be lowly towards the meaner ſort of Chriſtians; to keep the Credit of his Miniſtry with all.

I am perſwaded, If my Light did ſhine more clearly, and mine Example were ſeen more manifeſtly, in theſe and ſuch things (which are of no ſmall force to perſwade the People) that both my Miniſtry would be of more power, and that I ſhould draw them alſo to be better.

XXI. Look, that I lie not down in Bed, but in *Peace* with God any Night, and never my Heart reſt, until it relent truly, for any thing that hath paſſed amiſs in the Day.

XXII. It

XXII. It is good for a Miniſter, not to deal much with his People about *Worldly Matters*, yet not to be *ſtrange* to them: Nor to be a *Stumbling-block* unto the People, by *Worldlineſs*, or any other Fault, elſe he deprives himſelf of all liberty and advantage of dealing with *them* for their Errors.

XXIII. *Buffetings of Satan*, tho' they be grievous, yet they are a very good Medicine againſt Pride and Security.

XXIV. *Chriſt's Death*, and *God's Mercy*, is not ſweet, but where *Sin* is ſour.

XXV. It is an hard thing for a Man to keep the *Rules of Daily Direction*, at Times of *Sickneſs* or *Pain*. Let a Man labour to keep out *Evil*, when he wants *Fitneſs*, *Strength*, and *Occaſion*, to do *Good*, and that is a good Portion for a *ſick Body*. Alſo in Sickneſs that is ſore and ſharp, if a Man can help himſelf with *ſhort and oft Prayers* to God, for Patience, Contentment, Meekneſs, and Obedience to his holy Hand, its well, tho' he can't bend the Mind much, or earneſtly upon any thing.

XXVI. *Innocence* is a very good Fence and Fort againſt *Impatience*, in falſe Accuſations, or great Afflictions. Let them that be Guilty fret and vex themſelves, and ſhew Bitterneſs of Stomach againſt ſuch as ſpeak ill of them; but they that look carefully to their Hearts and Ways, (without looking at *Mens Eye*), let them be ſtill, and of a *meek and quiet Spirit*.

XXVII. Beſides the uſe of the *Daily Direction*, and following ſtrictly the Rules thereof, yet there muſt be now and then the uſe of *Faſting*, to purge out *Wearineſs*, and *Commonneſs*, in the uſe of it.

XXVIII. 'Tis a rare thing for any Man, ſo to uſe *Proſperity*, as that his Heart be drawn the nearer to God. Therefore we had need in that Eſtate, to *watch diligently*, and labour to *walk humbly*.

XXIX. *Oh*, *Frowardneſs!* How unſeemly and hurtful a thing to a Man's ſelf and others! Amiable *Cheerfulneſs*, with *Watchfulneſs* and *Sobriety*, is the beſt Eſtate, and meeteſt to *do good*, eſpecially to others.

XXX. Follow my Calling: Loſe no Time at home or abroad; but be doing ſome Good: Mind my going Homeward: Let my Life never be pleaſant unto me, when I am not fruitful, and fit to be employ'd in doing good, one way or other.

XXXI. It is a great Mercy of God to a *Miniſter*, and a thing much to be deſired, that he be well *moved* with the *Matter* that he preaches to the People; either in his private Meditation, or in his publick Delivery, or both: Better hope there is then, that the People will be moved therewith: Which we ſhould ever aim at.

XXXII. If the *Heart* be *heavy* at any time, and *wounded*, for any thing, ſhame our ſelves, and be humbled for our Sin, before we attempt any good Exerciſe or Duty.

XXXIII. It's a very good Help, and moſt what a *preſent Remedy*, when one feels himſelf dull, and in an *ill Condition*, ſtraightway to confeſs it to God, accuſe himſelf, and pray for Quickning. God ſends Redreſs.

XXXIV. There is as much need to pray to be kept in *Old Age*, and unto the *End*, as at any time. And yet a Body would think, that he that hath eſcaped the Danger of his *younger*, ſhould have no great Fear in his *latter Days*, but that his Experience might prepare him againſt any thing. However, it is not ſo: For many that have done well, and very commendably for a while, have ſhrewdly fallen to great Hurt. This may moderate our Grief, when *young Men* of *great Hopes* be taken away.

Oh! how much rather had I die in Peace quickly, than live to diſgrace the Goſpel, and be a Stumbling-block to any, and live with Reproach!

XXXV. What a ſweet Life is it, when *every part* of the Day, hath ſome *Work* or other allotted unto it, and this done *conſtantly*, but without *Commonneſs*, or *Cuſtomarineſs* of Spirit in the doing it.

XXXVI. When a Man is in a drowſie unprofitable Courſe, and is not humbled for it, God oft lets him fall into ſome *ſenſible Sin*, to ſhame him with, to humble his Heart, and drive him more throughly to God, to bewail and repent of *both*.

XXXVII. A true Godly Man, hath never his *Life joyful* unto him, any longer than his Converſation is holy and heavenly. Oh! let it be ſo with me!

XXXVIII. It is ſome Comfort for a Man, whoſe *Heart* is *out of Order*, if he *ſeeth* it, and that with *hearty Miſlike*, and cannot be content until it be bettered.

XXXIX. I have ſeen of *others*, (which I deſire to *die*, rather than it ſhould be verified of me!) that many Miniſters did never ſeem groſly to depart from God, until they grew *wealthy* and *great*.

XL. How much better is it to *reſiſt* Sin, when we be tempted thereunto, than to *repent* of it after we have committed it?

XLI. Whatſoever a *juſtified Man* doth by Direction of *God's Word*, and for which he hath either Precept, or Promiſe, he pleaſes God in it, and may be comfortable, in whatſoever falls out thereupon. But where Ignorance, Raſhneſs, or our own Will carry us, we offend.

XLII. Let no Man boaſt of the Grace he hath had; for we ſtand not now by that, but it muſt be daily nouriſhed; or elſe a Man ſhall *become as other Men*, and fall into noiſome Evils: For what are we but a Lump of Sin of our ſelves?

XLIII. If God in Mercy arm us not, and keep us not in compaſs, *Lord* what Stuff will break from us! For what a deal of Poiſon is in our Hearts, if it may have Iſſue! And therefore what need of Watchfulneſs continually?

XLIV. The *worſt Day* (commonly) of him that knoweth, and endeavoureth to walk by the *Daily Direction*, is freer from danger, and paſſed in

in greater Safety, than the *beſt Day* of a Godly Man, that knows not this *Direction*.

XLV. Many ſhew themſelves *forward Chriſtians* in *Company* abroad, that yet where they ſhould ſhew moſt Fruits, (as at home) are too ſecure; either thinking they are *not marked*, or if they be, do not much regard it. *This ought not to be.*

XLVI. Be careful to mark what falls out in the *Day*, in Heart, or Life; and be ſure to look over all at *Night*, that hath been amiſs in the *Day*: That ſo I may *lie down in Peace with God*, and Conſcience. The contrary were a woful thing, and would cauſe *Helliſh Unquietneſs*. Be ſure therefore, that none of the malicious Subtleties of the *Devil*, nor the Naughtineſs of my own *Heart*, do carry me further than at Night, I may ſleep with quiet to Godward.

XLVII. When God ſaith, *Deut.* 12. 7. That *his* may *rejoyce before him, in all that they put their Hands unto*: It's a great *Liberty*, and enjoy'd of but *few*. No doubt, many of our *Sorrows* come through our own *Default*, which we might avoid. And as for *Godly Sorrow*, it may ſtand with this *Rejoicing*. If therefore we may *in all things* rejoice, then from one thing to another, from our Waking to our Sleeping: Firſt, In our *firſt Thoughts of God* in the Morning; then in our *Prayer*; after in our *Calling*, and while we are at it; then at our *Meat*, and in *Company*, and *Alone*, at *Home*, and *Abroad*, in *Proſperity*, and *Adverſity*, in *Meditation*, in *Dealings*, and *Affairs*: And Laſtly, in ſhutting up the Day in *Examination*, and viewing it over. And what hinders? If we be willing and reſolved to do the Will of God, throughout the Day, but that we may *rejoice before him, in all we put our Hand unto.*

XLVIII. He that makes Conſcience of his Ways, and to pleaſe God his *only Way*, is to take him to a *Daily Direction*, and ſome *ſet Rules*, thereby looking conſtantly to his Heart all the Day: And thus, for the moſt part, he may live *comfortably*; either not falling into any thing that ſhould much diſquiet him, or ſoon returning by Repentance to Peace again. But if a Man tie not himſelf thus to Rules, his Heart will break from him, and be diſguiſed one way or another, which will breed continual Wound unto his Conſcience, and ſo he ſhall never live any time together in Peace. The Cauſe why many Chriſtians alſo give themſelves great Liberty, in not accuſing themſelves for many Offences, is the want of ſome certain *Direction* to follow in the Day.

XLIX. When we feel unfitneſs to our ordinary Duties, we either begin to be diſcouraged, or elſe yield to Corruption, and neglect our Duties: Neither of both which ſhould be, but without Diſcouragement we ſhould reſiſt our Untowerdneſs, and ſhake it off, and flee to God by *Prayer*, even *force* our ſelves to pray for Grace, and fitneſs to pray; and being earneſt, and praying in Faith, we may be aſſured, that we ſhall obtain Life and Grace.

L. When the Mind is diſtracted any way, unſettled, unquiet, or out of order, then get alone and muſe, and ſee what hath brought us to this paſs; conſider how irkſome a State this is, and unprofitable, pray to God, and work with thy own Heart, until it be brought in frame. An Hour or two alone, ſhall do a Man more good, than any other Courſes or Duties.

LI. Aim (if it be poſſible) to ſpend one Afternoon in a Week, in viſiting the Neighbours houſes, Great uſe there is of it: Their Love to me will be much increaſed: Much occaſion will be miniſtred unto me, for Direction to ſpeak the more fitly in my Miniſtry. I am exceedingly grieved, that I am ſo diſtracted with Journeyings about, that I cannot bring this to paſs.

LII. I never go abroad, (except I ſeaſon my Mind with good Meditations by the way, or read, or confer) but beſides the loſs of my *Time*, neglecting my ordinary Task at home, at my Study, I come home weary in *Body*, unſettled in *Mind*, untoward to *Study*. So that I have ſmall cauſe to rejoice in my Goings forth, and I deſire God to free me more and more from them: So may I alſo attend my own Neighbours more diligently, which is my great deſire; and the contrary hath been, and is my great Burthen.

LIII. I have ever obſerved, that by *Journeyings* and *Diſtractions* of divers kinds, in theſe my *later Times*, and by *too often Preaching* in my *younger Years*, I have been held from uſing means to *get Knowledge*, and grow therein: Which I counted ever the juſt Puniſhment of God upon me, for the neglect of my *young Time*, when I ſhould and might have furniſhed my ſelf.

LIV. When I am in the beſt Eſtate my ſelf, I preach moſt zealouſly and profitably for the *People*.

LV. It breeds an incredible *Comfort* and Joy, when one hath got power over ſome ſuch *Corruption*, as in former Times hath uſed to get the Maſtery over him. This is a good Provocation to ſtrive hard ſo to do, and a Cauſe of great Thankfulneſs when it ſo comes to paſs.

LVI. If we be at any time much dejected for Sin, or otherwiſe diſquieted in our Minds, the beſt way that can be, is to ſettle and quiet them by *private Meditation* and *Prayer*. *Probatum eſt.*

LVII. The *humble* Man is the *ſtrongeſt* Man in the World, and ſureſt to ſtand, for he goes out of himſelf for help. The *proud* Man is the *weakeſt* Man, and ſureſt to fall: For he truſts to his own ſtrength.

LVIII. It's *good* in all the *Changes* of our Life, whatſoever they be, to hold our own, and be not *changed* therewith from our *Goodneſs*: As *Abraham*, whereſoever he came (after his Calling) ſtill built his *Altar* to the true God, and *called upon his Name*: He changed his *Place*, but never changed his *God*.

LIX. Our whole *Life* under the *Goſpel* ſhould be nothing but *Thankfulneſs* and *Fruitfulneſs*. And if we muſt judge our ſelves for our inward Luſts

Luſtre and Corruptions of *Pride*, *Dulneſs* in good Duties, *Earthlineſs*, *Impatience*. If we make not Conſcience of, and be not humbled for theſe, God will and doth, oft give us up to *open Sins*, that Stain and Blemiſh our Profeſſion.

LX. The more we Judge our ſelves *Daily*, the leſs we ſhall have to do on our *Sick-beds*, and when we come to *die*. Oh! *That* is an unfit Time for *This!* We ſhould have nothing to do then, but bear our *Pain* wiſely, and be ready to *die*. Therefore, let us be exact in our Accounts every Day!

Reader, Having thus entertained thee with the *Memorials* of the Famous Mr. *John Rogers*, I will conclude them with tranſcribing a Remark, which I find in a Book publiſhed by Mr. *Giles Firmin*, 1681.

‘Some Excellent Men at home conformed, but groaned under the Burden; as, I remember, Mr. *John Rogers* of *Dedham*, an Eminent Saint; tho' he did *conform*, I never ſaw him wear a *Surplice*, nor heard him uſe but a few *Prayers*; and thoſe, I think, he ſaid *memoriter*, he did not read them: But this he would do in his *Preaching*, draw his Finger about his Throat, and ſay, *Let them take me and hang me up, ſo they will but remove theſe Stumbling Blocks out of the Church*. But how many Thouſands of Choice Chriſtians pluck'd up their Stakes here, forſook their Dear Friends and Native Country, ſhut up themſelves in Ships, (to whom a Priſon for the time, had been more eligible) went remote into an howling Wilderneſs, there underwent great Hardſhips, Water was their common Drink, and glad if they might have had but that which they had given at their Doors here, (many of them:) and all this Suffering was to avoid your Impoſitions, and that they might dwell in the Houſe of God, and enjoy all things therein, according to his own Appointment.

CHAP. XV.

Bibliander Nov-Anglicanus. The LIFE of Mr. *SAMUEL NEWMAN.*

Nulla Tuas unguam Virtutes neſciet Ætas;
Non Jus in Laudes Mors habet Atra Tuas.

§ 1. NONE of the leaſt Services, which the Pens of Ingenious and Induſtrious Men have done for the Church of God, hath been in the Writing of *CONCORDANCES* for that Miraculous Book, where, *Quicquid docetur eſt Veritas*; *Quicquid præcipitur, Bonitas*; *Quicquid promittitur, Fœlicitas*. The Uſe of ſuch *Concordances* is well underſtood by all that *ſearch the Scriptures*, and *think thereby to have Eternal Life:* But moſt of all by thoſe *Bezaleels*, whoſe Buſineſs 'tis (as one ſpeaks) *to cut and ſet in Gold the Diamonds of the Divine Word*.

And therefore there have been many *Concordances* of the Bible ſince that *Origen* firſt led the way for ſuch Compoſures, and divers Languages; whereof, it may be, the *Maximæ & abſolutiſſimæ Concordantiæ*, moſt Compleat, have been thoſe that were compoſed by the Two *Stephens*, *Robert* the Father and *Henry* the Son; theſe, as their Name ſignifies a *Crown*, ſo in this Work of theirs, like *Demoſthenes* in his Oration, *Dei Corona*, have carried away the *Garland* from all that went afore them.

Now, in the Catalogue of *Concordances*, even from that of R. *Iſaac Nathans*, in *Hebrew*, to all that have in many other *derived Languages* imitated it, there is none to be compared unto that of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, in *Engliſh*. Indeed, firſt *Marbeck* in a *Concordance*, which pointed unto *Chapters*, but not unto *Verſes*; then *Cotton*, who though no *Clergy-man* himſelf, yet by his *more*, but yet not *quite* perfect *Concordance* and his *Diligence*, obliged all *Clergy-men*; and afterwards *Bernard*, who yet (no more than his Name's ſake) *ſaw not all things*; and then *Downham*, *Wickens*, *Bennet*, and how many more? have *done vertuouſly*; but *Thou*, Newman, *haſt excelled them all!* It hath been a juſt Remark, ſometimes, made by them, who are ſo *wiſe* as to *obſerve theſe things*, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in his Holy *Providence*, hath choſe eſpecially to make the *Names* of thoſe Perſons *Honourable*, who have laboured in their *Works*, eſpecially to put *Honour* upon the Sacred *Scriptures*. And in Conformity to that Obſervation, there are Dues to be now paid unto the *Memory* of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, who that the *Scriptures* might be preſerved for the *Memory*, as well as the *Underſtanding* of the *Chriſtian World*, firſt compiled in *England*, a more Elaborate *Concordance* of the *Bible*, than had ever yet been ſeen in *Europe*; and after he came to *New-England*, made that *Concordance* yet more elaborate, by the Addition of not only many *Texts*, that were not in the former, but alſo the *Marginal Readings* of all the Texts that had them, and by ſeveral other Contrivances to made the whole more *Expedite*, for the Uſe of them that Conſulted it.

§ 2. The Life of Mr. *Samuel Newman*, commenced with the *Century* now running; at *Banbury*, where he was born of a Family, more *Eminent* and more *Ancient* for the Profeſſion of

of the True *Proteſtant Religion*, than moſt in the Realm of *England*. After his Parents, who had more *Piety* and *Honeſty*, than *Worldly Greatneſs* to ſignalize them, had beſtowed a Good Education upon him, and after his Abode in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, had given more Perfection to that Education, he became *an Able Miniſter of the New Teſtament*. But being under the Conſcientious Diſpoſitions of *Real Chriſtianity*, which was then called *Puritaniſm*, the Perſecution from the Prevailing *Hierarchy*, whereto he therefore became Obnoxious, deprived him of *Liberty*, for the peaceable Exerciſe of his Miniſtry. Whence it came to paſs, that although we might otherwiſe have termed him a *Presbyter* of *One* Town by *Ordination*, we muſt now call him an *Evangeliſt* of *many*, through *Perſecution*: For the *Epiſcopal* Moleſtations compelled him to no leſs than *Seven Removes*, and as many Places may now contend for the Honour of his Miniſtry, as there did for *Homer*'s Nativity. But an *Eighth Remove*, whereto a Wearineſs of the former *Seven* drove him, ſhall bury in Silence the Claims of all other places unto him; for after the Year 1638. (in which Year, with many others, as Excellent *Chriſtians*, as any Breathing upon *Earth*, he croſs'd the Water to *America*) he muſt be ſtyled, *A New-England Man*.

§ 3. After Mr. *Newman*'s Arrival at *New-England*, he ſpent a Year and half at *Dorcheſter*, Five Years at *Weymouth*, and Nineteen Years at *Rehoboth*, which Name he gave unto the Town, becauſe his Flock, which were before *ſtraitned* for Want of *Room*, now might ſay, *The Lord hath made Room for us, and we ſhall be Fruitful in the Land:* Nor will it be wondered at, if one ſo well-verſed in the *Scripture*, could think of none but a *Scripture-Name*, for the Place of his Habitation. How many *Straits* he afterwards underwent at *Rehoboth*, in the *Dark-Day*, when he was almoſt the only Miniſter, whoſe *Invincible Patience* held out, under the Scandalous Neglect and Contempt of the Miniſtry, which the whole Colony of *Plymouth*, was for a while *Bewitched* into, it is beſt known unto the Compaſſionate Lord, who ſaid unto him, *I know thy Works, and how thou haſt born and haſt Patience, and for my Name's ſake haſt laboured, and haſt not fainted*. But, no doubt, the *Straits* did but more effectually Recommend *Heaven* to him as the only *Rehoboth*; whether he went *July* 5. in the Year of our Lord 1663. when by paſſing through *Nine Sevens* of Years, he was come to that which we call, *The Grand Climacterical*. Nor let it be forgotten, that in this Memorable and Miſerable Year, each of the *Three* Colonies of *New-England* was beheaded of the Miniſter from whence they had moſt of their Influences; *Norton* went from the *Maſſachuſet* Colony, *Stone* went from *Connecticut* Colony, and *Newman* from *Plymouth* Colony, within a few Weeks of one another.

§ 4. He was a very *Lively Preacher*, and a very *Preaching Liver*. He lov'd his *Church* as if it had been his *Family*, and he taught his *Family*, as if it had been his *Church*. He was an *Hard-Student*; and as much *Toyl* and *Oyl*, as his Learned Name's ſake *Neander* employed in Illuſtrations and Commentaries, upon the Old, Greek, Pagan *Poets*, our *Newman* beſtowed in compiling his *Concordances* of the *Sacred Scriptures*: And the Incomparable *Reliſh* which the Sacred Scriptures had with him, while he had them thus under his Continual *Rumination*, was as well a *Mean*, as a *Sign* of his arriving to an extraordinary Meaſure of that *Sanctity*, which the *Truth* produces. But of his *Family-Diſcipline* there was no part more notable, than this one; That once a Year he kept a Solemn day of *Humiliation* with his Family; and once a Year, a day of *Thankſgiving*; and on theſe days, he would not only *enquire* of his Houſhold, what they had met withal to be *Humbled*, or to be *Thankful* for, but alſo he would Recruit the *Memoirs* of his *Diary*; by being denied the Sight whereof, our *Hiſtory* of him is neceſſarily Creepled with much Imperfection.

But whether it were entred in that *Diary* or no, there was one Remarkable which once befel him, worthy of a mention in this *Hiſtory*. He was once on a Journey home from *Boſton* to *Rehoboth*: But hearing of a Lecture at *Dorcheſter* by the way, he thought with himſelf, *Perhaps I ſhall not be out of my way, if I go ſo far out of my way, as to take that Lecture*. There he found Mr. *Mather* at Prayer; the Prayer being ended, Mr. *Mather* would not be ſatisfied except he would Preach. Accordingly after the ſinging of a Pſalm, he preached an Excellent Sermon; and by that Sermon, a poor Sinner, well known in the Place, was remarkably converted unto God, and became a Serious and Eminent Chriſtian.

§ 5. *Hoſpitality* was an *Eſſential* of his Character; and I can tell when he *entertained Angels* not *Unawares*. 'Tis doubtleſs, a Faulty piece of *Inſenſibility*, among too many of the Faithful, that they do little conſider the Guard of *Holy Angels*, wherewith our Lord Jeſus Chriſt wonderfully ſupplies us againſt the Miſchief and Malice of *Wicked Spirits*. Thoſe *Holy Angels*, are, it may be, *Two Hundred and Sixty times* mentioned in the Sacred Oracles of *Heaven*; and yet we that read ſo much in thoſe Oracles, are ſo *Earthly-minded*, as to take little Notice of them. 'Tis a marvellous thing, that as one ſays, The *Natives* of Heaven do not grudge to attend upon thoſe, who are only the *Deniſons* thereof; and that, as the Ancient expreſſes it, we may ſee *the whole Heaven* at work for our Salvation, God the *Father* ſending his *Son* to Redem us, both the Father and the Son ſending their *Spirit* to guide us, the Father, Son and Spirit ſending their *Angels* to miniſter for us. Now of the whole *Angelical Miniſtration* concerned for our Good, there is, it may be, none more conſiderable, than the Illuſtrious *Convoy* and *Conduct*, which they give unto the *Spirits* of Believers, when being expired,

pired, they paſs through the Territories *of the Prince of the Power of the Air*, unto the Regions, where they muſt attend until the *Reſurrection.* What *Elijah* had at his Tranſlation, *A Chariot of Angels*, does, in ſome ſort, accompany all the *Saints* at their Expiration; they are carried by *Angels* unto the Feaſt with *Abraham*, and *Angels* do then *Receive them into Everlaſting Habitations.* The *Faith* of this matter has therefore filled the Departing Souls of many Good Men, with *A Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory:* Thus, the Famous Lord *Mornay*, when Dying, ſaid, *I am taking my Flight to Heaven; here are Angels that ſtand ready to carry my Soul into the Boſom of my Saviour;* thus the Famous Dr. *Holland*, when dying, ſaid, *O thou Fiery Chariot, which cameſt down to fetch up* Elijah, *you Angels, that attended the Soul of Lazarus, bear me into the Boſom of my beſt Beloved:* Thus we know of another, that when Dying, ſaid, *O that you had your Eyes opened to ſee what I ſee; I ſee Millions of Angels; God has appointed them to carry my Soul up to Heaven, where I ſhall behold the Lord Face to Face.* And now, let my Reader accept another Inſtance of this *Dying* and moſt *Lively* Expectation!

Our *Newman*, towards the Concluſion of his Days, advanced more and more towards the Beginning of his *Joys:* And a *Joyful* as well as a *Prayerful, Watchful,* and *Fruitful* Temper of Soul, obſervably irradiated him. At length, being yet in Health, he preached a Sermon on theſe Words in Job 14. 14. *All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, until my Change come:* Which proved his *Laſt.* Falling ſick hereupon, he did in the Afternoon of a following *Lords Day* ask a *Deacon* of his Church to pray with him; and the pious *Deacon* having finiſhed his Prayer, this Excellent Man turned about, ſaying, *And now ye Angels of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Come, Do your Office!* with which Words he immediately expired his Holy Soul, into the Arms of *Angels:* The *Spirit* of this *Juſt Man*, was immediately with the *Innumerable Company of Angels.*

§ 6. The Believing Sinner, then has the *Forgiveneſs of Sin* effectually declar'd and aſſur'd unto him, when the *Holy Spirit* of God, with a *Special Operation* (which is call'd, *The Seal of the Holy Spirit*) produces in him a Solid, Powerful, Wonderful, and Well grounded *Perſwaſion* of it; and when he brings home the *Pardoning Love* of God unto the Heart, with ſuch Immediate and Irreſiſtible *Efficacy*, as marvelouſly moves and melts the Heart, and overwhelms it with the Inexpreſſible Conſolations of a *Pardon.* The *Forgiveneſs of Sin*, may be *Hopefully*, but cannot be *Joyfully*, evident unto us, without ſuch a *Special Operation* of the *Holy Spirit*, giving *Evidence* thereunto. When we ſet our ſelves to *argue* our *Juſtification*, from the Marks of our *Sanctification*, that we can find upon our ſelves, we do *well*; we work *right*; we are in an *orderly way* of proceeding. But yet, we cannot well ſee our *Sanctification*, except a *Special Operation* of the Spirit of God, help our Sight; and if we do ſee our *Sanctification*, yet our Sight of our *Juſtification* will be no more than feeble, except a *Special Operation* of the Spirit of God ſhall comfort us. Our own *Argument* may make us a little *eaſy*; and it is our Duty to be found in that *Rational way of Arguing*; but this meer *Argument* of our own, will not bring us to that *Joyful Peace* of Soul, that will carry us triumphantly thro' the *Dark Valley of the Shadow of Death*, and make us *Triumph* over our Doubts, our Fears, and all our Diſcouragements. At laſt, the *Spirit* of God, *He* will come in gloriouſly upon our Hearts, and cauſe us to receive the *Pardon* of our Sins, offered freely thro' Chriſt unto us; and then, we ſhall *Rejoice with Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory.* Neverthleſs, Whenever the *Forgiveneſs of our Sins*, is by a *Special Operation* of the Holy Spirit Reveal'd unto us, the Symptoms of a *Regenerate Soul*, do always accompany it. Tho' the Marks of *Sanctification* are not enough, to give us the full *Joy* of our *Juſtification*; yet they give us the *Proof* of it. When a *Special Operation* of the *Holy Spirit*, gives us to ſee our *Juſtification*, it will give us to ſee our *Sanctification* too.

In writing this, I have written a conſiderable Article of our *Church-Hiſtory:* For it was *this Article*, that perhaps more than any whatſoever, exerciſed the Thoughts and Pens of our *Churches*, for many Years together. But the mention hereof, ſerves particularly to introduce a few more *Memoirs* of our Holy *Newman.*

All *Good Chriſtians* do ſometimes *Examine* themſelves about their *Interiour State:* And they that would be *Great Chriſtians*, muſt often do it. Tho' the Reſerv'd Papers of our *Newman*, are too careleſly loſt, yet I have recovered *one*, which runs in ſuch Terms as theſe.

> ' *Notes*, or *Marks* of Grace, I find in my ' ſelf; Not wherein I deſire to glory, ' but to take *ground of Aſſurance*, and ' after our Apoſtles Rules, *To make my* ' *Election ſure*, tho' I find them but in ' weak Meaſure.

' 1. I find, I *love God*, and deſire to love ' God, principally *for himſelf.*

' 2. A Deſire to Requite *Evil with Good.*

' 3. A looking up to *God*, to ſee him, and ' his *Hand*, in all things that befal me.

' 4. A Greater *Fear of diſpleaſing God*, than ' all the World.

' 5. A *Love* to ſuch *Chriſtians* as I never ſaw, ' or received Good from.

' 6. A *Grief*, When I ſee *God's Commands* ' *broken* by any Perſon.

' 7. A *Mourning* for not finding the *Aſſurance* of God's Love, and the Senſe of his ' Favour, in that comfortable manner, at one ' Time, as at another; and not being *Able to* ' *ſerve God* as I ſhould.

' 8. A Willingneſs to give *God* the *Glory* of ' any *Ability* to do Good.

' 9. A

‘ 9. A *Joy*, when I am in *Chriſtian Company*, ‘ in *Godly Conference*.

‘ 10. A *Grief*, when I perceive it *goes ill with* ‘ *Chriſtians*, and the contrary.

‘ 11. A conſtant Performance of *Secret Du-* ‘ *ties*, between God and my ſelf, Morning and ‘ Evening.

‘ 12. A bewailing of ſuch *Sins*, which none ‘ in the World can accuſe me of.

‘ 13. A chooſing of *Suffering* to avoid *Sin*.

But having thus mentioned the *Self-Examination*, which this holy Man accuſtomed himſelf unto, I know not; but this may be a very proper Opportunity, to obſerve, That the *Holineſs* of our *Primitive Chriſtians*, in this Land, was more than a little expreſſed and improved, by this piece of *Chriſtianity*. And that I may ſerve this Deſign of *Chriſtianity*, upon the devout Reader, I will take this Opportunity to digreſs, (if it be a *Digreſſion*) ſo far, as to recite a paſſage I lately read in a Paper, which a *private Chriſtian*, one of our Godly Old Men, who died not long ſince, (namely Mr. *Clap*, once the Captain of our Caſtle) did, at his Death, leave behind him.

That Godly Man had long been labouring under Doubts and Fears, about his *interiour State* before God. At laſt he was one Day conſidering with himſelf, what was his moſt *beloved Sin*. Herewithal he conſidered, whether in caſe the Lord would aſſure him, that *all Sin* ſhould be for ever pardoned unto him, and he ſhould arrive ſafe to Heaven in the Iſſue, yet he ſhould not in the mean time have that one Sin mortified, and be delivered from the Reign and Rage of that one Sin,——Whether this would content him? Hereunto he found and ſaid, before the Lord, *That this would not content him*. And hereupon the Spirit of God immediately irradiated his Mind, with a ſtrange and a ſtrong Aſſurance of the Divine Love unto him. He was diſſolved into a Flood of Tears, with aſſurance, That God had *loved him with an everlaſting Love*. And from this time, the *Aſſurance* of his Pardon, conquered his Doubts and Fears, I think, all the reſt of his Days.

Our too defective Hiſtory of our *Newman*, I will conclude, as *Blahoſlius* did in his Hiſtory of *Johannes Cornu*: *Longum eſſet Elogia hujus viri narrare. Sed perfectior Hiſtoria, ut de aliis vires, ità & de iſto, conſummatur, & quotidie augetur in Vitâ eternâ*; *Quam da nobis*, O *Domino Deus, in gloriâ cum gaudio legendam. Amen.*

Epitaphium.

Mortuus eſt NEANDER Nov-Anglus,
Qui ante mortem dedicit mori,
Et obiit eâ morte, quæ poteſt eſſe, Ars benè moriendi.

CHAP. XVI.

Doctor Irrefragabiles. The LIFE of Mr. *SAMUEL STONE*.

§ 1. IF the Church of *Rome* do boaſt of her *Cornelius à Lapide*, who hath publiſhed Learned Commentaries upon almoſt the whole Bible, the Proteſtant and Reformed Church of *New-England*, may boaſt of her *Samuel Stone*, who was better skill'd than the other in Sacred *Philology*, and whoſe Learned Sermons and Writings were not ſtuffed with ſuch *Trifles* and *Fables*, and other Impertinencies, as fill many Pages in the Compoſures of the other.

§ 2. In his Youth, after his leaving of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where *Emanuel*-Colledge had inſtructed him with the *Light*, and nouriſh'd him with the *Cup* of that famous Univerſity, he did, with ſeveral other Perſons, that proved famous in their Generation, *ſit at the Feet* of a moſt excellent *Gamaliel*; attending upon that eminently Holy Man of God, whom I will venture to call, *Saint Blackerby*. That Reverend *Richard Blackerby*, whoſe moſt *Angelical* ſort of *Life*, you may read among the laſt of *Sam. Clark's* Collections, was a Tutor to Mr. *Stone*; and you may reaſonably expect, that ſuch a *Scholar*, ſhould have a *double Portion* of the *Spirit*, which there was in ſuch a *Tutor*.

§ 3. Having been an accompliſhed, induſtrious, but yet perſecuted Miniſter of the Goſpel, in *England*, he came to *New-England*, in the ſame Ship that brought over Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Hooker*. A Ship, which in thoſe Three Worthies, brought from *Europe* a richer Loading, than the richeſt that ever ſail'd back from *America* in the *Spaniſh Flota*; even that Wreck which had on Board, among other Treaſures, one entire Table of Gold, weighing above Three thouſand and three hundred Pound. Indeed the Foundation of *New-England* had a precious *Jem* laid in it, when Mr. *Stone* arrived in theſe Regions.

But the Circumſtances of this Removal, require to be related with more of Particularities. The Judicious Chriſtians that were coming to *New-England* with Mr. *Hooker*, were deſirous to obtain a Collegue for him, and being diſap-

pointed of obtaining Mr. *Cotton* for that purpoſe,(who nevertheleſs took it very kindly, that Mr. *Hooker* had ſent them unto him) they began to think, that a couple of ſuch great Men might be more ſerviceable *aſunder*, than *together*. So their next Agreement was, to procure ſome able and godly *young Man*, who might be an *Aſſiſtant* unto Mr. *Hooker*, with ſomething of a *Diſciple* alſo; and thoſe Three, Mr. *Shepard*, Mr. *Norton*, and Mr. *Stone*, were to this end propoſed; and Mr. *Stone*, then a Lecturer at *Torceſter* in *Northampton-ſhire*, was the Perſon upon whom at length it fell, to accompany Mr. *Hooker* into *America*.

§ 4. From the *New-Engliſh Cambridge*, he went Collegue to Mr. *Hooker*, with a choſen and a devout Company of Chriſtians, who gathered a famous *Church*, at a Town which they call'd *Hartford*, upon the well-known River of *Connecticut*. There he continued feeding the Flock of our Lord, fourteen Years, with Mr. *Hooker*, and ſixteen Years after him; till he that was born at *Hartford* in *England*, now on *July* 20. 1663. died in *Hartford* of *New-England*; and went unto the Heavenly Society, whereof he would with ſome Longing ſay, *Heaven is the more deſirable, for ſuch Company as* Hooker, *and* Shepard, *and* Hains, *who are got there before me*.

§ 5. His way of living was *godly*, *ſober*, and *righteous*, and like that great Apoſtle who was his *Name-ſake*, he could ſeriouſly and ſincerely profeſs, *Lord, thou knoweſt all things; thou knoweſt that I love thee*. But there were two things, wherein the *Power of Godlineſs* uſes to be moſt remarkably manifeſted and maintained; and he was remarkable for both of theſe things; namely, frequent *Faſtings*, and exact *Sabbaths*. He would, not rarely, ſet apart whole Days for *Faſting* and *Prayer* before the Lord, whereby he ripened his bleſſed Soul for the *Inheritance of the Saints in Light*. And when the Weekly *Sabbath* came, which he ſtill began in the *Evening* before, he would compoſe himſelf unto a moſt heavenly Frame in all things, and not let fall a *Word*, but what ſhould be grave, ſerious, pertinent. Moreover, it was his Cuſtom, that the *Sermon* which he was to preach on the *Lord's Day* in his Aſſembly, he would the Night before, deliver to his own Family. A Cuſtom which was attended with ſeveral Advantages.

§ 6. Being ordained the *Teacher* of the *Church* in *Hartford*, he apprehending himſelf under a particular and peculiar Obligation, to endeavour the Edification of his People, by a more *Doctrinal* way of Preaching: Accordingly, as he had the *Art* of keeping to his Hour, ſo he had an incomparable Skill at filling of that Hour with Nervous Diſcourſes, in the way of *Common-place* and *Propoſition*, handling the Points of *Divinity*, which he would conclude with a brief and cloſe *Application*: And then he would in his *Prayer*, after *Sermon*, put all into ſuch pertinent Confeſſions, Petitions, and Thankſgivings, as notably digeſted his *Doctrine* into *Devotion*. He was a *Man of Principles*, and in the Management of thoſe Principles, he was both a *Loadſtone*, and a *Flint-ſtone*.

§ 7. He had a certain *Pleaſancy* in Converſation, which was the Effect and Symptom of his moſt ready *Wit*; and made Ingenious Men to be as *Covetous* of his *Familiarity*, as *Admirers* of his *Ingenuity*. Poſſibly he might think of what *Suidas* reports concerning *Macarius*, That by the *Pleaſancy* of his *Diſcourſes* on all Occaſions, he drew many to the Ways of God. He might be inclined, like Dr. *Staunton*, who ſaid, *I have uſed my ſelf to be cheerful in Company, that ſo Standers-by might be the more in Love with Religion, ſeeing it conſiſtent with Cheerfulneſs*. Hence *Facetious Turns* were almoſt *Natural* to him, in his Converſation with ſuch, as had the Sence to comprehend the *Subtleties* of his Reparties. But ſtill under ſuch a Reſerve, as to eſcape the Sentence of the *Canon* of the *Council* of *Carthage*, *Clericum ſcurrilem & verbis turpibus Joculatorem, ab officio Retrahendum eſſe cenſemus*.

§ 8. *Reader*, What ſhould be the meaning of this? Our Mr. *Stone*, about, or before the Year 1650, when all things were in a profound Calm, delivered in a Sermon his Pre-apprehenſions, that *Churches* among them would come to be broken by *Schiſm*, and ſudden *Cenſures*, and angry *Removes*: And that e'er they were aware, theſe Miſchiefs would ariſe among them; in the Churches *Prayers* againſt *Prayers*, *Hearts* againſt *Hearts*, *Tears* againſt *Tears*, *Tongues* againſt *Tongues*, and *Faſts* againſt *Faſts*, and horrible Prejudices and Underminings. Many Years did not paſs, before he ſaw in his *own Church*, all of this accompliſhed. He little thought that his *own Church*, muſt be the Stage of theſe *Tragedies*, when he told ſome of his Friends, *That he ſhould never want their Love*. He did live to undergo what we are now going to ſignifie;

Towards the latter end of his time, this *preſent evil World*, was made yet more *Evil* unto him, through an unhappy *Difference*, which aroſe between him and a *Ruling Elder* in the Church, whereof he was himſelf a *Teaching Elder*. They were both of them Godly Men; and the true *Original* of the *Miſunderſtanding* between Men that were of ſo *Good an Underſtanding*, has been rendred almoſt as obſcure as the Riſe of *Connecticut*-River. But it proved in its unhappy Conſequences, too like that River in its great Annual Inundations; for it overſpread the whole Colony of *Connecticut*. Such a monſtrous *Enchantment* there was upon the Minds even of thoſe who were *Chriſtians*, and *Brethren*, that in all the Towns round about, the People generally made themſelves *Parties*, either to one ſide, or t'other, in this *Quarrel*; tho' Multitudes of them, ſcarce ever diſtinctly knew, what the *Quarrel* was: And the Factions inſinuated themſelves into the ſmalleſt, as well as the greateſt Affairs of thoſe Towns. From the *Fire of the Altar*, there iſſued *Thundrings* and *Lightnings*, and *Earthquakes*, through the Colony. As once in *Conſtantinople*, a Fire that began

began in the *Church* conſumed the *Senate-Houſe*. Thus the *Fire* which began in the *Church* more than a little affected the *Senate-Houſe* in *Connecticut*: And the People alſo were many of them as fiercely ſet againſt one another, as the *Combites* in the *Poet* were againſt the *Tentyrites*. A World of Sin was doubtleſs committed, even by Pious Men on this Occaſion, while they permitted ſo many things contrary to the *Law of Charity*, and ſo much miſpending of their *Time*, and miſplacing of their *Zeal*, as muſt needs occur in their woful *Variance*. Alas! How many of *Solomon*'s wiſe Proverbs were explained and inſtanced in the *Follies* of theſe Conteſts! Indeed, for the compoſing of theſe *Brangles*, there was the Help of *Council* called in; but every *Council* fetch'd from the Neighbourhood, was thought *prejudiced*; for which Cauſe, at laſt, a *Council* was deſired from the Churches about *Boſton*, in the *Maſſachuſet* Bay, whoſe Meſſengers took the pains, thus to Travel more than an Hundred Miles for the *Pacification* of theſe Animoſities; and a ſort of *Pacification* was thereby attained; but yet not without the Diſmiſſion and Removal of many Vertuous People, further up the *River*; whereby ſome other Churches came to be gathered, which are now famous in our *Iſrael*. 'Tis not eaſy to *comprehend*, and I wiſh no ſuch Faithful Servant of God may *experience* it; how much the *Spirit* of Mr. *Stone*, was worn by the *Continual Dropping* of this Contention. — *Gutta cavat Lapidem*. But the *Duſt* of Mortality being thrown upon thoſe Good Men, they have not only left *ſtinging* one another, but alſo they are together *Hived* with *Unjarring Love*, in the Land that flows with what is better than *Milk* and *Honey*. As for Mr. *Stone*, if it were *Metaphorically* true (what they *Proverbially* ſaid) of *Beza*, that *he had no Gall*, the Phyſicians that opened him after his Death, found it *Literally* true in this worthy Man.

§ 9. In his *Church-Diſcipline*, he was, perhaps, the exacteſt of that which we call *Congregational*, and being asked once to give a Deſcription of the *Congregational Church-Government*, he replied, *It was a ſpeaking* Ariſtacracy *in the Face of a ſilent* Democracy.

§ 10. He was an Extraordinary Perſon at an *Argument*; and as clear, and ſmart a *Diſputant*, as moſt that ever lived in the World. Hence, when any *Scholar* came to him with any *Queſtion*, it was his Cuſtom to bid him take which part the Quæriſt himſelf pleaſed, either Poſitive or Negative, and he would moſt *Argumentatively* diſpute againſt him; whereby having diſputed one another into the *Narrow* of the Caſe, he would then give the *Enquirer* the moſt Judicious and ſatisfying *Determination* of his *Problem*, that could be imagined. Yea, what *Cicero* ſays of one, might almoſt be ſaid of him, *Nullam unquam in Diſputationibus rem defendit, quam non probarit; nullum oppugnavit, quem non everterit.*

§ 11. The World has not been entertained with many of his Compoſures. But certain Strokes of Mr. *Hudſon* and Mr. *Cowdrey*, fetch'd one Spark out of this well compacted *Stone*; which was, *A Diſcourſe about the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church*; wherein ſome thought, that as a *Stone* from the *Sling* of *David*, he has mortally wounded the Head of that *Goliah*, *A National Political Church*. At leaſt, he made an Eſſay, to do what was done by the *Stone* of *Bohan*, ſetting the *Bounds* between Church and Church, as *That* between Tribe and Tribe.

Moreover, I find in a Book, which a late Author hath written *On Free-Grace*, this Paſſage; *Might the World be ſo happy, as to ſee a very Elaborate Confutation of the* Antinomians, *written by a very acute and ſolid Perſon, a Great Diſputant*, viz. Mr. *Stone of* New-England, *a Congregational Divine, it would eaſily appear, that the* Congregational *are not* Antinomian. And Mr. *Baxter*, in one of his laſt Works, does utter his *Dying* Wiſhes, for the Reſurrection of that *buried Manuſcript*.

But one of the moſt Elaborate things written by Mr. *Stone*, or indeed, in this Land, is his *Body of Divinity*; wherein the Reader has in a *Richardſonian* Method, curiouſly drawn up the *Doctrine* of the Proteſtant, and Reformed, and *New-Engliſh* Churches; and the *Marrow* of all that had been Reached, by the hard and long Studies of this Great Student in *Theology*. This *Rich Treaſure* has often been Tranſcribed by the vaſt Pains of our Candidates for the Miniſtry; and it has *made* ſome of our moſt Conſiderable *Divines*. But all Attempts for the Printing of it, hitherto proved Abortive.

Epitaphium.

——*Quem Nubila Victa Coronant.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The LIFE of Mr. *WILLIAM THOMPSON.*

§ 1. THere is no Experienced Miniſter of the Goſpel, who hath not in the Caſes of *Tempted Souls*, often had this Experience, that the Ill Caſes of their diſtempered *Bodies*, are the frequent Occaſion and Original of their *Temptations*. There are many Men, who in the very Conſtitution of their *Bodies*, do afford a *Bed*, wherein buſy and bloody *Devils*, have a ſort of a Lodging provided for them. The *Maſs of Blood* in them, is diſordered with ſome Fiery *Acid*, and their *Brains* or *Bowels* have ſome Juices or Ferments, or Vapours about them, which are moſt unhappy *Engines* for *Devils* to work upon their Souls withal. The Vitiated Humours in many Perſons, yield the *Steams*, whereinto *Satan* does inſinuate himſelf, till he has gained a ſort of *Poſſeſſion* in them, or at leaſt, an Opportunity to ſhoot into the Mind, as many *Fiery Darts*, as may cauſe a ſad Life unto them; yea, 'tis well if *Self-Murder* be not the ſad end, into which theſe hurred People are thus precipitated. *New-England*, a Country where *Splenetic* Maladies are prevailing and pernicious, perhaps above any other, hath afforded Numberleſs Inſtances, of even *pious People*, who have contracted thoſe *Melancholy Indiſpoſitions*, which have unhinged them from all Service or Comfort; yea, not a few Perſons have been hurried thereby to lay *Violent Hands* upon themſelves at the laſt. Theſe are among the *unſearchable Judgments of God!*

§ 2. Mr. *William Thompſon* was a Reverend Miniſter of the Goſpel, who *felt* in himſelf, the Vexations of that *Melancholy*, which Perſons in his Office do ſo often *ſee* in others. He was a very powerful and ſucceſsful *Preacher*; and we find his Name ſometimes joined in the Title-Page of ſeveral Books, with his Countryman, Mr. *Richard Mather*, as a *Writer*. Nor was *New England* the only part of *America*, where he zealouſly publiſhed the Meſſages and Myſteries of Heaven, after that the Engliſh *Hierarchy* had perſecuted him from the like Labours in *Lancaſhire*, over into *America*; but upon a Miſſion from the Churches of *New-England*, he carried the Tidings of Salvation by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt into *Virginia:* Where he ſaw a Notable Fruit of his Labours, until that Faction there, which call'd it ſelf, *The Church of England*, perſecuted him from thence alſo. *Satan*, who had been after an extraordinary manner irritated by the Evangelic Labours of this Holy Man, obtained the Liberty to *ſift* him; and hence, after this Worthy Man had ſerved the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Church of our New-Engliſh *Braintree*, he fell into that *Balneum Diaboli*, a black *Melancholy*, which for divers Years almoſt wholly diſabled him for the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry: But the end of this *Melancholy*, was not ſo Tragical, as it ſometimes is with ſome, whom yet becauſe of their Exemplary *Lives*, we dare not cenſure for their Prodigious *Deaths*. It is an Obſervation of no little Conſequence, in our Chriſtian Warfare, That for all the fierce *Temptations* of the Devil upon us, there is a *Time* limited; an *Hour of Temptation*. During this *Time*, the Devil may grow the more furious upon us, the more we do *Reſiſt* him. We muſt *Reſiſt* until the *Time*, which is *prefixt* by God, but *unknown* to us, is expired: And then, we ſhall find it a *Law* in the *Inviſible World* ſtrictly kept unto, That if the *Reſiſtance* be carried on to ſuch a Period, tho' perhaps with many Intervening Foyle, the *Devil* will be gone; yea, whether he will or no, we *muſt* be gone. There is a *Law* for it, which obliges him to a *Flight*, and a *Flight* that carries a *Fright* in it; a *Fear* from an Appre-henſion that God, with his *Good Angels*, will come in, with terrible Chaſtiſements upon him, if he preſume to continue his *Temptations* one Moment longer, than the *Time* that had been allow'd unto him. All this, may be implied, in that Paſſage of the Apoſtle, *Reſiſt the Devil, and he will flee from you.* And as our Lord, being Twice more furiouſly *Tempted* by the Devil, *Drew near to God*, with *Extraordinary Prayer*; but when the *Time* for the *Temptation* was out, God by his *Angels* then ſenſibly *drew near* unto him, with freſh Conſolations: To this, no doubt, the Apoſtle refers, when he adds, *Draw nigh to God, and he ſhall draw nigh to you.* Accordingly, the Paſtors and the Faithful, of the Churches in the Neighbourhood, kept *Reſiſting of the Devil*, in his cruel Aſſaults upon Mr. *Thompſon*, by continually *Drawing near to God*, with ardent Supplications on his Behalf: And by *praying always*, without *Fainting*, without *ceaſing*, they ſaw the *Devil* at length *Flee from* him, and God himſelf *Draw near* unto him, with unutterable Joy. The *End* of that Man is *Peace!*

§ 3. A ſhort Flight of our *Poetry* ſhall tell the reſt.

REMARKS

On the *Bright* and the *Dark* Side,
of that *American* Pillar,
The Reverend Mr. *William Thompſon*;
Paſtor of the Church at *Braintree*.
Who *Triumphed* on Dec. 10. 1666.

BUT may a *Rural Pen* try to ſet forth
Such a Great *Fathers* Ancient Grace and Worth!

I undertake a no leſs Arduos Theme,
Than the Old Sages found the *Chaldee* Dream.
'Tis more than *Tythes* of a profound Reſpect,
That muſt be paid ſuch a *Melchizedeck*.

Oxford this *Light*, with *Tongues* and *Arts* doth Trim;
And then his *Northern* Town doth challenge him.
His Time and Strength he *center'd* there in *this*;
To do *Good Works*, and *Be* what *Now* he is.
His *Fulgent Vertues* there, and *Learned Strains*,
Tall comely *Preſence*, *Life* unſoil'd with *Stains*,
Things moſt on WORTHIES, in their Stories writ,
Did him to moves in *Orbs* of *Service* fit.
Things more peculiar yet, my Muſe, intend,
Say Stranger Things than theſe; ſo weep and end.

When he forſook firſt his *Oxonian* Cell,
Some Scores at once from Popiſh Darkneſs fell;
So this *Reformer* ſtudied! Rare *Firſt Fruits!*
Shaking a *Crab-Tree* thus by hot Diſputes,
The Acid *Juice* by Miracle turn'd *Wine*,
And rais'd the *Spirits* of our Young Divine.
Hearers, like *Doves*, flock't with contentious Wing,
Who ſhould be firſt, feed moſt, moſt Homeward bring.
Laden with *Honey*, like *Hyblæan* Bees,
They knead it into *Combs* upon their Knees.

Why he from *Europe*'s Pleaſant Garden fled,
In the Next Age, will be with Horrour ſaid.
Braintree was of this *Jewel* then poſſeſt,
Until himſelf, he *labour'd* into *Reſt*.
His *Inventory* then, with *Johns*, was took;
A *Rough Coat*, *Girdle* with the Sacred *Book*.

When Reverend *Knowles* and he, ſail'd hand in hand,
To CHRIST eſpouſing the *Virginian Land*,
Upon a Ledge of Craggy Rocks near ſtav'd,
His *Bible* in his Boſom thruſting ſav'd;
The *Bible*, the beſt of Cordial of his Heart,
Come Floods, *Come Flames*, (cry'd he) *we'll never part*.
A *Conſtellation* of Great *Converts* there,
Shone round him, and his *Heavenly Glory* were.
GOOKINS was one of *theſe*: By *Thompſon*'s Pains,
CHRIST and NEW-ENGLAND, a dear GOOKINS gains.

With a Rare Skill in *Hearts*, this Doctor cou'd
Steal into them *Words* that ſhould do them Good.
His *Balſams* from the *Tree of Life* diſtill'd,
Hearts cleans'd and heal'd, and with Rich Comforts fill'd.
But here's the Wo! *Balſams* which others cur'd,
Would in his own Turn hardly be endur'd.

Apollyon owing him a curſed *Spleen*
Who an *Apollos* in the Church had been,
Dreading his Traffick here would be undone
By Num'rous *Proſelytes* he daily won,
Accus'd him of *Imaginary Faults*,
And puſh'd him down ſo into diſmal *Vaults*:
Vaults, where he kept long *Ember-Weeks* of Grief,
Till Heaven *Alarm'd* ſent him in Relief.
Then was a *Daniel* in the *Lions* Den,
A Man, oh, how *Belov'd* of God and Men!
By his Bed-ſide an *Hebrew Sword* there lay,
With which at laſt he drove the *Devil* away.
Quakers too durſt not bear his keen Replies,
But *Fearing* it half drawn, the *Trembler* flies.
Like *Lazarus*, new raiſed from Death, appears
The Saint that had been *Dead* for many Years.
Our *Nehemiah* ſaid, *Shall ſuch as I*
Deſert my Flock, and like a Coward fly!
Long had the Churches begg'd the Saints Releaſe;
Releas'd at laſt, he dies in Glorious *Peace*.
The Night is not ſo long, but *Phoſphor*'s Ray
Approaching Glories doth on High diſplay.
Faith's Eye in him diſcern'd the *Morning Star*,
His Heart leap'd; ſure the *Sun* cannot be far.
In Extaſies of Joy, he Raviſh'd cries,
Love, love the Lamb, the Lamb! In whom he dies.

Dec. 10. 1666.

But the Churches of *New England* having had another Inſtance of Affliction like that which exerciſed our *Thompſon*, I ſhall chuſe this Place to introduce it. *Lives* have been ſometimes beſt written in the way of *Parallel*. To Mr. *William Thompſon*, ſhall now therefore be *Parallel'd*, our Mr. *John Warham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN WARHAM.*

WHen the *Time* of *Reformation* was come on, one of the more effectual things, done towards that *Reformation* in *England*, about the middle of the former Century, was to ſend about the Kingdom certain *Itinerant Preachers*, with a Licenſe to preach the *Fundamentals* of Religion, inſtead of the Stuff, with which the Souls of the People had been formerly famiſhed. Upon this occaſion, 'tis a Paſſage mentioned by the famous Dr. *Burnet* : *Many Complaints were made of thoſe that were Licenſed to Preach ; and that they might be able to juſtifie themſelves, they begin generally to write and read their Sermons : And thus did this Cuſtom begin ; in which, what is wanting in the Heat and Force of Delivery, is much made up by the Strength and Solidity of the Matter : And it has produced many Volumes of as excellent Sermons, as have been preached in any Age.*

The Cuſtom of Preaching with *Notes*, thus introduced, has been decried by many good Men, beſides *Fanaticks*, in the preſent Age, and many poor and weak *Prejudices* againſt it have been pretended. But hear the Words of the moſt accompliſhed Mr. *Baxter*, unto ſome Gainſayers : *It is not the want of our Abilities, that makes us uſe our Notes ; but it's a Regard unto our Work, and the Good of our Hearers. I uſe Notes as much as any Man, when I take Pains ; and as little as any Man, when I am lazy, or buſie, and have not leiſure to prepare. Its eaſier unto us, to preach three Sermons without Notes, than one with them. He is a ſimple Preacher, that is not able to preach a Day, without Preparation, if his Strength would ſerve.* Indeed I would have Diſtinction made between the *reading* of *Notes*, and the *uſing* of *Notes*. It is pity that a Miniſter ſhould ſo read his *Notes*, as to take away the *Vivacity*, and *Efficacy* of his Delivery ; but if he ſo uſe his *Notes*, as a *Lawyer* do's the *Minutes* whereupon he is to plead, and carry a *full Quiver* into the Pulpit with him, from whence he may with *one caſt* of his Eye, after the lively ſhooting of *one Arrow*, fetch out the *next*, it might be a thouſand ways advantageous.

I ſuppoſe the firſt Preacher that ever thus preach'd with *Notes* in our *New-England*, was the Reverend *Warham* : Who though he were ſometimes faulted for it, by ſome Judicious Men, who had never *heard* him, yet when once they came to *hear* him, they could not but admire the notable *Energy* of his Miniſtry. He was a more *vigorous Preacher* than the moſt of them who have been applauded for, *never looking in a Book in their Lives.* His latter Days were ſpent in the Paſtoral Care and Charge of the Church at *Windſor*, where the whole Colony of *Connecticut* conſider'd him as a principal Pillar, and Father of the Colony.

But I have one thing to relate concerning him, which I would not mention, if I did not by the mention thereof, propound and expect the advantage of ſome, that may be my Readers. Know then, that tho' our *Warham* were as pious a Man as moſt that were out of Heaven, yet *Satan* often threw him into thoſe deadly Pangs of *Melancholly*, that made him deſpair of ever getting thither. Such were the terrible *Temptations*, and horrible *Buffetings*, undergone ſometimes by the Soul of this holy Man, that when he has adminiſtred the *Lord's Supper* to his Flock, whom he durſt not ſtarve by omitting to adminiſter that Ordinance ; yet he has forborn himſelf to partake at the ſame time in the Ordinance, through the fearful Dejections of his Mind, which perſwaded him that thoſe bleſſed *Souls* did not belong unto him. The dreadful *Darkneſs* which overwhelmed this *Child of Light* in his *Life*, did not wholly leave him till his *Death.* 'Tis reported, that he did even *ſet in a Cloud*, when he retired unto the glorified Society of thoſe *Righteous Ones, that are to ſhine forth, as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father* : Tho' ſome have aſſerted, that the *Cloud* was diſpelled, before he expired.

What was deſired by *Joannes Matheſius*, may now be inſcribed on our *WARHAM*, for an

EPITAPH.

Securus recubo hic mundi pertæſus iniqui ;
Et didici & docui, vulnera, Chriſte, tua.

CHAP. XIX.

The LIFE of Mr. *HENRY FLINT.*

ALtho' there is a moſt ſenſible and glorious Demonſtration of the *Divine Providence* over Human Affairs, in the *ſtupend Variety* of *Human Faces*, that among ſo many Millions of Men, their Countenances are diſtinguiſhable enough to preſerve the Order of Human Society, and Converſation thereon depending; yet there have been ſome notable Inſtances of *Reſemblance* in the World. They are not only *Twins*, which have ſometimes had this *Reſemblance*, in ſuch a degree, as to occaſion more Diverſion, than the two *Soſia's* in *Plautus*'s *Amphytrio*; but ſome other Perſons have been too like one another to be known aſunder, without Critical Obſervations of Accidental *Circumſtances*. I will not mention the ſeveral Examples of *Likeneſs* reported by *Pliny*, becauſe there is frequently as much *Likelineſs* between a *Plinyiſm* and a *Fable*. But *Merſennus* gives us the Names of two Men ſo extreamly *alike*, that their neareſt Relations were thereby moſt notoriouſly impoſed upon. Yea, this *Likeneſs* has proceeded ſo far, that *Polyſtratus*, and *Hippoclides*, two Philoſophers much alike, were both born in the ſame Day; they were School-Fellows, and of the ſame Sect; they both dy'd in a great Age, and at the very ſame Inſtant. Further yet, the two famous Brothers at *Riez*, in *France*, perfectly alike, if one of them were ſick, or ſad, or ſleepy, the other would immediately be ſo too. And the Story of the three *Gordians*, the one exactly like *Auguſtus*, the ſecond exactly like *Pompey*, the third exactly like *Scipio*; he that has read *Pezelius*, doubtleſs will remember it.

I know not whether any of theſe *Likeneſſes* are greater, than what it was the *Deſire* and *Study*, and in a leſſer meaſure the *Attainment* of that holy and worthy Man, Mr. *Henry Flint*, the Teacher of *Brain-tree*, to have unto Mr. *Cotton*, the well-known Teacher of *Boſton*. Having *Twins* once born unto him, he called the one *John*, t'oher *Cotton*, and his *Honouring Imitation* of that Great Man, was as if he had been a *Twin* to *John Cotton* himſelf. In his exemplary *Life*, he was *John Cotton* to the *Life*; and in all the Circumſtances of his Miniſtry, he propounded *John Cotton* for his Pattern; as apprehending that *he followed Jeſus Chriſt*.

You may be ſure, he that Copied after ſuch an excellent Perſon, muſt *write fair*, tho' he ſhould happen to fall any thing ſhort of the Original.

Wherefore, having already written the Life of *John Cotton*, I need ſay nothing more of *Henry Flint*; but they are now both of them gone, where the *Harmony* is become yet more *agreeable*.

He that was a Solid *Stone*, in the Foundations of *New-England*, is gone to be a glorious One, in the Walls of the *New Jeruſalem*.

He died *April* 27. 1668. and at his Death deſerved the *Epitaph* once allowed unto *Mentzer*.

Epitaphium.

Flintæus *ſemper Meditatus Gaudia Cæli,*
Nunc tandem Cæli Gaudia Lætus habet.

CHAP. XX.

The LIFE of Mr. *RICHARD MATHER.*

Florente verbo, omnia Florent in Eccleſia. Luther.

§ 1. IT is a memorable Paſſage, which Doctor *Hall*, after a Perſonal Examination of it, ventures to relate, as moſt credible, [in his Book of *Angels*,] That a certain Cripple called *John Trelille*, having been fixteen Years a miſerable Cripple, did upon three Monitions in a Dream to do ſo, waſh himſelf in S. *Mathern*'s Well, and was immediately reſtored unto the uſe of his Limbs, and became able to walk, and work, and maintain himſelf.

Reader, If thou haſt any *Feebleneſs* upon thy Mind, in regard either of *Piety*, or thy Perſwaſion about the *Church-Order* of the Goſpel, I will carry thee now to a Well of a S. *Mathern*; which Name, I ſuppoſe, to be the *Corniſh* Pronunciation of *that*, which was worn by the good Man, whoſe Hiſtory is now going to be offered.

In the *Night* whereon our Lord was born, there was a *glorious Light*, with an Hoſt of *Angels*

gels glorioſly ſinging over *Bethlehem*; and the Birth of the *great and good Shepherd*, was thus revealed unto the *Shepherds* of that Country. The *Magicians* in the *Eaſt*, whether they had by their Converſations with the *Inviſible World*, a *readier Eye* to diſcern ſuch Objects, or whether it were only the Sovereign and Gracious *Providence* of God, which thus directed them, *they* probably ſaw that *Glory of the Lord*. Poſſibly to *them* at a diſtance, it might ſeem a *new Star* hanging over *Judæa*; but after *two Years* of Wonder and Suſpence about it, they were informed by God, what it ſignified; and when they came near the place of the Lord's *Nativity*, 'tis likely that this *Glory*, once again appeared, for their fulleſt Satiſfaction. *This*, till I ſee a *better* Account, muſt be that which I ſhall take about, *The Star of the Wiſe Men in the Eaſt*. But I am now to add, that in all *Ages*, there have been *Stars* to lead Men unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: *Angelical Men* employ'd in the Miniſtry of our Lord, have been thoſe happy *Stars*; and *we* in the *Weſt*, have been ſo happy, as to ſee ſome of the *firſt Magnitude*; among which one was Mr. *Richard Mather*.

§ 2. It was at a *ſmall Town*, called *Lowton*, in the County of *Lancaſter*, *Anno* 1596, that ſo *great* a *Man*, as Mr. *Richard Mather* was born, of Parents that were of Credible and Ancient Families. And theſe his Parents, tho' by ſome Diſaſters, their Eſtate was not a little ſunk below the Means of their Anceſtors, yet were willing to beſtow a *Liberal Education* on *him*; upon occaſion whereof Mr. *Mather* afterwards thus expreſſed himſelf: ***By what Principles and Motives my Parents were chiefly induced to keep me at School***, *I have not to ſay, nor do I certainly know: But this I muſt needs ſay, that this was the ſingular good Providence of God towards me, (who hath the Hearts of all Men in his Hands) thus to incline the Hearts of my Parents; for in this thing the Lord of Heaven ſhewed me ſuch Favour, as had not been ſhewed to many my Predeceſſors and Contemporaries in that place.* They ſent him to School at *Winwick*, where they Boarded him in the *Winter*; but in the *Summer* ſo *warm* was his deſire of Learning, that he travelled every Day thither, which was *four Miles* from his Father's Houſe. Whilſt he was thus at School, *Multu tulit fecitque Puer*—he met with an Extremity of Diſcouragement from the *Orbilium* Harſhneſs and Fierceneſs of the *Pædagogue*; who tho' he had bred many fine Scholars, yet for the Severity of his *Diſcipline*, came not much behind the Maſter of *Junius*, who would beat him *eight times* a Day, whether he were in *a* Fault, or *no* Fault. Our young *Mather*, tired under this Captivity, at laſt frequently and earneſtly importuned of his Father, that being taken from the School, he might be diſpoſed unto ſome Secular Calling; but when he had waded through his Difficulties, he wrote this Reflection thereupon: *God intended better for me, than I would have choſen for my ſelf; and therefore, my Father, tho' in other things indulgent enough, yet in this would never condeſcend to my Requeſt, but by putting me in hope, that by his ſpeaking to the Maſter, things would be amended, would ſtill over-rule me to go on in my Studies: And good it was for me to be over-ruled by him, and his Diſcretion, rather than to be left to my own Affections and Deſire. But, O, that all School Maſters would learn Wiſdom, Moderation, and Equity, towards their Scholars; and ſeek rather to win the Hearts of Children by righteous Loving, and courteous Uſage, than to alienate their Minds by Partiality, and undue Severity; which had been my utter Undoing, had not the good Providence of God, and the Wiſdom and Authority of my Father prevented.*

§ 3. Yea, and here Almighty God made uſe of his otherwiſe cruel *School-Maſter*, to deliver this hopeful young Man from an Apprenticeſhip unto a *Popiſh Merchant*, when he was very near falling into the woful Snares of ſuch a Condition; which Mercy of Heaven unto him was accompanied with the further Mercy of living under the Miniſtry of one Mr. *Palin*, then Preacher at *Leagh*: Of whom he would long after ſay, *That tho' his Knowledge of that good Man was only in his Childhood, yet the Remembrance of him was even in his Old Age comfortable to him; inaſmuch as he obſerved ſuch a penetrating Efficacy in the Miniſtry of that Man, as was not in the common ſort of Preachers.*

§ 4. There were at this time, in *Toxteth Park* near *Liverpool*, a well-diſpoſed People, who were deſirous to erect a *School* among them, for the good Education of their Poſterity. This People ſending unto the School-Maſter of *Winwick*, to know whether he had any *Scholar* that he could recommend for a *Maſter* of their New School. *Richard Mather* was by him recommended unto that Service; and at the Perſwaſion of his Friends to attend that Service, he laid aſide his Deſire, and his Deſign of going to the Univerſity: Not unſenſible of what hath been ſtill obſerved, *Scholas eſſe Theologiæ pediſſequas, ac ſeminaria Reipublicæ.* Now as it cannot juſtly be reckoned any Blemiſh unto him, that at *fifteen Years of Age* he was a *School-Maſter*, who carried it with ſuch Wiſdom, Kindneſs, and grave Reſervation, as to be *loved* and *feared* by his young Folks, much above the moſt that ever uſed the *Ferula*; ſo 'twas many ways advantageous unto him, to be thus employed. Hereby he became a more accurate *Grammarian*, than *Divines* too often are; and at his leiſure Hours he ſo ſtudied, as to become a notable Proficient in the other *Liberal Arts*.

Moreover, 'twas by means hereof, that he experienced an effectual *Converſion* of Soul to God, in his tender Years, even before his going to *Oxford*; and thus he was preſerved from the *Temptations* and *Corruptions*, which undid many of his Contemporaries in the *Univerſity*. That more thorough and real *Converſion* in him, was occaſioned by obſerving a Difference between his own Walk, and the moſt exact, watchful, fruitful, and prayerful Converſation of ſome in the Family, of the learned and pious Mr. *Edward Aſpinwal*, of *Toxteth*, where he ſojourned.

journed. This *Exemplary Walk* of that Holy Man, cauſed many ſad Fears to ariſe in his own Soul, that he was himſelf *out of the way*; which Conſideration with his hearing of Mr. *Harriſon*, then a Famous Miniſter at *Hyton*, preach about *Regeneration*, and his reading of Mr. *Perkins*'s Book, that ſhows, *How far a Reprobate may go in Religion*; were the means whereby the God of Heaven brought him into the State of a *New Creature*. The *Troubles of Soul*, which attended his *New Birth*, were ſo exceeding Terrible, that he would often retire from his appointed Meals unto ſecret Places, to lament his Miſeries; but after ſome time, and about the *Eighteenth Year* of his Age, the Good Spirit of God healed his *Broken Heart*, by pouring thereinto the Evangelical Conſolations of *His Great and Precious Promiſes*.

§ 5. After this, he became a more Eminent *Bleſſing*, in the *Calling*, wherein God had now diſpoſed him; and ſuch Notice was taken of him, that many Perſons were ſent unto him, even from Remote Places, for their Education; whereof, not a few went well accompliſhed, from him to the *Univerſity*. But having ſpent ſome Years in this Employment, he judged it many ways advantageous for him to go unto the *Univerſity* himſelf, that he might there converſe with Learned *Men* and *Books*, and more improve himſelf in Learning, than he could have done at Home. Accordingly, at *Oxford*, and particularly at *Brazen-Noſe-College* in *Oxford*, he now reſided, where together with the *Satisfaction* of ſeeing his *Old Scholars*, who had by his Education, been fitted for their being there, he had the Opportunity further to enrich himſelf by Study, by Conference, by Diſputation, and other *Academical* Entertainment: As conſidering, that the *Lamps* were to be *lighted*, before the *Incenſe* was to be burned in the Sanctuary. And here, he was more intimately acquainted with famous Dr. *Woral*, by whoſe Advice, he read the Works of *Peter Ramus*, with a ſingular Attention and Affection; which Advice, he did not afterwards repent that he had followed.

§ 6. But it was not very long before the People of *Toxteth* ſent after him, that he would return unto them, and inſtruct, not their Children as a *School-maſter*, but themſelves as a *Miniſter*: With which Invitation, he at laſt complied; and at *Toxteth*, Nov. 13. 1618. he preached his *Firſt Sermon*, with great Acceptance in a vaſt Aſſembly of People: But ſuch was the Strength of his *Memory*, that what he had prepared for *one*, contained no leſs than *Six* long Diſcourſes. He was after this ordained, with many others, by Dr. *Morton*, the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, who after the Ordination was over, ſingled out Mr. *Mather* from the reſt, ſaying, *I have ſomething to ſay betwixt you and me alone*. Mr. *Mather* was now jealous, that ſome Informations might have been exhibited againſt him for his *Puritaniſm*, inſtead of which when the Biſhop had him alone, what he ſaid unto him was, *I have an earneſt Requeſt unto you, Sir, and you muſt not deny me: 'Tis, that you would pray for me*; *for I know* (ſaid he) *the Prayers of Men that fear God will avail much, and you I believe are ſuch a one*. And being ſo ſettled in *Toxteth*, he married the Daughter of *Edmund Holt*, Eſq; of *Bury* in *Lancaſhire*, Sept. 29. 1624. which Vertuous Gentlewoman, God made a Rich Bleſſing to him, for Thirty Years together; and a Mother of *Six Sons*, moſt of whom afterwards proved famous in their Generation.

§ 7. He preached every Lord's Day twice at *Toxteth*, and every Fortnight he held a *Tueſday* Lecture, at *Preſcot*: Beſides which, he often preached upon the *Holy-Days*, not as thinking that any *Day* was now *Holy*, except the Chriſtian Weekly Sabbath, but becauſe there was *then* an Opportunity to caſt the *Net* of the Goſpel among *much Fiſh*, in Great Aſſemblies, which then were convened, and would otherwiſe have been worſe employed. In *this*, he followed the Examples of the Apoſtles, who preached moſt in *populous Places*, and this alſo on the Jewiſh *Sabbaths*, which yet were ſo far abrogated, that they charged the Faithful to *Let no Man judge them* in impoſing the Obſervation thereof upon them.

He preached likewiſe very frequently at *Funerals*, as knowing, that though *Funeral Sermons* are wholly diſuſed in ſome *Reformed Churches*, and have been condemned by ſome Decrees of *Councils*, yet this was chiefly becauſe of the common Error committed in the Laviſh *Praiſes of the Dead* on ſuch Occaſions, which therefore he avoided, inſtead thereof, only giving *Counſels to the Living*. Indeed, the Cuſtom of Preaching at *Funerals* may ſeem *Ethnical* in its Original; for *Publicola* made an Excellent Oration in the Praiſe of *Brutus*, with which the People were ſo taken, that it became a Cuſtom, for famous *Men*, after this, at their Death, to be ſo celebrated; and when the Women among the *Romans* parted with their Ornaments, for the Publick Weal, the Senate made it lawful for *Women* alſo to be in the like manner celebrated. *Hinc mortuos Laudandi Mos fluxit, quem nos hodie ſervamus*, if *Polydore Virgil* may, as he *ſometimes* may be believed. But the *Madgeburgenſian Centuriators* tell us that this Rite was not practiſed in the Church, before the Beginning of the *Apoſtacy*. However, this Watchful Miniſter of our Lord, made his *Funeral-Speeches* to be but a Faithful Diſcharge of his Miniſtry in Admonitions concerning the *laſt things*, whereby the *Living* might be edified. But thus in his Publick Miniſtry, he went over the 24th *Chapter* in the ſecond of *Samuel*; the firſt Chapter of *Proverbs*; the firſt and ſixth Chapters of *Iſaiah*; the twenty ſecond and twenty third Chapters of *Luke*; the Eighth Chapter of the *Romans*; the ſecond Epiſtle to *Timothy*; the ſecond Epiſtle of *John*, and the Epiſtle of *Jude*.

§ 8. Having ſpent about Fifteen Years, thus, in the Labours of his Miniſtry, his Lecture at *Preſcot* in fine, gave him to find the Truth of

Quintilian's

Quintilian's Obſervation, *Magnam Famam & Magnam Quietem, eodem Tempore, Nemo poteſt Acquirere.* Through the Malice of *Satan*, and the Envy of the *Satanical*, there were now brought againſt him, thoſe Complaints for his *Non Conformity* to the *Ceremonies*, which in *Auguſt*, 1633. procured him to be *ſupended*. The *Suſpenſion* continued upon him, till the *November* following, but then by the Interceſſion of ſome Gentlemen in *Lancaſhire*, and the Influence of *Simon Biby*, a near Alliance of the Biſhop's Viſitor, he was *Reſtored*. After his *Reſtoration*, he more exactly than ever, ſtudied the Points of *Church-Diſcipline*; and the Effect of his moſt careful Studies was, that the *Congregational way*, aſſerted by *Cartwright*, *Parker*, *Baines* and *Ames*, was the Pitch of *Reformation*, which he judged the Scriptures directed the Servants of the Lord humbly to endeavour. But this Liberty was not longer lived than the Year 1634. for the Arch-Biſhop of *York* now was that Gentleman, whom King *James* pleaſantly admoniſhed of his Preaching *Popery*, becauſe of ſome Unacceptable things in his Conduct, which taught the People *to pray for a Bleſſing on his Dead Predeceſſor*; and he now ſending his Viſitors, among whom the Famous Dr. *Couſins* was one, into *Lancaſhire*; where they kept their Court at *Wigan*, among other *Hard Things*, they paſſed a Sentence of *Suſpenſion* upon Mr. *Mather*, meerly for his *Non Conformity*. His Judges were not willing, that he ſhould offer the *Reaſons*, which made him *Conſcientiouſly* ſo diſpoſed, as then he was, but the *Glorious Spirit of God* enabled him with much Wiſdom, to encounter what they put upon him; inſomuch, that in his Private Manuſcripts, he entred this Memorial of it, *In the Paſſages of that Day, I have this to Bleſs the Name of God for, That the Terrour of their Threatning Words, of their Purſevants, and of the reſt of their Pomp, did not terrifie my Mind, but that I could ſtand before them without being daunted in the leaſt Meaſure, but anſwered for my ſelf ſuch Words of Truth and Soberneſs, as the Lord put into my Mouth, not being afraid of their Faces at all: Which ſupporting and comforting Preſence of the Lord, I count not much leſs Mercy, than if I had been altogether preſerved out of their Hands.* But all means uſed afterwards, to get off this unhappy *Suſpenſion*, were ineffectual; for when the Viſitors had been informed, that he had been a Miniſter *Fifteen* Years, and all that while never wore a *Surpliſs*, One of them ſwore, *It had been better for him, that he had gotten Seven Baſtards.*

§ 9. He now betook himſelf to a *private Life*, without Hope of again enjoying the Liberty of doing any more *publick Work*, in his Native Land; but herewithal fore-ſeeing a *Storm* of Calamities like to be haſtned on the Land, by the Wrath of Heaven incenſed, particularly at the Injuſtice uſed in depriving the truly Conſcientious of their Liberty, his Wiſhes became like thoſe of the Deprived Pſalmiſt, *O, that I had Wings like a Dove! Lo, then would I wander far off, and remain in the Wilderneſs; I would haſten my eſcape from the Windy Storm and Tempeſt.*

New-England was the Retreat which now offered it ſelf unto him; and accordingly, he drew up ſome Arguments for his Removal thither, which Arguments were indeed, the very Reaſons, that moved the Firſt Fathers of *New-England* unto that unparallel'd Undertaking of Tranſporting their Families with themſelves, over the *Atlantic* Ocean.

I. A Removal from a *Corrupt* Church to a *Purer*.

II. A Removal from a Place, where the Truth and Profeſſors of it are *perſecuted*, unto a Place of more *Quiet* and *Safety*.

III. A Removal from a Place, where all the *Ordinances* of God cannot be enjoyed, unto a Place where they *may*.

IV. A Removal from a Church, where the *Diſcipline* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is wanting, unto a Church where it may be practiſed.

V. A Removal from a Place, where the *Miniſters* of God are unjuſtly inhibited from the Execution of their Functions, to a Place where they may more freely execute the ſame.

VI. A Removal from a Place, where there are Fearful Signs of *Deſolation*, to a Place where one may have well grounded Hope of God's Protection.

Such a Removal, he judged *That* unto *New-England* now before him.

Theſe Conſiderations were preſented unto many Miniſters and Chriſtians of *Lancaſhire*, at ſeveral Meetings, whereby they were perſwaded, and even his own People of *Toxteth*, who dearly loved him and prized him, could not gain-ſay it, that by removing to *New England*, he would not *Go out of his way*. And hereunto he was the more inclined by the Letters of ſome Great Perſons, who had already ſettled in the Country; among whom the Renowned *Hooker* was one, who in his Letters thus expreſſed himſelf, *In a Word, if I may ſpeak my own Thoughts freely and fully, though there are very many Places where Men may receive and expect more Earthly Commodities, yet do I believe there is no Place this Day upon the Face of the Earth, where a Gracious Heart and a Judicious Head, may receive more Spiritual Good to himſelf, and do more Temporal and Spiritual Good to others.* Wherefore being ſatisfied in his Deſign for *New-England*, after Extraordinary Supplication for the Smiles of Heaven upon him in it, he took his Leave of his Friends in *Lancaſhire*, with Affections on both ſides like thoſe, wherewith *Paul* bid Farewel to his in *Epheſus*; and in *April*, 1635. he made his Journey unto *Briſtol*, to take Ship there; being forced as once *Brentius* was, to change his Apparel, that he might eſcape the

he Purſevants, who were endeavouring to apprehend him.

§ 10. On *May* 23. 1635, he ſet Sail from *Briſtol* for *New-England:* But when he came upon the Coaſts of *New-England*, there aroſe an horrible *Hurricane*, from the Dangers whereof his Deliverance was remarkable, and well nigh miraculous. The beſt Account of it, will be from his own Journal; where the Relation runs in theſe Words:

Auguſt 15. 1635.

'The Lord had not yet done with us, nor 'had he let us ſee all his *Power* and *Goodneſs*, 'which he would have us take the knowledge 'of. And therefore about break of Day, he 'ſent a moſt terrible Storm of Rain, and *Eaſterly Wind*, 'whereby we were, I think, in as 'much Danger ar ever People were. When we 'came to Land, we found many mighty Trees 'rent in pieces, in the midſt of the Bole, and 'others turned up by the Roots, by Fierceneſs 'thereof. We loſt in that Morning three Anchors and Cables; one having never been in 'the Water before; two were broken by the 'Violence of the Storm, and a third cut by the 'Sea-men in extremity of Diſtreſs, to ſave the 'Ship, and their, and our Lives. And when 'our Cables and Anchors were all loſt, we had 'no outward Means of Deliverance, but by 'hoiſting *Sail*, if ſo be we might get to Sea, 'from among the *Iſlands* and *Rocks*, where we 'were Anchored. But the Lord let us ſee, that 'our *Sails* could not help us neither, no more 'than the *Cables* and *Anchors*; for by the force 'of the Wind and Storm, the *Sails* were rent 'aſunder, and ſplit in pieces, as if they had 'been but rotten Rags; ſo that of divers of 'them, there was ſcarce left ſo much as an 'Hand's-breadth, that was not rent in pieces, 'or blown away into the Sea; ſo that at that 'time, *all Hope* that we ſhould be ſaved, in regard of any outward Appearance, was utterly 'taken away: and the rather, becauſe we ſeemed to drive with full force of Wind, directly 'upon a mighty Rock, ſtanding out in ſight above Water; ſo that we did but continually 'wait, when we ſhould hear and feel the doleful Cruſhing of the Ship upon the *Rock*. In 'this Extremity and Appearance of Death, as 'Diſtreſs and Diſtraction would ſuffer us, we 'cried unto the Lord, and he was pleaſed to 'have Compaſſion upon us; for by his over-ruling Providence, and his own immediate good 'Hand, he guided the Ship paſt the *Rock*, aſ'ſwaged the Violence of the *Sea*, and of the '*Wind*. It was a Day much to be remembred, 'becauſe on that Day the Lord granted us as 'wonderful a Deliverance as, I think, ever any 'People had felt. The Sea-men confeſſed, they 'never knew the like. The Lord ſo imprint 'the Memory of it in our Hearts, that we may 'be the better for it, and be careful to pleaſe 'him, and to walk uprightly before him as long 'as we live. And I hope we ſhall not forget 'the Paſſages of that Morning, until our Dying 'Day. In all this grievous Storm, my *Fear* 'was the leſs, when I conſidered the *Clearneſs* '*of my Calling from God this way*. And in ſome 'meaſure (the Lord's holy Name be bleſſed for 'it) he gave us Hearts contented and willing, 'that he ſhould do with us, and ours, what he 'pleaſed, and what might be moſt for the Glo'ry of his Name; and in that we reſted our 'ſelves. But when News was brought us into 'the Gun-Room, that the Danger was paſt, Oh! 'how our Hearts did then relent and melt with'in us! We burſt out into *Tears of Joy* among 'our ſelves, in Love unto the gracious God, 'and Admiration of his Kindneſs, in granting 'to his poor Servants ſuch an extraordinary and 'miraculous Deliverance, his Holy Name be 'bleſſed for evermore.

The Storm being thus allay'd, they came to an Anchor before *Boſton*, *Auguſt* 17. 1635. Where Mr. *Mather* abode for a little while, and with his vertuous Conſort, joined unto the Church in that place.

§ 11. He quickly had *Invitations* from ſeveral Towns, to beſtow himſelf upon them; and was in a great Strait, which of thoſe *Invitations* to accept. But applying himſelf unto *Counſel*, as an *Ordinance of God*, for his Direction, *Dorcheſter* was the place, whereto a Council, wherein Mr. *Cotton*, and Mr. *Hooker*, were the principal, did adviſe him. Accordingly to *Dorcheſter* he repaired; and the Church formerly *planted* there, being *tranſplanted* with Mr. *Warham* to *Connecticut*, another Church was now gathered here, *Auguſt* 23. 1636. by whoſe Choice Mr. *Mather* was now become their *Teacher*. Here he continued a Bleſſing unto all the Churches in this Wilderneſs, until his dying Day, even for near upon Four and thirty Years together. He underwent not now ſo many *Changes*, as he did before his coming hither; and he never changed his Habitation after this, till he went unto the *Houſe Eternal in the Heavens*; albeit his old People of *Toxteth* vehemently ſolicited his Return unto them, when the troubleſome *Hierarchy* in *England* was depoſed.

§ 12. Neverthleſs, if *Luther*'s three Tutors for an able Divine, *Study*, and *Prayer*, and *Temptation*, as Mr. *Mather* could not leave the *two firſt*, ſo the *laſt* would not *leave him*; the *Wilderneſs* whereinto he was come, he found not without its *Temptations*. He was for ſome Years exerciſed with Spiritual *Diſtreſſes*, and Internal *Deſertions*, and Uncertainties about his Everlaſting Happineſs; which Troubles of his Mind he revealed unto that eminent Perſon Mr. *Norton*, whoſe well-adapted Words, comforted his weary Soul. It was in theſe *dark Hours*, that a *glorious Light* roſe unto him, with a certain Diſpoſition of Soul, which I find in his private Papers thus expreſſed: *My Heart relented with Tears at this Prayer, That God would not deny me an Heart to bleſs him, and not blaſpheme him, that is ſo holy, juſt, and good; tho' I ſhould be excluded from his Preſence, and go down into*

ever-

everlaſting Darkneſs and Diſcomfort. But when theſe terrible *Temptations* from *within* were over, there were ſeveral and ſucceſſive *Afflictions*, which he did from *abroad* meet withal: Of all which Afflictions, the moſt calamitous was, the Death of his dear, good, and wiſe Conſort, by whoſe diſcreet Management of his Affairs, he had been ſo releaſed from all Secular Incumbrances, as to be wholly at Liberty, for the Sacred Employment of his Miniſtry. However, after he had continued in his Widowhood a Year and half, the State of his Family made it neceſſary for him to apply himſelf unto a *Second Marriage*; which he made with the pious Widow of the moſt famous Mr. *John Cotton*; and her did God make a Bleſſing unto him the reſt of his Days.

§ 13. My *deſcribing* his general *Manner of Life*, after he came to *New-England*, ſhall be only a *tranſcribing* of thoſe *Vows*, which tho' he made before his coming thither, yet he *then* renewed. In his private Papers, wherein he left ſome Records of the Days which he ſpent ſometimes in ſecret *Humiliations*, and *Supplications*, before the God of Heaven, and of the *Aſſurances* which with the *Tears* of a melted Soul, in thoſe *Days*, he received of Bleſſings obtained for himſelf, his Children, his People, and the whole Country, I find Recording the enſuing *Inſtrument*.

' *Promiſſiones* Deo *factæ*, ' *per me*, Richardum ' Matherum. ' 21. D. 6. M. 1633. — *Pſal.* 66. 13, 14. *Pſal.* 119. 106. *Pſal.* 56. 12. *Neh.* 9. 33. with 10. 29, 30, 31, *&c.*

I. Touching the *Miniſtry*.

' 1. TO be more painful and diligent in private *Preparations* for Preaching, by ' *Reading*, *Meditation*, and *Prayer*; and not ' ſlightly and ſuperficially. *Jer.* 48. 10. *Eccl.* 9. ' 10. 1 *Tim.* 4. 13, 15.

' 2. In and after Preaching, to ſtrive ſeriouſly ' againſt inward *Pride*, and *Vain-glory*.

' 3. Before and after Preaching, to beg by ' *Prayer* the Lord's Bleſſing on his *Word*, for the ' Good of Souls, more carefully than in time ' paſt. 1 *Cor.* 3. 6. *Acts* 16. 14.

II. Touching the *Family*.

' 1. To be more frequent in Religious *Diſcourſe* and *Talk*, *Deut.* 6. 7.

' 2. To be more careful in *Catechiſing* Children. *Gen.* 18. 19. *Prov.* 22. 6. *Eph.* 6. 4. And ' therefore to beſtow ſome Pains this way, *every Week* once; and if by urgent Occaſions it ' be ſometimes omitted, to do it twice as much ' another Week.

III. Touching *My ſelf*.

' 1. To ſtrive more againſt Worldly *Cares* ' and *Fears*, and againſt the inordinate Love of ' *Earthly Things*. Mat. 6. 25, *&c.* Pſal. 55. 22. ' 1 Pet. 5. 7. Phil. 4. 6.

' 2. To be more frequent and conſtant in ' *private Prayer*. Mat. 6. 6. & 14. 23. Pſal. 55. ' 17. Dan. 6. 10.

' 3. To practiſe more carefully and ſeriouſly, ' and frequently the Duty of *Self-Examination*. ' *Lam.* 3. 40. *Pſal.* 4. 4. *Pſal.* 119. 59. eſpecially before the Receiving of the *Lord's Supper*. ' 1 *Cor.* 11. 28.

' 4. To ſtrive againſt carnal *Security*, and exceſſive *Sleeping*. *Prov.* 6. 9, 10. & *Prov.* ' 20. 13.

' 5. To ſtrive againſt *vain Jangling*, and miſpending precious *Time*. *Eph.* 5. 16.

IV. Touching *Others*.

' 1. To be more careful and zealous, to *do good unto their Souls*, by private Exhortations, ' Reproofs, Inſtructions, Conferences of God's ' Word. *Prov.* 10. 21. & 15. 17. *Lev.* 19. 17. ' *Pſal.* 37. 30.

' 2. To be ready to do Offices of *Love* and ' *Kindneſs*, not only, or principally, for the ' Praiſe of Men, to purchaſe Commendation for ' a *good Neighbour*, but rather out of *Conſcience* ' to the Commandment of God. *Phil.* 2. 4. 1 *Cor.* ' 10. 24. *Heb.* 13. 16.

' *Renewed* with a Profeſſion of Diſabili-' ties in my ſelf, for Performance, ' and of Deſire to fetch Power from ' Chriſt, thereunto to live upon him, ' and act from him, in all Spiritual ' Duties.

15. *D.* 6. *M.* 1636.

Richard Mather.

§ 14. His way of *Preaching* was very *plain*, ſtudiouſly avoiding obſcure and foreign Terms, and unneceſſary Citation of *Latine* Sentences; and aiming to ſhoot his *Arrows*, not over the *Heads*, but into the *Hearts* of his Hearers. Yet ſo *Scripturally*, and ſo *Powerfully* did he preach his *plain Sermons*, that Mr. *Hooker* would ſay, *My Brother* Mather *is a mighty Man*; and indeed he ſaw a great Succeſs of his Labours, in both *Englands*, converting many Souls unto God. His *Voice* was loud and big, and uttered with a deliberate Vehemency, it procured unto his Miniſtry an awful and very taking *Majeſty*; nevertheleſs, the ſubſtantial and rational Matter delivered by him, cauſed his Miniſtry to take yet more, where-ever he came. Whence, even while he was a young Man, Mr. *Gellibrand*, a famous Miniſter in *Lancaſhire*, hearing him, enquired, What his Name was? When Anſwer was made, That his Name was *Mather*; he replied, *Nay, his Name ſhall be* Matter; *for believe it, this Man hath good Subſtance in him.* He was indeed a Perſon eminently *Judicious*, in the Opinion of ſuch as were not in Controverſies then managed, of *his own* Opinion; by the

ſame Token, that when Dr. *Parr*, then Biſhop in the Iſle of *Man*, heard of Mr. *Mather*'s being ſilenced, he lamented it, ſaying, *If Mr.*Mather *be ſilenced, I am ſorry for it; for he was a Solid Man, and the Church of God hath a great Loſs of him.* And it was becauſe of his being eſteemed ſo *Judicious* a Perſon, that among the Miniſters of *New-England*, he was improved more than the moſt, in explaining and maintaining the Points of *Church-Government* then debated. The Diſcourſe about the *Church-Covenant*, and the Anſwer to the *Thirty two Queſtions*, both written in the Year 1639, tho' they paſs under the Name of the Miniſters of *New-England*, Mr. *Mather* was the ſole Author of them. And when the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline* was agreed by a *Synod* of theſe Churches, in the Year 1647. Mr. *Mather*'s Model was *that* out of which it was chiefly taken.

And being thereto deſired, he alſo prepared for the Preſs, a very elaborate Compoſure, which he entituled, *A Plea for the Churches of* New-England.

Moreover, to defend the *Congregational*, in thoſe leſſer *Punctilio's*, wherein it ſeems to differ from the *Presbyterian Way of Church-Government*; he Printed one little Book in Anſwer to Mr. *Herl*, and another in Anſwer to Mr. *Rutherford:* And yet was he ſo little *Browniſtically* affected, that beſides his Apprehenſion of ſo vicious and infamous a Man, as *Brown*'s not being likely to be the Diſcoverer of any momentous Truth in Religion, he wrote a Treatiſe to prove, That whatever *Priviledge* and *Liberty* may belong to the *Fraternity*, the *Rule* of the Church belongs only to its *Presbytery*. Furthermore, when the Propoſitions of the *Synod*, in 1662. were oppoſed by Mr. *Davenport*, Mr. *Mather* was called upon to Anſwer him; which he did, and therein, as in his former *Anſwers*, he gave ſuch Inſtances of a cloſe Regard unto the *Truth*, and the *Cauſe*, without the leaſt Expreſſion of Diſreſpect unto the *Perſons* anſwered, That as my Reverend Friend Mr. *Higginſon* hath ſaid ſometimes to me, *He was a Patern for all Anſwerers to the end of the World.*

But as he judged that a *Preacher* of the Goſpel *ſhould* be, he *was*, a very hard *Student:* Yea, ſo intent was he upon his beloved *Studies*, that the Morning before he died, he importuned the Friends that watched with him, to help him into the Room, where he thought his uſual *Works* and *Books* expected him; to ſatisfie his Importunity, they begun to lead him thither; but finding himſelf unable to get out of his Lodging-Room, he ſaid, *I ſee I am not able, I have not been in my Study ſeveral Days; and is it not a lamentable thing, that I ſhould loſe ſo much time?* He was *truly abundant in his Labours:* For tho' he was very frequent in *hearing the Word* from others, riding to the *Lectures* in the Neighbouring Towns, till his Diſeaſe diſabled him, and even to Old Age writing Notes at thoſe Lectures, as the Renowned *Hilderſham* likewiſe did before him; yet he preached for the moſt part every *Lord's Day* twice; and a *Lecture* once a Fortnight, beſides many Occaſional Sermons both in publick and private; and many *Caſes of Conſcience*, which were brought unto him to be diſcuſſed. Thus his Miniſtry in *Dorcheſter*, beſides innumerable other Texts of Scripture, went over the Book of *Geneſis*, to *Chap.* 38. the *Sixteenth Pſalm*; the whole Book of the Prophet *Zechariah*; *Matthew*'s Goſpel to *Chap.* 15. the *Fifth Chapter* in the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians*; and the whole *Second Epiſtle of Peter*; his Notes whereon he reviewed and renewed, and fitted for the Preſs before his Death.

He alſo publiſhed a Treatiſe of *Juſtification*, whereof Mr. *Cotton* and Mr. *Wilſon* gave this Teſtimony: *Thou ſhalt find this little Treatiſe to be like* Mary*'s Box of Spikenard, which waſhing the* Paths *of Chriſt towards us, (as that did his* Feet) *will be fit to perfume not only the whole Houſe of God with the Odour of his Grace, but alſo thy Soul with the Oyl of Gladneſs, above what Creature Comforts can afford. The manner of handling thou ſhalt find to be ſolid, judicious, ſuccinct, and pithy, fit (by the Bleſſing of Chriſt) to make wiſe unto Salvation.* And beſides theſe things, he publiſhed *Catechiſms*, a leſſer and a larger, ſo well formed, that a *Luther* himſelf would not have been aſhamed of being a *Learner* from them.

Nevertheleſs, after all theſe Works, he was as *Nazianzen* ſaith of *Athanaſius*, Ὑψηλὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, ταπεινὸς δὲ τοῖς φρονήμασι· As *low* in his *Thoughts*, as he was *high* in his *Works.* He never became *twice a Child* through *Infirmity*, but was *always* one, as our Saviour hath commanded us, in *Humility.*

§ 15. A *Jerom* would weep at the *Death* of ſuch a Man, as portending Evil to the Place of his former, uſeful, holy *Life:* But ſuch an occaſion of Tears, the *Death* of Mr. *Mather* muſt at laſt give to his bereaved People. Some *Years* before his Death, [having ſent over unto his old Flock in *Lancaſhire*, a like Teſtimony of his Concernment for them] he compoſed and publiſhed, *A Farewel Exhortation to the Church and People of* Dorcheſter, conſiſting of *Seven Directions*, wherein his Flock might read the *Deſign* and *Spirit* of his whole Miniſtry among them; on a certain *Lord's Day*, he did, by the Hands of his *Deacons*, put theſe little Books into the Hands of his Congregation, that ſo whenever he ſhould by Death take his *Farewel* of them, they might ſtill remember how they had been exhorted. But Old Age came now upon him, wherein tho' his *Hearing* was decay'd, and (as with Great *Zanchy*) the *Sight* of one of his Eyes: Yet upon all other Accounts he enjoyed an *Health* both of *Body* and *Spirit*, which was very wonderful, and agreeable as well to his *Hardy Conſtitution*, as to the *ſimple* and *wholſome* Diet, whereto he ſtill accuſtomed himſelf. He never made uſe of any Phyſician all his Days; nor was he ever ſick of any *Acute Diſeaſe*, nor in Fifty Years together, by any Sickneſs detained ſo much as one *Lord's Day* from his Publick Labours. Only the two laſt Years of his Life, he

he felt that which has been called *Flagellum Studioſorum*, namely, *The Stone* which proved the *Tombſtone*, whereby all his Labours and Sorrows were, in fine, brought unto a Period.

§ 16. A *Council* of Neighbouring Churches being aſſembled at *Boſton*, Apr. 13. *1669.* to adviſe about ſome Differences ariſen there, Mr. *Mather*, for his Age, Grace and Wiſdom, was choſen the *Moderator* of that Reverend Aſſembly. For divers Days, whilſt he was attending this *Conſultation*, he enjoyed his Health better, than of ſome later Months; but as *Luther* was at a *Synod* ſurprized with a Violent Fit of the *Stone*, which cauſed him to Return home, with little Hope of Life, ſo it was with this Holy Man. On *Apr. 16.* lodging at the Houſe of his Worthy Son, a Miniſter in *Boſton*, he was taken very Ill with a Total Stoppage of *Urine*, wherein according to *Solomon*'s Expreſſion for it, *The Wheel was broken at the Ciſtern.* So his Lord found him about the *Bleſſed* Work of a *Peace-maker*; and with an Alluſion to the Note of the German *Phœnix*, Mr. *Shepard* of *Charls-town*, put that Stroke afterwards into his *Epitaph :*

Vixerat in Synodis, Moritur Moderator in Illis.

Returning by Coach, thus Ill, unto his Houſe in *Dorcheſter*, he lay patiently expecting of his Change; and, indeed was a *Pattern of Patience*, to all Spectators, for all Survivors. Though he lay in a Mortal Extremity of *Pain*, he never *ſhrieked*, he rarely *groaned*, with it; and when he was able, he took Delight in Reading Dr. *Goodwin*'s Diſcourſe, about *Patience*, in which Book he read until the very Day of his Death. When they asked him, *how he did?* His uſual Anſwer was, *Far from well, yet far better than mine Iniquities deſerve.* And when his Son ſaid unto him, *Sir, God hath ſhewed his great Faithfulneſs unto you, having upheld you now for the Space of more than Fifty Years in his Service, and employed you therein without ceaſing, which can be ſaid of very few Men, on the Face of the Earth*; he Replied, *you ſay true*; *I muſt acknowledge, the Mercy of God hath been great towards me, all my Days*; *but I muſt alſo acknowledge, that I have had many Failings, and the Thoughts of them abaſeth me, and worketh Patience in me.* So did he, like *Auſtin* having the *Penitential Pſalms* before him, until he *died*, keep up a *Spirit of Repentance*, as long as he *lived.* Indeed this Excellent Man did not ſpeak *much* in his laſt Sickneſs, to thoſe that were about him, having ſpoken *ſo much* before. Only his Son perceiving the Symptoms of Death upon him, ſaid, *Sir, If there be any ſpecial thing, which you would recommend unto me to do, in caſe the Lord ſhould ſpare me on Earth, after you are in Heaven, I would intreat you to expreſs it*; at which, after a little Pauſe, with lifted Eyes and Hands, he returned, *A ſpecial thing which I would commend to you, is, Care concerning the Riſing Generation in this Country, that they be brought under the Government of Chriſt in his Church, and that when grown up, and qualified, they have Baptiſm, for their Children. I muſt confeſs, I have been Defective, as to Practice*; *yet I have publickly declared my Judgment, and manifeſted my Deſires to practiſe that which I think ought to be attended*; *but the Diſſenting of ſome in our Church, diſcouraged me. I have thought, that Perſons might have Right to Baptiſm, and yet not to the Lord's Supper*; *and I ſee no cauſe to alter my Judgment, as to that particular. And I ſtill think, that Perſons Qualified, according to the Fifth Propoſition of the late Synod Book, have Right to Baptiſm for their Children.* His Dolours continued on him, till *April* 22. at Night; when he quietly breathed forth his laſt; after he had been about *Seventy Three* Years, a Citizen of the *World*, and *Fifty Years* a Miniſter in the *Church* of God.

§ 17. The *Preſage* which he had upon his Mind, of his own approaching Diſſolution, was like that in *Ambroſe* among the Ancients, and in *Geſner*, *Melancthon*, and *Sandford*, among the Modern Divines; whence the laſt of the Texts, whereon he inſiſted, in his *Public Miniſtry*, was that in 2 Tim. 4. 6, 7, 8. *The Time of my Departure is at hand, — I have finiſhed my Courſe.* And the laſt before that, was that in Job 14. 14. *All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, till my Change come.* And for a *Private Conference*, he had prepared a Sermon on thoſe Words, in 2 Cor. 5. 1. *For we know, that if our Earthly Houſe of this Tabernacle were Diſſolved, we have a Building of God, an Houſe not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens*; but by his Removal from this *Houſe* to that, he was prevented in the Preaching of the Sermon. How ready he was for the *Laſt End* of his Days thus expected, is a little expreſſed in certain Paſſages of his *Laſt Will*; the whole, of which if I ſhould here tranſcribe it, after the Example of *Beza*, writing the Life of *Calvin*, and *Bannoſius* writing the Life of *Ramus*, and other ſuch Examples, it would be no Ungrateful Entertainment, but I ſhall only offer that one *Paragraph*, wherein his Words were:

Concerning Death, *as I do believe, it is appointed for all Men once to die*; *ſo becauſe I ſee a great deal of Unprofitableneſs in my own Life, and becauſe God hath alſo let me ſee ſuch Vanity and Emptineſs even in the beſt of thoſe Comforts, which this Life can afford, that I think I may truly ſay,* That I have ſeen an end of all Perfection : *Therefore if it were the Will of God, I ſhould be glad to be removed hence, where the Beſt, that is to be had, doth yield ſuch little Satisfaction to my Soul, and to be brought into his Preſence in* Glory, *That* there *I might find, (for* there *I know it is to be had) that ſatisfying and All-ſufficient* Contentment, *in him, which under the Sun is not to be enjoyed*; *in the mean*

mean time I deſire to ſtay the Lord's Leiſure. But thou, O Lord, how long!

Thus Lived, and thus Died *Richard Mather*; able to make his Appeal unto an *Evil World*, at his leaving of it.

Nullum Turbavi; Diſcordes Pacificavi: Læſus ſuſtinui; nec mihi Complacui.

§ 18. The Special Favour of God, which was granted unto ſome of the Ancients, that that their *Sons* after them ſucceeded in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel; and which was particularly granted unto the Happy Fathers of *Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyſſen, Baſil* and *Hilary*; *This* was enjoyed by many of thoſe good Men, that planted our *New Engliſh* Churches, but by none more comfortably, than by Mr. *Mather*. It is mentioned as the Felicity of the Bleſſed *Vetterus* a *Bohemian* Paſtor in the former Century, that he gave the Church no leſs than *Four Sons*, to be Worthy Miniſters of the Goſpel. Such was the Felicity of our *Mather*. Many Years before he died, he had the Comfort of ſeeing *Four Sons* that were Preachers of no mean Conſideration among the People of God; It was counted the ſingular Happineſs of the Great Roman *Metellus*, that he expired in the Arms of his *Four Sons*, who were all of them Eminent Perſons; *As* happy was our *Mather*; and in a Chriſtian Account, much *more* happy. And ſince his Death, our common Lord, has been ſerved by Mr. *Samuel Mather* Paſtor of a Church in *Dublin*, Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, Paſtor after him of the ſame Church, but before that, of *Barnſtable*, and then of *Roterdam*, and ſince that of a Church in *London*; Mr. *Eleazar Mather*, Paſtor of a Church at our *Northampton*; and Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, Teacher of a Church in *Boſton*, and Preſident of *Harvard-Colledge*. Now becauſe this *Mighty Man*, and the youngeſt but one of theſe *Arrows in his Hand*, were not only *Lovely and Uſeful in their Lives*, but alſo, *in their Deaths not divided* (for he died about Three Months after his Father) it will be Pity to *Divide* them, in the Hiſtory of their Lives: And therefore of this Mr. *Eleazar Mather*, we will here ſubjoin ſome ſmall Account.

§ 19. Mr. *Eleazar Mather* (Born *May* 13. 1637.) having paſſed through his Education in *Harvard-Colledge*, and having by the Living and Lively Proofs of a Renewed *Heart*, as well as a well-inſtructed *Head*, recommended himſelf unto the Service of the Churches, the Church of *Northampton* became the happy Owner of his *Talents*. Here he laboured for *Eleven Years* in the *Vineyard* of our Lord; and then the *Twelve Hours* of his *Days Labour* did expire, not without the deepeſt Lamentations of all the Churches, as well as *his own*; then ſitting along the River of *Connecticut*. As he was a very zealous *Preacher*, and accordingly ſaw many *Seals* of his Miniſtry, ſo he was a very pious *Walker*; and as he drew towards the *End* of his Days, he grew ſo remarkably *Ripe* for Heaven, in an Holy, Watchful, Fruitful Diſpoſition, that many obſerving Perſons did prognoſticate his being not far from his *End*. He kept a *Diary* of his Experiences; wherein the *laſt Words* that ever he wrote were *Theſe*.

July 10. 1669.

'This Evening, if my Heart deceive me not, 'I had ſome ſweet Workings of Soul after 'God in Chriſt, according to the Terms of the '*Covenant of Grace*. The General and Indefinite Expreſſion of the *Promiſe*, was an Encouragement unto me to *look* unto Chriſt, 'that he would do that for *me*, which he has 'promiſed to do for *ſome*, nor dare I exclude '*my ſelf*; but if the Lord will help me, I deſire to lie at his Feet, and accept of *Grace*, 'in his *own way*, and with *his own Time*, 'through *his Power* enabling of me. Though 'I am Dead, without Strength, Help or Hope 'in my ſelf, yet the Lord requireth nothing at 'my Hands in my *own Strength*; but that by '*his Power*, I ſhould *look* to him. *To work all his Works in me and for me.* When I find a 'dead Heart, the Thoughts of this are exceeding ſweet and reviving, being full of *Grace*, 'and diſcovering the very Heart and Love of '*Jeſus*.
'

He Died *July* 24. *1669*. Aged Years, about Thirty Two.

Sic Roſa, ſic Violæ, prima Moriuntur in Herba, Candida, nec Toto, Lilia, Menſe nitent.

§ 20. The *Dying Words* of his *Father* unto his *Brother*, about the *Riſing Generation*, cauſed him, in the few Sabbaths now left, before his *own Death*, to preach ſeveral Sermons upon the *Methods* that ſhould be taken for the conveying and ſecuring of *Religion*, with the good *Preſence of God* unto that Generation. [on 1 Kings 8. 57.] The Notes which he left written of thoſe pungent Sermons, were afterwards Printed, and Reprinted, with a Preface of his *Brothers*: And when unto the other *Signs* of Churches left by God, therein mentioned; namely, the People's being abandoned unto a *ſleighty Spirit*; an ill Uſe made of *Temporal Proſperity*; A Spirit of *Diviſion* and *Contention*, turning *Religion* it ſelf into *Faction*; The Efficacious and Victorious Operations of the Holy *Spirit*, withdrawn from *Ordinances*; he added, the Death of ſuch *Men*, as are chief means of continuing the *Preſence* of God unto a People; he therein gave unto us too true an *Interpretation*, of the ſad Providence, which was juſt going by *Death* to remove *him*, from this People unto a better World.

Epitaphium.

Epitaphium.

RICHARDUS *hic dormit* MATHERUS.
Lætatus Genuiſſe Pares.
Incertum eſt, Utrum Doctior, an Melior.
Anima & Gloria, non queunt humari.

But that nothing may be wanting to his *Epitaph*, I will tranſcribe the *Epitaph* which the Reverend Old Mr. *John Biſhop*, the Paſtor of *Stamford*, provided for him.

In Pium, Doctum, & Præclarum,
Dorceſtrenſem Matherum.

Sincerus Terris, noſter jacet ecce Matherus;
Religionis Honos, qui tulit ejus onus.
Quicquid erat Synodis, *Sacris de rebus agendum,*
Ille (Dei adjutu) ſæpius Actor erat.
Magnus hic in magnis, non parvam rebus iiſdem,
Temporibus Variis contribuebat opem:
Conſilis Solidis, Doctrina, Dexteritate,
Judicio Claro, cumq; labore gravi.
Nam Doctus, Prudens, Pius, Impiger, atq; peritus,
In Sacris, nec non promptus ad omne Bonum.
Omnia per Chriſtum potuit, credenſq; precanſq;,
Tanta fuit Fides, Vis quoq; tanta precum.
Hinc mihi Sublato Charo Vi Mortis Amico,
Hæc Amor atq; Dolor, compoſuere meus.

J. Epiſcopius.

CHAP. XXI.

The LIFE of Mr. *ZACHARIAH SYMMES.*

§ 1. THE Emperour *Probus* having an Honour for the *Memory* of his Friend *Aradion*, honoured him with a Tomb Two Hundred Foot *broad*. But our Value for the *Memory* of the Divines that formerly ſerved our Churches, muſt not be meaſured by the *Breadth* of our Hiſtory concerning them. We cannot give much *Breadth* to the Room, which we dedicate in this our Hiſtory, unto the *Memory* of our *Symmes*, becauſe we have not received very large Informations concerning him. Neverthelefs, according to the *French* Proverb, *Un Miniſtre ne doit Scavoir que ſa Bible, A Miniſter ſhould know nothing but his Bible*; here was one worthy the Name of a *Miniſter*; for he *knew his Bible well*, and he was a *Preacher* of what he *knew*, and a *Sufferer* for what he *preach'd*.

§ 2. *Reader*, We ſhall not confound our ſelves with *Fables and Endleſs Genealogies*, but we ſhall truly edify our ſelves, if we enquire ſo far into the *Genealogy* of Mr. *Zechariah Symmes*, as to recite a Paſſage written by Mr. *William Symms*, the Father of our *Zechariah*, in a Book which was made by a Godly Preacher, that was hid in the Houſe of Mr. *William Symms*, the Father of *William*, from the Rage of the *Marian* Perſecution. 'I note it as a ſpecial 'Mercy of God, (writes he, in a Leaf of that 'Book) that both my Father and Mother were 'Favourers of the Goſpel, and hated Idolatry, 'under Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution. I came to 'this Book by this means: Going to *Sandwich* 'in *Kent*, to preach the Firſt or Second 'Year, after I was ordained Miniſter, *Anno* '1587. or 88. and Preaching in Saint *Mary*'s, 'where Mr. *Pawſon*, an Ancient Godly Preacher, 'was Miniſter, who knew my Parents well and 'me too, at School; he, after I had finiſhed my 'Sermons, came and brought me this Book 'for a Preſent, acquainting me with the above-'mentioned Circumſtances. And then he adds, 'I charge my Sons *Zechariah* and *William*, be-'fore him, that ſhall judge the Quick and the 'Dead, that you never defile your ſelves with 'any *Idolatry* or *Superſtition* whatſoever, but 'learn your *Religion* out of God's Holy *Word*, 'and *worſhip God* as he himſelf hath preſcribed, 'and not after the *Devices* and *Traditions* of '*Men*. *Scripſi*. Dec. 6. 1602.

§ 3. Deſcended from ſuch Anceſtors, our *Zechariah*, was Born *April* 5. 1599. at *Canterbury*, and the Savoury Expreſſions in the Letters yet extant, which he wrote while he was a Youth in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, intimate, that he was *New-Born*, while yet a *Child*.

After his leaving the Univerſity, he was employed for a while in the Houſes of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, as a *Tutor* to their Children, but not without Moleſtation from the *Prelates* for his *Conſcientious Non Conformity* to certain Rites in the Worſhip of God, then impoſed on the *Conſciences* of the Faithful. When he had paſſed through theſe Changes, he was choſen in the Year 1621. to be a Lecturer at *Atholines*, in the City of *London*: And after many Troubles from the *Biſhops Courts*, for his *Diſſent* from things, whereto his *Conſent* had never been required by the Great *Shepherd and Biſhop of our Souls*, he removed from thence in the Year 1625. to *Dunſtable*, where his Troubles from the *Biſhops Courts* continuing

continuing, he at length tranſported himſelf, with his Family into an *American* Wilderneſs. *New-England*, and *Charles-Town* in *New-England*, enjoy'd him all the reſt of his Days, even until *Feb.* 4. 1670; when he retired into a better World.

§ 4. His *Epitaph* at *Charles-Town*, where he was Honourably Interr'd, mentions his having lived Forty nine Years and Seven Months with his Vertuous Conſort, by whom he had Thirteen Children, Five Sons, and Eight Daughters, and annexes this Diſtich.

A Prophet lies under this Stone:
His Words ſhall live, tho' he be gone.

But as that eminent Perſon order'd this Clauſe for his own *Epitaph*, inſtead of other *Glories* and *Memoirs*, which uſe to adorn a Monument, *Here lies the Friend of Sir* Philip Sidney. Thus the *Epitaph* of this eminent Perſon, might have mentioned one thing more, which might have gone in the room of many other Teſtimonies, to the Ability, and Integrity, and Zeal, that ſignalized him; *Here lies the Friend of Mr.* Jeremiah Burroughs. For we have ſtill to ſhew the Letters, which that great Man ſent unto our *Symmes*, after his coming to *New-England*; Letters wherein he compares the *Love* between them, unto that between *David* and *Jonathan*; as having been a ſort of *Sworn Brothers* to each other, ever ſince their living together at the *Univerſity*.

CHAP. XXII.

The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN ALLIN.*

——*Sequitur quem Vita perennis;*
Vivus enim Semper, qui bene vixit, erit.

§ 1. WHY is the *dead* Relation of Father *Abraham* called, *His Dead*, no leſs than *eight* ſeveral times, in one ſhort Chapter? It ſeems, tho' *Death* has diſſolved our old Relation to our *dead Friends*, yet it has not releaſed us from all our Duty to them; they are ſtill ſo far *ours*, that we owe ſomething unto their Memory. *Reader*, We are entertaining our ſelves with *Our Dead*; but if we do nothing to keep *alive* their Memory with us, we may bluſh to call them *ours*.

Among theſe, one is Mr. *John Allin*. But if there were ſuch an Officer in uſe among us, as once was among the *Greeks*, to meaſure the *Monuments* of dead Perſons, according to their *Vertues*, he would greatly complain of it, that I have been able to recover no more *Memoirs* of a Perſon, whoſe *Vertues* and *Merits* were far from the ſmalleſt ſize, among thoſe who *did worthily in Iſrael*.

§ 2. He was born in the Year 1596.

Having paſſed his *Curſus*, in the *Tongues* and *Arts*, until he was, as *Theodorit* ſays of *Innocent*, Ἀγχινοίᾳ ϗ συνέσει κοσμούμενος, *Ingenii & prudentiæ ornamentis egregiè Inſtructus:* He became a faithful Preacher of *Chriſt*, chooſing rather to dig in that Rock of *Zion*, than in a Rock of Diamonds.

It is an *ancient* Obſervation, that there were *three Things* done by the *Holy Spirit* of God, on and for the Prophets, which were employ'd in Publick Service for him: One was to give them *Courage* againſt the Rage of Adverſaries. Another was, to give them *Wiſdom*, for to regulate their Conduct. A third was, to give them *Vertue* and *Holineſs*, that their own Conſciences might not ſting them, when they were to beſtow Aculeate Rebukes upon the *Vices* of other Men.

This Obſervation, which is as *uſeful* as *ancient*, was made by them that conſidered thoſe Words of the Prophet *Micah: I am full of*, (1.) *Power, by the Spirit of the Lord. And of*, (2.) *Judgment. And of*, (3.) *Vertue.* With all of theſe *Excellencies*, did the *Holy Spirit* of God, in a gracious Meaſure adorn our *Allin*. But when the *Evil Spirit* raiſed a Storm of *Perſecution* upon the *Puritans*, in the *Engliſh* Nation, theſe *Excellencies* could not ſhelter this worthy Man, from the Injuries of it; but rather expoſe him thereunto. Leaving of *England*, whereof he might have taken that Farewel;

Non careo Patriâ, me caret illa magis.

He choſe an *American Wilderneſs*, for his Country: And cheerfully conformed his *Genteel Spirit*, unto the Difficulties of ſuch a Wilderneſs: Being only of *Auſtin's* Mind, about the baniſh'd Chriſtians, *Miſerrimum eſſet, ſi alicubi duci poterant, ubi Deum ſuum non inveniſſent.*

§ 3. He was a *ſufficient Scholar*, and (which is the way to become ſo) a *diligent Student*; but yet his Experimental Acquaintance with Chriſtianity, taught him to be of the Mind, which the Learned *Suarez* expreſſed, when he did uſe to ſay, *That he eſteemed more that little Pittance of Time, which he conſtantly ſet apart every Day, for the private Examination of his own Heart, than all the other part of the Day, which he ſpent in Voluminous Controverſies.* His

Accom-

Accompliſhments were conſiderable; and being a very *humble* Man, he found, that *ſanctified Knowledge* grows moſt luxuriant in the *fat Valleys* of *Humility:* Being a very *patient Man*, he found, that the *Dew* of Heaven, which falls not in a ſtormy or cloudy Night, was always falling on a Soul ever ſerene, with the meekeſt *Patience*. He was none of thoſe low-built thatch'd Cottages, that are apt to catch *Fire:* But like an high-built Caſtle, or Palace, free from the Combuſtions of *Paſſion*. He was indeed one of ſo ſweet a Temper, that his Friends *Anagrammatiſed*, JOHN ALLIN, into this:

IN HONI ALL.

§ 4. His *Polemical Abilities*, were diſcovered, in a Treatiſe called, *A Defence of the Nine Poſitions:* Wherein (being of *Calvin*'s Mind, *Ink is too dear and coſtly with us, if we doubt to ſpend Ink in Writing, to teſtifie thoſe things, which Martyrs of old ſealed with their Blood:*) He, with Mr. *Shepherd* of *Cambridge*, handle the Points of *Church-Reformation*; at what rate, not my Pen, but our famous old Mr. *Cotton*'s, in his Preface to a Book of Mr. *Norton*'s, may deſcribe unto us.

Shepardus, *unà cum* Allinio *Fratre, (Fratrum dulce par) uti eximiâ pietate florent ambo, & Eruditione non mediocri, atque etiam Myſteriorum Pietatis prædicatione (per Chriſti Gratiam) efficaci admodum, ità egregiam novarunt Operam in abſtruſiſſimis Diſciplinæ nodis fæliciter enodandis. Verba horum* Fratrum, *uti ſuaviter ſpirant Pietatem, Veritatem, Charitatem Chriſti; ita ſperamus fore (per Chriſti Gratiam) ut multi, qui à Diſciplinâ Chriſti alieniores erant, odore horum unguentorum Chriſti effuſorum delebati atque delincti, ad amorem ejus & pellecti & pertracti, eam avidius arripiunt atque amplexentur.*

Moreover, another Judicious Diſcourſe of his, in Defence of the *Synod* held at *Boſton*, in the Year 1662, has declared his *Principles* about *Church-Diſcipline*, as well as his *Abilities* to maintain his *Principles*. The Perſon againſt whom he wrote this Defence, was that very Perſon, whoſe *Life* ſhall be the very *next* in our Hiſtory: For,

Hi Motus Animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,
Pulveris exigui Jactu compreſſa quieſcunt.

§ 5. When the holy Church of *Dedham* was gathered, in the Year 1638, he became their Paſtor: And in the Paſtoral Care of that Church he continued, until *Aug.* 26. 1671; when after ten Days of eaſie Sickneſs, he died, as *Myconius* well expreſſes it, *Vitaliter mori*; in the Seventy fifth Year of his Age.

Now, according to that of *Jerom, Lacrymæ Auditorum Tuæ ſiut Laudes*; behold, Reader, the *Praiſes* of this excellent Man. His Flock publiſhed the two laſt Sermons that ever he preached; one whereof was on *Cant.* 8. 5. *Who is this that comes up from the Wilderneſs, leaning on her Beloved?* The other on *John* 14. 22. *Peace I leave with you.* But they write their Preface with Tears; and with fearful Praiſes they celebrate him, as one altogether above their Praiſes; and a *conſtant, faithful, diligent Steward in the Houſe of God*; *a Man of Peace and Truth, and a burning and a ſhining Light.* Adding, *The Crown is fallen from our Heads: Oh! that it were with us as in times paſt!* Which Deſire of theirs, has been happily anſwered, in two moſt worthy Succeſſors.

The Character once given to *Philippus Gallus*, may very juſtly be now made the *Epitaph* of our *John Allin*.

Epitaphium.

JOHANNES ALLINIUS.

Vir Sincerus, Amans pacis, patienſque Laborum,
Perſpicuus, Simplex, Doctrinæ purus Amator.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cadmus Americanus. The LIFE of Mr. *CHARLES CHANCEY.*

Suadet Lingua, Jubet Vita.

§ 1. THere was a famous Perſon, in Times, by Chronological Computation, as ancient as the Days of *Joſhua*, known by the Name of *Cadmus*; who carried not only *People*, but *Letters* alſo, from *Phænitia* into *Bœtia*. The *Grecian* Fable of a *Serpent*, in the Story of *Cadmus*, was only derived from the Name of an *Hivite*, which by his Nation belonged unto him; for an *Hivite* ſignifies a *Serpent*, in the Language of *Syria*. This Renowned *Cadmus*, was indeed a *Gibeonite*, who having been well treated by *Joſhua*, and by *Joſhua* not only continued in the Comforts of Life, but alſo inſtructed and employed in the Service of the true *God*,

God, he retained ever after moſt honourable Sentiments of that Great *Commander*. Yea, when after Ages, in their Songs, praiſed *Apollo* for his Victory over the Dragon *Pytho*, they uttered but the Diſguiſed Songs of *Canaan*, wherein this *Cadmus* had celebrated the Praiſes of *Joſhua*, for his Victory over *Og* the King of *Baſhan*. *Cadmus* having been (as one of the Greek Poets writes of him) Educated in *Hebron* or *Debir*, the Univerſities of *Paleſtine*, was fitted thereby to be a Leader in a Great Undertaking; and when the Oppreſſion of *Cuſhanriſhathaim*, cauſed a Number of People to ſeek out *New Seats*, there were many who under the Conduct of *Cadmus*, tranſported themſelves into *Greece*, where the Notions and Cuſtoms of an *Iſraelitiſh* Original, were therefore a long while preſerved, until they were confounded with *Pagan* Degeneracies. There is Reaſon to think, that a Colony of *Hebrews* themſelves did now *ſwarm* out into *Peloponneſus*, where the Book of *Maccabees* will help us to find *Lacedemonians* (or *Cadmonians*, that is, the Followers of *Cadmus*, in their True Etymology) *of the Stock of Moraham*; and we know that *Strabo* tells us, That *Cadmus* had *Arabians* (and the *Iſraelites*, were by ſuch Heathen Writers accounted ſo) in his Company. Accordingly, when we read, that a *College* among the Old *Grecians* was called *Academia*, we may ſoon inform our ſelves, that it was at firſt called *Cadmia* or *Cadmea*, in Commemoration of *Cadmus*, the *Phœnician*; to whom thoſe Parts of the World were firſt beholden, for ſuch Nurſeries of good Literature and Religion.

Theſe Reſearches into Antiquity, had not, in this place been laid before my Reader, if they might not have ſerved as an *Introduction* unto this piece of *New-Engliſh* Hiſtory; that when ſome *Eccleſiaſtical Oppreſſions* drove a Colony of the Trueſt *Iſraelites* into the Remoter Parts of the World, there was an *Academy* quickly founded in that Colony: And our *Chancey* was the *Cadmus* of that *Academy*; by whoſe vaſt Labour and Learning, the Knowledge of the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, ſerved by all the Human *Sciences*, hath been conveyed unto Poſterity.

It is now fit, That a few *Memoirs* of that Reverend Man ſhould fill our Pages.

§ 2. Mr. *Charles Chancey* was an *Hartfordſhire* Man; born in the Year 1589. of Parents that were both Honourable and Religious. Being ſent from thence to *Weſtminſter*-School, his Hopeful Proficiency in Good Literature, within a ſhort while, ripened him for the *Univerſity*. And it was one thing which cauſed him to have the more feeling Reſentments of the Famous *Powder-Plot*, the *Report* whereof will make a *Noiſe* as long as the *Fifth* of *November* is in our *Kalendar*; that at the time when that *Plot* ſhould have taken its horrid Effect, he was at that School, which muſt alſo have been blown up, if the *Parliament-Houſe* had periſhed. The Univerſity of *Cambridge*, was that which afterward *Inſtructed* and *Nouriſhed* this Eminent Perſon, and fitted him for the Service wherein he had Opportunity afterwards to demonſtrate that he was indeed ſuch a Perſon. The particular College whereof he was here a Member, was *Trinity College*; by the ſame Token, that in the *Lachrymæ Cantabrigienſes*, publiſhed by the *Cantabrigians*, on the Death of Queen *Ann*, I find him in that Style compoſing and ſubſcribing one of the moſt Witty Latin *Poems* in that whole Collection. Here he proceeded *Batchelour of Divinity:* And having an Intimate Acquaintance with that Great Man Dr. *Uſher*, whom all Men have confeſſed Worthy of the Character, wherewith *Voetius* mentions him, *Vaſtæ Lectionis & Eruditionis Theologus, inq; Antiquitate Eccleſiaſtica Verſatiſſimus*, he had hereby an Opportunity farther to advantage himſelf with the Ancient Monuments in King *James*'s Library.

§ 3. By the Head of the Houſes he was choſen *Hebrew-Profeſſor*; but the Vice-Chancellour Dr. *Williams*, preferring a Kinſman of his own to that Place, at the ſame time he put our Mr. *Chancey* into the Place of *Greek-Profeſſor*; And as one well known to be an Accurate *Grecian*, 'twas *he* that afterwards was the C. C. the *Vir Doctiſſimus & Piiſſimus*, whoſe ἐπίκρισις, you have at the Beginning of *Leigh*'s *Critica Sacra* upon the *New-Teſtament*. He was indeed a Perſon incomparably well skill'd in all the *Learned Languages*; eſpecially in the *Oriental*; and eminently in the *Hebrew:* In his obtaining whereof, his Converſation with a *Jew* for the ſpace of a Year, was no little Advantage to him. I know that the *Hebrew* Tongue, as an Exception to the General Rule, *Difficilia quæ Pulchra*, is more *eaſily Attained*, than any that I have yet obſerved; and hence we ſee even our *Engliſh Women*, ſometimes in a *little while*, and with a *little pains*, grown as expert at it as the Ladies *Pauſa* or *Blaſilla*, by *Jerom* therefore celebrated; and I have wiſhed that many in the World, were more moved by thoſe Words of a Worthy Author, *Auſim ſpondere, illos qui Studiis Hebraicis, tantum Temporis Impenderent, quantum Tubulo Nicotianæ imbibendo, (quo nunc pars bona Studioſorum pro Hydragogo uti conſuevit) tum Mane, tum Veſperi, impendi ſolet, progreſſus in hujuſce Linguæ Cognitione, haud Vulgares, brevi eſſe facturos, adeo ut mirentur, ſe eſſe tum doctos, antequam Didicerint.* Nevertheleſs, this Tongue is as eaſily *forgotten*. But being once *attained*, and therewithal *preſerved* and *improved*, good Men will find as our Mr. *Chancey* did, that the Conjunct *Profit* and *Pleaſure* of it were inexpreſſible; and that the *Talents* wherewith it would furniſh them to do ſo many Services for the Church of God, were ſuch as to make them join with *Luther*, in his Proteſtation, *That he would not part with his Knowledge of the Hebrew, for many Thouſands of Pounds*; or to approve the (uſual) modeſt Words of *Melancthon*, *Scio me vix primis Labris deguſtaſſe Hebraicus Literas; ſed tamen, hoc Ipſum, quod didici quantulumcunq; eſt, propter Judicium de Religione, Omnibus Mundi*

Mundi Regnis, omniumq; opibus Longe Antepono.

§ 4. When he left the Univerſity, he became a Diligent and Eminent Preacher of the Goſpel at *Marſton*; but after ſome time, he removed himſelf to *Ware*, where the *Hand of the Lord was with him, and many believed, and turned unto the Lord.* Here 'twas that the Succeſſes of his Faithful Miniſtry, in the *Inſtruction* of the Ignorant, and the *Converſion* of the Ungodly, became a Matter of much Obſervation.

But when Satan wanted a *Shibboleth* for the Diſcovering and Extinguiſhing ſuch an Holy Miniſtry, throughout the Nation, the Miſerable Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, ſerved him with a Licence for *Sports* on the *Lord's Day*; whereby the People were after an horrid manner invited unto the Profanation of that *Sacred Reſt*; and indeed of every thing *Sacred* with it. Then 'twas that our Mr. *Chancey* hearing the *Drums* beat for *Dances* and *Frolicks* on the *Lord's Day*, was, like other Good Men, afraid that God would break the *Reſt* of the Kingdom, and cauſe *Drums* to be beaten up for *Marches* and *Battels* on that very Day. But when he was inhibited from attending of other Exerciſes, on the Afternoons of the *Lord's Day*, he ſet himſelf to *Catechiſe* as many as he could, both *old* and *young*; which, as the *Biſhop* in *Sheeps Cloathing* ſaid, was *As bad as Preaching.* And by ſuch Methods, he ſtill continued ſerving the Intereſts of the Goſpel.

§ 5. But about this Time there aroſe a Storm of moſt Unreaſonable, but Irreſiſtible *Perſecution*, upon thoſe Miniſters, who were Wellwiſhers to the *Progreſs* of the *Proteſtant Reformation* in the Kingdom; and Mr. *Chancey* was one of thoſe who ſuffered in it. In Mr. *Ruſhworth*'s Collections for the Year 1629. I find this Paſſage.

'Mr. *Charles Chancey*, Miniſter of *Ware*, 'uſing ſome Expreſſions in his Sermon, *That* '*Idolatry was admitted into the Church*; *That* '*the Preaching of the Goſpel would be ſup*'*preſſed*; *that there is much Atheiſm, Popery,* '*Arminianiſm and Hereſy, crept into the* '*Church:* And this being look'd upon to raiſe 'a Fear among the People, that ſome Altera'tion of Religion would enſue; he was que'ſtioned in the *High Commiſſion*; and by Or'der of that Court, the Cauſe was referred to 'the Biſhop of *London*, being his Ordinary; 'who ordered him to make a *Submiſſion* in 'Latin.

This Worthy Man, being by the Terrors and Cenſures of that *Infamous Court*, ſuddenly ſurpriſed unto a ſort of *Submiſſion*, which gave too good an Acknowledgment of the Conſtitution, whereinto the *Laudian Faction* was then precipitating the Church of *England*, he no ſooner got a little out of the *Temptation*, but he ſignalized his *Repentance* of that *Submiſſion*, with a *Zeal* not unlike that of the Bleſſed *Cranmer* againſt his own *Right Hand*, for ſubſcribing his *Recantation.* Although he was not long without the Faith of his having this his too ſudden Compliance with the Demands of his Perſecutors, *Forgiven* in *Heaven*, yet he never *forgave* himſelf as long as he liv'd on *Earth*; he would on all Occaſions expreſs himſelf extreamly diſſatisfied, as well at the *Ill Things* then advanced in the Church of *England*, as at himſelf alſo for ever in the leaſt, conſenting to thoſe things. Thoſe Memorable *Puritans* which were driven into *America*, all of them had a Diſlike of the *Deformities*, which they ſaw yet cleaving to the Church of *England*; but I queſtion, whether any diſliked them with ſuch fervent Expreſſions of Indignation, as our Mr. *Chancey*, who thus took the *Revenges* of a deep *Repentance* upon his own Conformity to them. And few ſuffered for *Non-Conformity* more than he by *Fines*, by *Gaols*, by Neceſſities to *abſcond*, and at laſt by an *Exile* from his Native Country. Yea, though he had lived a very exact Life, yet when he came to die, more than Forty Years after this, he left theſe Words in his laſt *Will* and *Teſtament*. *In regard of Corrupt Nature, I do acknowledge my ſelf to be a Child of Wrath, and ſold under Sin, and one that hath been polluted with Innumerable Tranſgreſſions and Mighty Sins, which as far as I know and can call to Remembrance, I keep ſtill freſh before me, and deſire with Mourning, and ſelf abhorring ſtill to do, as long as Life ſhall laſt; and eſpecially my ſo many ſinful Compliances with and Conformity unto Vile Human Inventions, and Will-Worſhip and Hell-bred Superſtition, and Patcheries ſticht into the Service of the Lord, (which the Engliſh* Maſs Book, *I mean, the* Book of Common Prayer, *and the* Ordination of Prieſts, *&c. are fully fraught withal.*

§ 6. There was once a *Parliament* in *England*, whereto a Speech of no leſs a Man than the Lord *Digby*, made a Complaint, *That Men of the beſt Conſcience were then ready to fly into the Wilderneſs for Religion:* And it was complained in an Elegant Speech of Sir *Benjamin* Rudyard's, *A great Multitude of the King's Subjects, ſtriving to hold Communion with us, but ſeeing how far we were gone, and fearing how much further we would go, were forced to fly the Land, very many into Salvage Wilderneſſes, becauſe the Land would not bear them: Do not they that cauſe theſe things, caſt a Reproach upon the Government.* And in a Notatable Speech of Mr. *Fiennes*, *A certain Number of Ceremonies in the Jugment of ſome Men,* Unlawful, *and to be* rejected of all Churches, *in the Judgment of all other* Reformed Churches, *and in the Judgment of our own Church, but* Indifferent, *yet what* Difference, *yea what* Diſtraction *have theſe* Indifferent Ceremonies *raiſed among us? What hath deprived us of ſo many Thouſands of Chriſtians, which deſired, and in all other Reſpects deſerved to hold Communion with us; I ſay, what hath deprived us of them, and ſcattered them into I know not what* Places

and Corners of the World, but theſe Indifferent Ceremonies? It was then that Mr. *Pym*, in the Name of the Houſe of *Commons*, Impeaching A. B. *Laud*, before the Houſe of *Lords* had theſe Expreſſions. *You have the King's Loyal Subjects baniſhed out of the Kingdom, not as* Elimelech, *to ſeek for Bread in Foreign Countries, by reaſon of the great ſcarcity which was in* Iſrael; *but travelling abroad for the Bread of Life, becauſe they could not have it at home, by Reaſon of the* Spiritual Famine *of God's Word, cauſed by this Man, and his Partakers: And by this means you have the Induſtry of many Thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects carried out of the Land.* And at laſt the whole Houſe of Commons put this Article in the *Remonſtrance*, which they then made unto the King. *The Biſhops and their Courts did impoveriſh many Thouſands; and ſo afflict and trouble others, that great Numbers, to avoid their Miſeries, departed out of the Kingdom, ſome into* New-England, *and other parts of* America.

But it is now time to tell my Reader, That in the *Tranſportations*, thus Reaſonably and Parliamentarily complained of, one of the moſt Conſiderable Perſons removing into *America*, was Mr. *Charles Chancey*; who arrived at *Plymouth* in *New England*, a few Days before the Great *Earthquake* which happened *Jan.* 1. 1638.

§ 17. After he had ſpent ſome time in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, with Mr. *Reyner* of *Plymouth*, he removed unto a Town a little Northward of it, called *Scituate*, where he remained for *Three* and *Three* times *Three* Years, cultivating the *Vineyard* of the Lord in that Place. Of this his Miniſtry at *Scituate*, let me preſerve at leaſt, this one *Remembrance*: Having his *Ordination Renewed* at his Entrance upon this *New Relation*, he did at that Solemnity Preach upon thoſe Words, in Prov. 9. 3. *Wiſdom hath ſent forth her Maidens*; and in his Diſcourſe, making a moſt affectionate Reflection upon his former Compliances with the Temptations of the *High Commiſſion-Court*, he ſaid with Tears, *Alas, Chriſtians, I am no Maiden; my Soul hath been defiled with Falſe Worſhip; How wondrous is the Free-Grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that I ſhould ſtill be employ'd among the Maidens of Wiſdom!*

Afterwards, upon an Invitation from his Old People at *Ware*, to return unto them, he purpoſed a Removal with his Family back to *England*; but when he came to *Boſton* in order thereunto, the Overſeers of *Harvard-College* at *Cambridge*, which now wanted a *Preſident*, by their vehement Importunity, prevailed with him to accept the Government of that Society; wherein worthily *chuſing their Way, and ſitting chief, and dwelling as a King in the midſt of his Army*, he continued unto the Day of his Death. From this time I behold him as another *Elijah*, ſhedding his Benign Influences on the *School of the Prophets*; and with Immenſe Labours Inſtructing, Directing, and Feeding the *Hope of the Flock in the Wilderneſs.* At his Inſtalment, he concluded his Excellent Oration, made unto a Venerable Aſſembly, then filling the *Colledge-Hall* with ſuch a Paſſage as this unto the Students there, *Doctiorem, certe Præſidem, & huic Oneri ac Stationi multis Modis Aptiorem, vobis facile licet Invenire ſed Amantiorem, & veſtri Boni Studioſiorem, non Invenietis.* And certainly he was as good as his Word. How *Learnedly* he now conveyed all the *Liberal Arts* unto thoſe that *ſat at his Feet*; how *Wittily* he moderated their Diſputations, and other Exerciſes; how *Conſtantly* he expounded the *Scriptures* to them in the *Colledge-Hall*; how *Fluently* he expreſſed himſelf unto them, with Latin of a *Terentian* Phraſe, in all his Diſcourſes; and how *Carefully* he Inſpected their *Manners*, and was above all things concerned for them, that they might anſwer a Note which he gave them [*When you are your ſelves Intereſted in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his Righteouſneſs, you will be fit to be Teachers of others:* Iſaiah *cries*, Now ſend me! *When his Sins were pardoned: But without this, you are fit for nothing:*] will never be forgotten by *Many* of our moſt *worthy Men*, who were made *ſuch* Men, by their Education under him: For we ſhall find as many of his Diſciples in our Catalogue of *Graduates*, as there were in that *Colledge of Believers*, at *Jeruſalem*, whereof we read in the firſt Chapter, of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. But if there were any Diſadvantages of an *Haſty Temper*, ſometimes in his Conduct, they ſtill were preſently ſo corrected with his *Holy Temper*, that this did but invite Perſons to think the more of that *Elias*, to whom we have compared him; and therefore, as they were forgotten by every one, in the very Day of them, they are, at this Day, much more to be ſo: Mr. *Urian Oakes* that preached his Funeral Sermon, well ſaid, *The mention thereof was to be wrapped up in* Elijah's *Mantle.* But if the whole Country were ſenſible of the Bleſſing which all *New England* enjoyed in our *Chancey* now at *Cambridge*; the Church of *Cambridge*, to whom he now joined, and Preached, had a very particular Cauſe to be *ſo*. And *ſo* indeed they were; by the ſame Token, that when he had been above a Year or two in the Town, the Church kept a whole Day of THANKSGIVING to God, for the Mercy, which they enjoy'd in *his* being *there*.

§ 8. He was a moſt Indefatigable *Student*, which with the Bleſſing of God, render'd him a moſt Incomparable *Scholar*. He roſe very early, about *Four a Clock*, both *Winter* and *Summer*; and he ſet the Scholars an Example of Diligence, hardly to be followed. But *Bene Oraſſe, eſt Bene Studuiſſe*: By interweaving of conſtant *Prayers* into his Holy *Studies*, he made them indeed Holy; and my Reader ſhall *count*, if he pleaſes, how oft in a Day he addreſſed Heaven with Solemn Devotions, and judge whether it might not be ſaid of our *Charles*, as it was of *Charles the Great*, (which is indeed the way to become *Great*) *Carolus plus cum Deo, quam cum Hominibus loquitur*; when I have

I have told, that at his firſt getting up in a Morning, he commonly ſpent near an Hour in *ſecret Prayer*, before his minding any other Matter; then viſiting the *Colledge-Hall*, he Expounded a Chapter, (which was firſt read from the *Hebrew*) of the *Old Teſtament*, with a ſhort *Prayer before*, and a long one after his Expoſition: He then did the like upon another Chapter, with a *Prayer* before, and after, in his Family: About Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon, he retired again about Three Quarters of an Hour for *Secret Prayer*. At Four a Clock in the Afternoon he again did the like. In the Evening he Expounded a Chapter, (which was firſt read into the *Greek*) of the *New Teſtament*, in the *Colledge Hall*, with a Prayer in like manner before and after; the like he did alſo in his *Family*: And when the Bell rang for Nine at Night, he retired for another Hour of *Secret Prayer* before the Lord. But on the Lord's Days Morning, inſtead of his accuſtomed Expoſition, he preached a Sermon upon a Text, for about Three Quarters of an Hour, in the *Colledge Hall*. Beſides all this, he often ſet apart whole Days for *Prayer* with *Faſting* alone by himſelf; yea, and ſometimes he ſpent whole Nights in Prayer, before the *heavenly Father, who ſees in ſecret*. Many Days of *Prayer* with *Faſting*, he alſo kept with his Religious Conſort: And many ſuch Days he alſo kept with his *Family*, calling in the Company and Aſſiſtance of three or four Godly Neighbours: Beſides what he did more publickly among the People of God. Behold, how near this good Man approached unto the ſtricteſt and higheſt Sence of *Praying always*.

Chryſoſtom tells us, That *Chriſt* and *Paul* commanded us to make our *Prayers*, Βραχείας ϗ πυκνὰς, ϗ ἐξ ὀλίγων διαλειμμάτων, *Short and frequent, and with little Diſtances between them*. And *Caſſianus* mentions it, as the univerſal Conſent of the Ancients, *Utilius cenſent Breves Orationes, ſed creberrimas fieri*. The Prayers of our *Chancey* were ſuch for their *Frequency*, whatever they might be ſometimes for their *Brevity*. Moreover, 'twas his conſtant Practice, not only on the *Lord's Days* in the *Evenings*, but every Day, Morning and Evening, after he had Expounded a Chapter, to examine his *Children* and *Servants* with ſome fit Queſtions thereupon. On the Lord's Days, once a Fortnight, he preached publickly in the Forenoons: But when he did not ſo, he had the Morning Sermon repeated at Noon, and the Afternoon Sermon repeated at Night, and both the Sermons repeated once more in the Evening, before the next Lord's Day: At which times he ſtill took occaſion to reinforce the more notable Truths, occurring in the Sermons, with pertinent Applications of his own.

At this rate this eminent Perſon *ran the Race that was ſet before him*: And tho' one would have thought, that ſo laborious a *Race* muſt have been quickly run, yet if that may be an Encouragement unto *diligent Followers*, let them know that *Fourſcore* Years of Age diſpatch'd it not; he continued a *green Olive-Tree* in the *Houſe of God*, long after he was *Gray-headed* for Age; and in his *Old Age* he did not leave off to bring forth *Fruit*, unto the *Praiſe of God*. I find that the *Law of Redemption*, in the laſt Chapter of *Leviticus*, (in *Hoſ.* 3. 2. alluded unto) valued a Man above *Sixty*, but at *Fifteen Shekels*; whereas a Man between *Twenty* and *Sixty*, was valued at (an *Homer of Barly*, or) no leſs than *Fifty Shekels*. But the worth of our *Chancey* at *Eighty*, continued much what as it was when he was under *Sixty*; and he was a Perſon of great *Worth* and *Uſe* unto the laſt. Indeed it was his laudable Ambition to be ſo. Whence, after Age had enfeebled him, the Fellows of the Colledge once leading this Venerable Old Man, to preach a Sermon in a Winter-Day, they, out of Affection unto him, to diſcourage him from ſo difficult an Undertaking, told him, *Sir, You'll certainly die in the Pulpit.* But he laying hold on what they ſaid, as if they had offered him the greateſt *Encouragement* in the World, preſs'd the more vigorouſly through the *Snow-drift*, and ſaid, *How glad ſhould I be, if what you ſay might prove true!*

§ 9. He kept a *Diary*, the loſs of which I can't but mention with regret; nevertheleſs I can report thus much of it, that it was methodized under the Heads of *Sins* and *Mercies*. Under the Head of *Sins*, he took Notice of his Failings, as if he had ſpoken a *paſſionate Word*, or been dull and cold in his Duties, and the like. Under the Head of *Mercies*, he took Notice of the ſpecial and more ſignal *Favours*, which Heaven beſtowed upon him. He was alſo very much in *Meditation*, and in that one important kind and part of it *Self-examination*; eſpecially in his Preparations for the *Lord's Table*. From his *Diary* we have recovered a little relating thereunto; and for a *Specimen*, the Reader ſhall here have a few of his Notes, which he entitled,

Self-Trials before the Sacrament.

Trial of my *Part in Chriſt*.

1. I Am ſubject to the Commandment of *Believing* on his Perſon.
2. I reſt and rely upon *Him only* for Salvation.
3. I reſolve by God's Help, to *Leave all* for Him.
4. All my *Hopes* are in Him, and he is my *Peace*.
5. By his *Spirit* given me.
6. That I walk *not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit*.
7. By many Tokens of *His Love* to me.

Trials of my *Faith*.

1. By the *Growth* of it.
2. By the *Life* of it.
3. By the *Fruits* of it.

Trial of my *Repentance.*

By the *Nature* of it: That is, *Change of Mind*, and my Purpoſe to turn from all Sin to God; *dying daily to Sin.*

Trial of my *Uprightneſs* towards God.

1. My Care to keep his *Commandments.*
2. That His *Commandments are not grievous to me.*
3. Deſire of *Union* with Him, and *cleaving to Him, with full Purpoſe of Heart.*

Trial of my *Brotherly Love.*

1. Not to ſuffer *Sin* upon any one.
2. To love all the *Saints* for Truth's ſake.
3. Love of the *Godly Dead.*

By reciting theſe Qualifications of a *Chriſtian*, by which this exemplary *Chriſtian* would *Examine* himſelf, I have deſcribed how exemplarily he *himſelf* was qualified.

§ 10. His *Conduct* of himſelf in his *Miniſtry* (wherein he preached over the whole Goſpel of *John*, the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, the Three Epiſtles of *John*, and largely handled the Doctrine of *Self-denial*, *Faith*, *Juſtification*, *Adoption*, *Sanctification*, and many other Occaſional Subjects) will be moſt exactly apprehended from the Council which I find him writing to *another Miniſter*, in a Letter dated *Dec.* 20. 1665.

'*In your* Miniſterial *Work* (ſaith he) *let me give you a few Directions.*

'1. BE much in *Prayer* to God: Thereby 'you ſhall find more *Succour* and *Succeſs*, in your Miniſtry, than by all your '*Study*.

'2. Preach much about the *Miſery* of the 'State of *Nature*, the *Preparatives* to *Converſion*; the Nature of Converſion, or *Effectual Calling*; the Neceſſity of *Union* and *Communion* 'with Chriſt; the Nature of Saving and Juſtifying *Faith*, and the *Fruits* thereof *Love* and '*Good Works*, and *Sanctification.*

'3. Explain the Words of your *Text* clearly; 'bring *clear Proof of parallel Scriptures*; let 'your *Reaſons* be *Scripture-Reaſons*; but be 'moſt in *Application*; which is ſpent in *Five Uſes*, *Refutation* of Error, *Information* of the 'Truth, *Correction* of Manners, *Exhortation* 'and *Inſtruction* in Righteouſneſs. All which 'you find in 2 *Tim.* 3. 16, 17. And there is a '*Fifth Uſe*, *viz.* of *Comfort*, 1 Cor. 14. 3.

'4. Preach not *high Notions*. Read *Ames*'s '*Medulla*; and the Explication of 1 *Cor.* 2. 1, 2. 'Neither uſe any *dark Latin Words*, or any derived thence, which poor People can't underſtand, without explaining of them, ſo that the 'pooreſt and ſimpleſt People may underſtand 'all.

'5. I adviſe you being once in Office to *Catechiſe* every Lord's Day in the Afternoon, 'ſo as to go through the *Catechiſe* once in a 'Year.

'Finally, Be very careful of *Scriptural Rules* 'to God's Miniſters, 'Ορθομεῖν τον λογὸν, ὀρθοπαδεῖν, 'ϗ ἐν προσσευχαὶς προσκαρτερεῖν.

Thus did he adviſe, without occaſion to make Confeſſion of the Poet, which of all is the moſt unhappy for the *Preacher.*

——— *Monitis ſum, minor ipſe meis.*

He was, indeed, an exceeding plain Preacher, frequently ſaying, *Artis eſt Celare Artem:* And yet a more *Learned*, and a more *Lively* Preacher has rarely been heard. He would therefore mention it, as a pious and prudent Complaint of Reverend Mr. *Dod*, *That too many Miniſters deal like unskilful Archers; they ſhoot over the Heads, and much more over the Hearts of their Hearers, and miſs their Mark, while they ſoar ſo high by handling deep Points; or by uſing of obſcure and dark Expreſſions, or Phraſes, in their Preaching.* But for the preaching of our *Chancey*, the ſame Account may be given of it, that *Photius* gives about the Preaching of *Athanaſius: In Sermonibus ubique in Locutione Clarus eſt, & Brevis, & Simplex, Acutus tamen & Altus, & Argumentationibus, omnino vehemens, & in his Tanta Libertas, ut Admirablis ſit.*

§ 11. In the Colledge whereof he was *Preſident*, he did the part, Τοῦ φιλανθρώπου ϗ φιλοθέου παιδευτοῦ, *An Inſtructer inſpired with the Love of God, and the Love of Souls.* But if the Reader expect any further Account of this Reverend Man, what he *was*, what he *thought*, and what he *preach'd*, let him give himſelf the *edifying Pleaſure* of reading what he *printed.* But of his Printed Compoſures, the more conſiderable were his Twenty ſix Sermons upon *Juſtification*, publiſhed in the Year 1659. On the Motive which he mentioned in the Preface thereunto. *My particular Employment* (ſaith he) *wherein I hope, that my deſire is to ſerve the Lord in Truth, and to ſeek the great Benefit of Youth and Students, who are to be trained up,* Ἐν νουθεσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου, *that is,* in the Doctrine of the Lord, that may put a right Underſtanding into them, hath *moved me to repreſent this* Doctrine of Juſtification, *as a Standard of Truth and Salvation to them; which they ſhould hold faſt, and as the Lord ſhall call them thereunto* hold forth, *in their Generations.* It had been an uſual thing with him, ſolemnly to caution *Scholars* againſt thoſe *Doctrines*, which *exalt Man*, and *debaſe Chriſt:* And he thought particularly with *Luther, Amiſſo Articulo Juſtificationis, & amiſſa eſt ſimul tota Doctrina Chriſtiana.*

And agreeably to that Caution, we have him, in this his moſt Judicious Treatiſe, maintaining,

'That

'That *Juſtification* is a Judicial Proceeding, 'wherein the Sentence of God *abſolves*, and *acquits* the Sinner from the Guilt of Sin, and accepts him as a *juſt Perſon*, unto *Eternal Life*.

'That the *Juſtification* of a Sinner before 'God, in the *Decree* of it, in the *Purchaſe* of it, 'and in the *Application* of it, is to be aſcribed 'unto the *Free Grace* of God, and yet there is 'alſo a glorious Concurrence of ſtrict *Juſtice* 'thereunto.

'That the Son of God condeſcending to be 'the *Surety* of his Choſen, took their *Debt* 'upon himſelf, and by ſuffering the *full Puniſhment* which was due for their Sins, made 'that *Satisfaction* unto the Juſtice of God, whereupon we receive the *Remiſſion of Sins*, which 'without ſuch a *Satisfaction* had been impoſſible.

'That none of the *Aſſlictions* which befal the 'Faithful, are proper *Puniſhments* for Sin, but 'the *Corrective* Diſpenſations of a careful *Father*, and the *Sanative* Diſpenſations of a prudent *Healer*.

'That yet many *Godly Men* ſmart for their 'Boldneſs in Sin: And when *Paul* writing to '*Saints*, tells them, *If you live after the Fleſh, you ſhall die*: He ſpeaks not only of *Temporal*, 'but of *Eternal Death*: For tho' 'tis not poſſible 'for *Saints* to *die eternally*, 'tis as poſſible for 'them to die *Eternally*, as to *Sin Eternally*.

'That we are not *juſtified by Faith*, as it is a '*Work* in us, nor is our *Act* of Believing, any 'part of the *Matter* of that *Righteouſneſs*, 'wherein we ſtand *righteous* before God. But '*Faith* does only juſtifie us relatively, or as it 'has reference to its *Object* the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'and his *Righteouſneſs*, or as it receives the '*Mercy of God* in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; or as 'the Beggar's Hand receiving a Bag of Gold enricheth him: It is but a *Paſſive Inſtrument*; 'and the Words of *James*, *That a Man is juſtified by Works, and not by Faith alone*; do not 'oppoſe the other Words of *Paul*, but only aſſert, that a *juſtifying Faith*, is in this oppos'd 'unto a falſe and a dead Faith, it will certainly 'be effectual to produce *Good Works* in the Believer.

'That Believers, notwithſtanding the *Forgiveneſs* of their Sins, ought often to renew all the 'Expreſſions of *Repentance* for their Sins, and 'ſtill to be fervent and inſtant in Prayer for 'Pardon; inaſmuch as we have need of having 'Remiſſion afreſh applied unto us; and we alſo 'need the *Joys* and *Fruits* of our Pardon, and 'the Grace to make a *right Uſe* thereof.

'That the whole *Obedience* of the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt, both *Active* and *Paſſive*, belongs to 'that *perfect Righteouſneſs* which is required 'in order to *Juſtification*; and this *Righteouſneſs of God* is conveyed unto Believers, by way 'of *Imputation*: It is reckoned and accounted 'theirs, upon their apprehending of it; which '*Imputation* is a gracious Act of God the Father, whereby as a *Judge*, he accounts the Sins 'of the Believer unto the *Surety*, as if he had 'committed the ſame, and the Righteouſneſs 'of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto the Believer, as 'if he had performed that Obedience.

'That ſtill it follows not, that every *Believer* is a *Redeemer*, and *Saviour* of others, as 'the Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf is; it is the 'Righteouſneſs of the Surety, and not the 'Suretiſhip it ſelf, that is imputed unto the 'Believer: The Suretiſhip is proper unto our 'Lord, and becauſe the Vertue which is in the 'Head, is communicated unto the Members, ''tis frivolous thence to argue, that every Member is thereby made an Head, and has the Influence of our Head upon the reſt.

'That as *Adam* was the *Common Root* of all '*Mankind*, and ſo his *firſt Sin* is imputed unto 'all his Poſterity; thus our Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'is the *Common Root* of all the *Faithful*, and his '*Obedience* is imputed unto them all.

This was the Old Faith of *New England*, about that moſt important Article of *Juſtification*; an Article wherein all the Duties and Comforts of our Holy Religion are, more than a little concerned. And I thought I could not make a fitter Preſent unto the *Sons of my Mother*, than by thus laying before the Scholars of *Harvard-Colledge*, an Abſtract of what the Venerable Old *Preſident* of that Colledge left as a *Legacy* unto them.

All that I ſhall add upon it, is, That as 'tis the Obſervation of our Dr. *Owen*, in his moſt Judicious Book of *Juſtification*: *I am not ſatisfied that any of thoſe, who at preſent oppoſe this Doctrine, do in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, and the Exerciſe of all Chriſtian Graces, ſurpaſs thoſe who in the laſt Ages, both in this and other Nations, firmly adhered unto it, and who conſtantly teſtified unto that effectual Influence, which it had into their Walking before God; nor do I know that any can be named amongſt us in the former Ages, who were eminent in Holineſs, and many ſuch there were, who did not cordially aſſent unto that, which we plead for. And it doth not yet appear in general, that an Attempt to introduce a Doctrine contrary unto it, has had any great Succeſs in the Reformation of the Lives of Men.* So our holy *Chancey* was an eminent Inſtance to confirm ſomething of this Obſervation. Albeit he were ſo elaborately ſolicitous to exclude Good Works from any ſhare in the *antecedent Condition of our Juſtification*; yet there were few Men in the World, who more practically and accurately acknowledged the Neceſſity of Good Works in all the Juſtified: And ſo afraid was he of defiling his own Soul, and of diſturbing his own Peace, by the admiſſion of any known Sin, that tho' he made ſo many ſtated Supplications every Day, yet if he had fallen into any miſbecoming Paſſion, or any ſenſible Diſtemper, or Diſorder of Heart in the Day, it occaſioned his immediate Retirement, for another Prayer extraordinary before the Lord.

§ 11. I

§ 11. I remember, that upon the Article in the *Praiſes* of a Good Man, [*Pſal.* 1. 3. *He brings forth his Fruit in his Seaſon*, there is a notable Gloſs of *Aben Ezra*, to this purpoſe; *Anima Rationalis plena Sapientiæ, in Tempore Senectutis opportuno, ſeparatur a Corpore, ſicut Fructus ab Arbore, & non moritur ante Diem.* Such a *Tree* was our *Chancey*, and ſuch was his Fate. This Eminent *Souldier* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, after he was come to be Fourſcore Years of Age, continued ſtill to *Endure Hardneſs, as a good Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt*; and ſtill profeſſed, with the Aged *Polycarp*, That he *was not willing to leave the Service of the Lord, that had more than Fourſcore Years been a Good Maſter to him.* When his Friends preſſed him to remit and abate his vaſt Labours, he would reply, *Oportet Imperatorem Stantem mori*; according he *ſtood* beyond Expectation, directing in the Learned *Camp*, where he had been a *Commander*. At length on the Commencement in the Year 1671. he made a *Farewel Oration*, wherein he took a *Solemn Farewel* of his Friends, and then ſent for his Children, upon whom he beſtowed a *Solemn Bleſſing*, with Fervent Prayers, commending them to the *Grace* of God. So like Aged R. *Simeon*, once ('tis by ſome thought) the Preſident of a College at *Jeruſalem*, he kept *waiting* and longing for his Call. *To Depart in Peace!* Accordingly the *End* of this Year proved the *End* of his Days: When Illneſs growing upon him, the Reverend Mr. *Urian Oakes*, after his Requeſted Supplications, asked him to give a *Sign* of his Hopeful and Joyful *Aſſurances*, if he yet had them, of his entring into *Eternal Glory*; whereat the Speechleſs Old Man lifted up his hands, as high towards *Heaven*, as he could lift them, and ſo his Renewed and Ripened *Soul* flew thither Feb. 19. 1671. in the Eighty Second Year of his Age, and the Seventeen Year of his Preſidentſhip, over *Harvard-College*. He left behind him no leſs than *Six* Sons; every of which had received the *Laurels* of *Degrees*, in the College; and ſome of them from the Hand of their Aged Father. Their Names were *Iſaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathanael* and *Elnathan*, (which two were Twins) and *Iſrael*. *All* of theſe did, while they had opportunity, Preach the Goſpel; and *moſt*, if not *all* of them, like their Excellent *Father* before them, had an Eminent Skill in *Phyſick* added unto their other Accompliſhments; which like *him*, they uſed for the Good of many; as indeed it is well known, that until Two Hundred Years ago, *Phyſick* in *England*, was no Profeſſion diſtinct from *Divinity*; and accordingly *Princes* had the ſame Perſons to be their *Phyſicians* and their *Confeſſors*. But only Two of them are now living; the *Firſt* and the *Laſt*: The one in *England*, the other in *New-England*; *Iſaac* now a Paſtor of a Church in *London*, and an Author of ſeveral well known Treatiſes: *Iſrael* now a Paſtor of a Church in our *Stratford*, where he is, at this Day, a Rich Bleſſing to the Colony of *Connecticut*. The Happy *Mother* of theſe worthy Sons, was *Catharine* the Daughter of *Robert Eyre*, Eſq, who dying a little before her Conſort, had her *Holy Life* quickly after publiſhed; namely, by the Publication of the *Directions* for an *Holy Life*, which her Pious Father left as a *Legacy* for his Children: *Directions*, whereof I ſhall ſay but this, That as they expreſs the True Spirit of *Puritaniſm*, ſo they compriſe the Wiſeſt, the Fruitfulleſt, the Exacteſt, and the Holieſt *Rules of Living*, that ever I ſaw together in any ſhort *Human Compoſure*; and the Reprinting of them would not only give a Deſcription of the Heavenly Converſation endeavoured by our Great *Charles Chancey*, whom we have hitherto been *conſidering*, but alſo procure the *Admiration*, if not *Imitation* of them that read it.

§ 12. *New-England* having enjoyed ſuch a *Privilege*, and ſuch a *Preſident* as our *Chancey*, governing a Colledge, I will conclude this Account thereof with certain Paſſages which this Reverend Man publiſhed in a Sermon, on *Amos* 2. 11. *I raiſed up of your Sons for Prophets, and of your Young Men for Nazarites*, Preached at *Cambridge* the Day after one of the *Commencements*.

'God hath wonderfully Erected *Schools of Learning*, and means of Education for our Children, that there might be continually ſome comfortable Supply and Succeſſion in the Miniſtry. *Is it not ſo, O ye People of God in New England!* But then let me teſtify againſt you in the Lord's Name, for great *Unthankfulneſs* to the Lord, for ſo great a Mercy. The Great Bleſſing of a *Painful Miniſtry* is not regarded by *Covetous Earth Worms*; neither do the *Schools* of Learning, that afford *Oyl* to the *Lamps*, come into their Thoughts, to praiſe the Lord for them. Or, ſome little Good they apprehend in it, to have a Miniſter to ſpend the *Sabbath*, and to *Baptize* their Children, and *Schools* to teach their Children, and keep them out of Harm's Way, or teach them to Write and Read, and caſt Accounts; but they deſpiſe the *Angel's Bread*, and count it *Light Stuff*, in Compariſon of other things, yea, there be many in the Country, that account it their Happineſs to live in the Waſt, Howling Wilderneſs, without any *Miniſtry*, or *Schools*, and *Means* of Education for their Poſterity; they have much *Liberty*, they think, by this *Want*. Surely their Practice about their *Children*, is little better than the Merciless and Unnatural Profaneneſs of the *Iſraelites, That ſacrificed their Sons and their Daughters unto Devils!* And many make wicked Returns of theſe Bleſſings, and fearfully abuſe them, and ſeek what they can, to *weary out Miniſters*, and pull down *Schools of Learning*, or which is all one, deny or withold *Maintenance* from them; as good, as to ſay, *Raſe them, Raſe them to the Foundations!* But how exceeding Hateful unto the Lord, is this Unthankfulneſs? *Do you thus* *requite*

‘ *requite the Lord, ye fooliſh People, and unwiſe!*

‘ But then let *Scholars* mainly intend, labour, and ſtudy for this; to be *Prophets* and *Nazarites*: And therefore let *Speaking to Edification*, *Exhortation*, *and Comfort* be aimed at in all your Studies: And behave your ſelves as being ſet apart in peculiar manner for the Lord. To uſe the *Veſſels of the Temple*, to quaff and carouſe in, was a *Babyloniſh* Practice. You ſhould have leſs to do with the *World*, and Worldly Delights, and be leſs cumbred than others with the Affairs of this Life.

All that we will add of this Good Old Man, ſhall be the *Epitaph*, which is now to be read on his Tomb-ſtone in *Cambridge*.

Conditum
hic eſt Corpus,
CAROLI CHAUNCÆI,
S. S. Theologiæ Baccalaur.
ET
Collegii Harvardini Nov-Angl.
Per XVII. Annorum Spacium,
Præſidis Vigilantiſſimi,
Viri Plane Integerrimi,
Concionatoris Eximii,
Pietate
Pariter ac Liberali Eruditione
Ornatiſſimi.
Qui Obiit in Domino, Feb. XIX.
An. Dom. M. DC. LXX. I.
Et Ætatis ſuæ, LXXX. II.

CHAP. XXIV.

Lucas. The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN FISK*.

Ἰατρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων.

§ 1. AMong the moſt Famous *Preachers* and *Writers* of the Goſpel, with which the Primitive Church was Bleſſed, there was *Luke, the Beloved Phyſician*; of whom *Jerom* elegantly ſays, *Quomodo Apoſtoli de Piſcatoribus piſcium, Piſcatores Hominum facti ſunt, ita de Medico Corporum in Medicum Verſis eſt Animarum*; *cujus Liber quotieſcunq; legitur in Eccleſiis, toties Medicina non ceſſat*: That Bleſſed Scholar and Collegue, of the Apoſtle *Paul*, who (as *Jerom* alſo tells us) according to the Opinion of ſome, intends the Volume which had been Penned by this *Luke*, as often as he uſes that Expreſſion in his Epiſtles, *according to my Goſpel*.

And among the firſt *Preachers* and *Writers*, which rendered the Primitive Times of *New-England* happy, there was one who might likewiſe be called, *A Beloved Phyſician*; one to whom there might alſo be given the *Eulogy*, which the Ancients think was given to *Luke*, *A Brother whoſe Praiſe was in the Goſpel, throughout all Churches*.

This was Mr. *John Fisk*.

§ 2. Mr. *John Fisk* was Born in the Pariſh of St. *James*, (called for Diſtinction, *One of the Nine Pariſhes*) in the County of *Suffolk*, about the Year 1601. of Pious and Worthy *Parents*, yea, of *Grand-Parents*, and *Great Grand-Parents*, Eminent for Zeal in the True Religion. There were *Six Brothers* in the Infamous Reign of Queen *Mary*, whereof three were *Papiſts*, and three were *Proteſtants*, I may ſay, *Puritans*; and of the *Latter* (whereof none were owned by the *Former*) Two were very ſorely perſecuted. For one of theſe Brethren, the Purſevant, having a Kindneſs, gave him a Private and Previous Notice of his coming with an *Order* to ſeize him; whereupon the Good Man, firſt called his Family to *Prayer*, haſtned away to hide himſelf in a Ditch, with his *Godly Wife*, which had a *Sucking Child* at her Breaſt. The Purſevant being near at Hand, a *Thorn* in the *Hedge* gave ſuch a *Mark* to the Child's Face, as never went out; whereat the Child beginning to Roar, the Mother preſently clapt it to the Breaſt, whereby it was quieted at once, and there was no Diſcovery then, or after, made of theſe *Confeſſors*. Another of theſe Brethren, from whom our *Fisk* was deſcended, was then (to avoid *Burning*) hid many Months in a *Wood-pile*; and afterwards, for half a Year in a *Cellar*, where he diligently employ'd himſelf in profitable Manufactures, by *Candle Light*, after ſuch a manner as to remain likewiſe undiſcovered; but his many Hardſhips brought that Exceſſive *Bleeding*

Bleeding upon him, that *ſhortned* his Days, and *added* unto the Cry of the *Souls under the Altar.*

§ 3. Our *John* was the Eldeſt of *Four* Children, all of whom afterwards came to *New-England* with him, and left a Poſterity, with whom God eſtabliſhed his *Holy Covenant*. His Parents having devoted him unto the Service of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they ſent him firſt unto a *Grammar-School*, Two Miles from the Place of their Abode, whither his *Diligent Soul* was inſtead of *Wings*, every Day to carry him. His Education at the *School*, having fitted him for the *Univerſity*, he went unto *Cambridge*, where he was admitted, into (as I think) *Immanuel-College*, in which he reſided, until he became a *Graduate*. Some time after this, being both by *Art* and by *Heart*, well prepared for it, he applied himſelf unto the Work to which he had been devoted; namely, the *Preaching of the Goſpel:* But the *Silencers* grew ſo hard upon him for his *Non Conformity*, that upon the Advice of his Friends, he ſet himſelf to ſtudy *Phyſick*, and upon a thorough Examination, he obtained a Licence for *Publick Practice*. When he was about Eight and Twenty Years of Age, he married a Vertuous Young Gentlewoman; ſeveral Hundreds of Pounds of whoſe Patrimony were denied her upon the Diſpleaſure of *her* Father, at her coming to *New-England*.

But upon the Death of his Father, who had committed unto him the Care of his Mother and his two Siſters, and his youngeſt Brother, he thought it his Duty to Remove into *New-England*, where he ſaw an Opportunity of returning unto the Quiet Exerciſe of his Miniſtry. He, and that Excellent Man Mr. *John Allin*, came aboard in a Diſguiſe, to avoid the Fury of their Perſecutors; but after they were paſt the Lands-End, they entertained the Paſſengers with *Two Sermons* every Day, beſides other Agreeable Devotions, which filled the Voyage with ſo much of *Religion*, that one of the Paſſengers being examined about his going to divert himſelf with an *Hook* and *Line*, on the *Lord's Day*, he proteſted, *That he did not know when the Lord's Day was; he thought every Day was a Sabbath* Day; *for*, he ſaid, *they did nothing but pray and preach all the Week long.*

§ 4. Mr. *Fisk* arrived at *New-England* in the Year 1637. having had nothing to render the Voyage uncomfortable, but only that his Aged *Mother* died quickly after he came aboard, and his only *Infant* quickly after he came aſhore. He came well ſtock'd with *Servants*, and all ſorts of Tools for *Husbandry* and *Carpentry*, and with *Proviſions* to ſupport his Family in a Wilderneſs for Three Years together; out of which, he charitably lent a conſiderable Quantity to the Country, which he then found in the Diſtreſſes of a War with the *Pequot-Indians*. He now ſojourned about Three Years at *Salem*, where he was both a *Preacher* to the Church, and a *Tutor* unto divers young Scholars (whereof the well known Sir *George Downing* was one) as he was afterwards unto his own *Children*, when the want of *Grammar-Schools* at Hand made it neceſſary. From thence he removed unto a Place adjoining thereunto, which is now called *Wenham:* Where on *Octob.* 8. 1644. a Church was gathered, of which he continued the *Paſtor*, in that Place, for more than Twice Seven Years: Contented with a very mean *Salary*, and conſuming his own fair Eſtate for the Welfare of the *New-Plantation.*

§ 5. About the Year 1656. he Removed, with the major part of his Church, to another New Town, called *Chelmsford*; and there he ſpent the Remainder of his Days. Of the *Afflictions* which now *Diſciplin'd* him, one of the ſaddeſt was the Loſs of his *Concordance*; I mean, of his Godly and Worthy *Conſort*, who by her Incomparable Expertneſs in the *Scriptures*, had rendred any other *Concordance* of the Bible uſeleſs unto his Library. This *Vertuous Woman* loſt her *Sight* for ſome Years before ſhe died; under which Diſaſter a moſt Exemplary *Patience* was produced in her, by her *View* of, *The things which are not ſeen, and are Eternal:* And at length, after many Admonitions unto her Friends to Improve their *Sight* well whilſt they had it, ſhe had on *Feb.* 14. 1671. her *Eyes opened*, by their being *cloſed*; and was by Death carried from *Faith* unto Immediate and Everlaſting *Sight:* After which *he* married again.

§ 6. Twenty Years did he *ſhine* in the *Golden Candleſtick* of *Chelmsford*; a *plain*, but an Able, Painful, and Uſeful Preacher of the Goſpel; rarely, if ever, by Sickneſs hindred from the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry. As *Marcilius Ficinus* having written one Book, *De Sanitate Tuenda*, and another Book, *De Valetudine Reſtituenda*, concluded his Courſe with writing his Book, *De Vita Cœlitus Comparanda:* Thus, our Mr. *Fisk*, now ſuperſeded his Care and Skill of diſpenſing Medicines for the *Body*, by doing it for the *Soul*. But although he did in his Miniſtry, go through an *Expoſition* of almoſt all the Scripture in both Teſtaments, and unto his *Lord's Day* Sermons, added a *Monthly Lecture* on the *Week-Day*, beſides his Diſcourſes at the *Private Meetings* of the Faithful, and his exact and Faithful Cares to keep up *Church-Diſcipline*, yet none of his Labours were more Conſiderable than his *Catechetical*. It is by the Excellent *Owen* excellently well obſerved, *That unleſs a Man has ſome Good Satiſfaction concerning the Spiritual Condition of thoſe that are committed unto his Charge, he can never approve himſelf among them*, a Workman that needeth not to be aſhamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth: *And the Work of the Miniſtry is not by any means more evacuated, and rendered Ineffectual, than when Men have not a certain Deſign to deal with their Hearers according to what they are perſwaded, that their Spiritual Eſtate doth require.* Our *Fisk* therefore, did by moſt laborious *Catechiſing*, endeavour to *know the State*

of

of his Flock, and make it *good:* And hence, altho' he did himſelf compoſe and publiſh a moſt uſeful *Catechiſm*, which he entituled, *The Olive-Plant watered*; yet he choſe the *Aſſembly's Catechiſm* for his Publick *Expoſitions*, wherewith he twice went over it, in Diſcourſes before his *Afternoon-Sermons* on the Sabbath.

§ 7. Towards the *end* of his *Life*, he *began* to labour eſpecially under two Maladies, either of which were enough to try the moſt conſummate Patience of any Man living; theſe were, firſt the *Stone*, and then the *Gout*; which at laſt were followed with *Convulſions*, that brought his laborious Life unto an end: And gave him the Experience of *Streitbergerus*'s Motto, *Qui non eſt Crucianus non eſt Chriſtianus.* Yea, for a Complication of Maladies, his Condition became not unlike the bleſſed *Calvin*'s, of whom the Hiſtorian relates, *That he was troubled with as many Infirmities, as indifferent Subjects might have ſupplied an Hoſpital.*

On the Second Lord's Day of his Confinement by Illneſs, after he had been many Lord's Days carried unto the Church in a Chair, and preached, as in the Primitive Times they ſtill treated, ſitting, he was taken with *Convulſions*, which renewed ſo faſt upon him, that within a few Days he died, on *January* 14. 1676. ſee a *Reſt from his Labours:* Having firſt, after this manner *bleſſed* his Four Children, two Sons and two Daughters, who were by his Bed-ſide waiting for his *Bleſſing: You are as a Shock of Corn bound up, or as Twins made beautiful by the Covenant of Grace. You have an Intereſt in the ſure Mercies of* David; *thoſe you have to live upon. Study to emulate one another; but in the beſt, in the beſt. Provoke one another to Love. The God of your Forefathers bleſs you all.* And added unto his younger Son, the preſent worthy Paſtor of *Braintree*, concerning his Wife and his two Children, then abſent, *The God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, bleſs you, and your Poſterity after you.*

We will now leave him uttering the Words of *Weinrichius*, in his

Epitaph.

Vixi, & quem dederas curſum mihi, Chriſte, *peregi:*
Pertæſus Vitæ, ſuaviter opto mori.

CHAP. XXV.

Scholaſticus. The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS PARKER.*

§ 1. IT may without any ungrateful *Compariſons* be aſſerted, that one of the *greateſt Scholars* in the *Engliſh* Nation, was that Renowned *Robert Parker*, who was driven out of the Nation for his *Non Conformity* to its unhappy Ceremonies in the Worſhip of God. It was the Honour of that Great Man, to be the *Father* of ſuch Learned Books, as that of his *De Politia Eccleſiaſtica*, and that *Of the Croſs*; as well as *Foſtor Father* to that of *Sandford*'s *De Diſcenſu Chriſti ad Inferos*; yea, to be in ſome ſort the *Father* of all the *Non-Conformiſts* in our Age, who yet would not call any Man their *Father*. But let it not be counted any *Diſhonour* unto him, that he was alſo the Natural *Father* of our *Thomas Parker*.

§ 2. This Mr. *Thomas Parker* was the only Son of his *Father*, who being very deſirous to have him a Scholar, committed him unto perhaps a godly, but a very ſevere Maſter. Under this hard Maſter, tho' he was well nigh diſcouraged by the *Dulneſs*, which he apprehended in his own Capacity, yet the Conſideration of his Father's Deſire, made him, with an Early Piety, to join his *Prayers* unto his *Pains*, that he might have his Education proſpered; and God ſo proſpered him, that he arrived unto a deſirable Degree of Knowledge, both in the *Tongues*, and in the *Arts*.

§ 3. He had been admitted into *Magdalen* Colledge, in *Oxford*; but after the Exile of his Father, he removed unto *Dublin*, in *Ireland*; where he found from Dr. *Uſher* the ſame favourable Aſpect, which that eminent Perſon did uſe to caſt upon young Students that were ingenious: And from thence he went after his Father into *Holland*, where Dr. *Ames* favoured him with his Encouragements and Aſſiſtances, in the Proſecution of his honeſt Studies now at *Leyden*.

§ 4. As his Diligence was indefatigable, ſo his *Proficiency* was proportionable: And he was particularly conſiderable there, for his Diſputations upon the Points then moſt conſiderably controverted. It was at the Age of Twenty two, that he drew up his moſt Judicious and Approved *Theſes, De Traductione Peccatoris:* Which are bound up with Dr. *Ames*, his *Opuſcula*, in ſome Editions of his Anſwer to *Grevinchovius*. Thoſe moſt accurate *Theſes*, being thus publiſhed, as the Compoſure of another, our humble *Parker*, tho' inſtigated thereunto, did yet refuſe to do himſelf the Juſtice, of publiſhing himſelf ſome other way, to be the Author of them. This neglect of his, he ſaid, was, to chaſtize the *Vanity of his own young Mind, which had been too much pleaſed with the Accuracy of his own early Performance in thoſe* Theſes. But

the Author of the *Theſes* afterwards came to be well known, by the Providence of God, when whole *Books* came to be written by learned Men upon them; whereof one was entituled, *Parkerus Illuſtratus*.

But before this Age of *Twenty two*, he proceeded *Maſter*, with the general Applauſe of all, and the ſpecial Eſteem of *Maccovius*, a man Renowned in the *Belgick* Univerſities. In the *Diploma* then given him, they teſtifie, *Illum non ſine magnâ Admiratione audiverimus*,—And *Se Philoſophiæ Artiumque liberalium peritiſſimum declaraverit*.

§ 5. *Maccovius* would hereupon have had *Sibrandus Lubbertus*, the Moderator of the *Claſſis* there, to have ordained our *Parker* a *Presbyter*, as an Acknowledgment of his exceeding worth; but tho' *Lubbertus* could not but acknowledge it, yet out of a ſecret Grudge, he would not allow of the Ordination. Whereupon *Maccovius* rode unto the States at *Leodin*, with Complaints of *Lubbertus* for ſo ill a thing, as letting ſuch a Perſon as this *Parker* go away under any Cloud of Diſreſpect; and the States thereupon wrote unto *Lubbertus* to admit him: But the haſt of his return into *England* prevented it.

§ 6. Reſiding at *Newberry* in *England*, he applied himſelf with an invincible Induſtry unto the Study of *School-Divinity*: In which profound and knotty Study, he found ſuch *enſnaring Temptations*, that he afterwards laid it all aſide, for the *Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt crucified*. The wiſe *Bullinger* would with too much Reaſon ſay, *Unus Seneca plus ſinceriora Theologiæ poſteritate reliquit, quam omnes fere omnium Scholaſticorum Libri*. The great *Chamier* would with a like Reaſon ſay, *Solere ſe Scholaſticos conſulere, non aliter, quàm ſi quis aliquando palatium inviſens, poſt Aularum, cubiculorum & cænaculorum magnificentiam etiam Latrinas non dedignetur inſpicere, ſed paucis, ob fætorem*. The learned *Whitaker* would ſay of the *School-men*, *Plus habent Argutiarum quam Scientiæ plus Scientiæ quam Doctrinæ, plus Doctrinæ quam uſus, plus uſus quam ad ſalutem*. Our *Parker* converſed indeed with the *School-men*, until he almoſt became one of them himſelf: But not ſuch an one as *Luther* meant, when he ſaid, *Qui Theologum Scholaſticum videt, videt Septem peccata mortalia*: For he grew ſick of all the Learning that he had got from the *School-men*; and would often ſay, *All the uſe I now make of all my School-Learning is this: I have ſo much to deny for the ſake of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. Nor was he inſenſible of what Sir *Walter Rawleigh* obſerved concerning the *School-men*, That they taught their Followers rather to *ſhift*, than to *reſolve* by their *Diſtinctions*.

§ 7. From thence removing with ſeveral devout Chriſtians out of *Wiltſhire* into *New-England*, he was Ordained their *Paſtor*, at a Town, on his, and their Account, called *Newberry*; where he lived many Years, by the *Holineſs*, the *Humbleneſs*, the *Charity* of his Life, giving his People a perpetual and moſt lively Commentary upon his *Doctrine*.

§ 8. The Strains which his immoderate Studies gave unto his Organs of Sight, brought a miſerable Defluxion of *Rheum* upon his Eyes; which proceeded ſo far, that one of them ſwelled until it came out of his Head, and the other grew altogether dim ſome Years before his Death. Under this extreme Loſs he would, after a Chriſtian and pleaſant manner, give himſelf that Conſolation: *Well, they'll be reſtored ſhortly, at the Reſurrection*.

The Jews, upon the dim ſight of *Eli*, have an Obſervation, That none are mentioned in the Scripture, as afflicted with Failure of Sight, but ſuch as were afflicted either in their *Children*, or in their *Pupils*. Our *Parker* had no Children to afflict him, and his Pupils were ſuch as to comfort him; yet Failure of Sight was his Calamity.

§ 9. In the latter part of his Life, he bent himſelf unto the Study of the *Scripture-Prophecies*; being, as has been ſaid by Dr. *Uſher*, inſtigated thereunto. 'Twas with an aſſiduous Conjunction of *Meditations*, and Supplications, that he followed this delightful Study, till he had written ſeveral Volumes, a great part of them in *Latin*; whereof no part was ever publiſh'd, but one upon *Daniel*, which he wrote in *Engliſh*. If ſome of his Expoſitions upon thoſe difficult parts of the Scripture, have been ſince confuted by ſome great Authors, who diſliked them, we may, on more Accounts than one, conſider him, as the *Homer* of *New-England*; and add,

Aliquando Bonus Dormitat Homerus.

§ 10. He went unto the *Immortals*, in the Month of *April* 1677, about the Eighty ſecond Year of his Age: And after he had lived all his Days a *ſingle Man*, but a great part of his Days engaged in *Apocalyptical Studies*, he went unto the *Apocalyptical Virgins*, who *follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goes*.

He was a Perſon of a moſt extenſive *Charity*; which Grain of his Temper, might contribute unto that Largeneſs in his Principles, about *Church-Government*, which expoſed him unto many *Temptations*, amongſt his Neighbours, who were not ſo Principled. He would, indeed, expreſs himſelf diſſatisfied at the Edge, which there was in the Writings of his Father, againſt the *Biſhops*; and he did himſelf write a Preface unto a Book; whereupon Mr. *Charles Chancey* beſtow'd a *ſhort Anſwer*, which begins with this *ſhorter Cenſure*.

'Let it not be an Offence to any Chriſtian, 'that there hath been found one like to *Urijah* 'the Prieſt, that would ſet up the Altar of '*Damaſcus* among us, to thruſt out the *Brazen Altar* of the Lord's Inſtitution; *viz*. Mr. *Thomas Parker*, who has publiſhed a Book, pleading for *Epiſcopacy*; wherein is found, πῶλος λακτίζων, a *Colt* kicking againſt his *Dam*.

Such a Difference in Apprehenſion, and in Affection too, did on that occaſion diſcover it ſelf, be-

between thoſe Good Men, who are now joyfully met, *Ubi Luthi Luthero cum Zuinglio, optime jam Convenit.*

Yet the Alienation between them, was not ſo great as that between *Theoclus*, and *Pollinis*, who being burnt in one Funeral Fire, after they had kill'd one another, the very Flame of that Fire divided it ſelf; the Flame of their Funeral Fire would not be united. *Chancey* and *Parker* are united in our *Church-Hiſtory*; the Funeral Reſpects which are here paid unto both of them, agree very well together. Now,

That which the Learned, Pious, and Sweet-ſpirited *Bucholtzer*, provided for himſelf, we will now aſſign unto this our Sweet-ſpirited *Parker* (who ſpent his Life much in Chronological Studies, like that Great *Bucholtzer*,) for an

Epitaph.

Hic, Pie Chriſte! Tuo recubat quæſita cruore —
Inq; Tuo Gremio, Parvula dormit Ovis.
Reddidit hæc Animam balanti Voce Fidelem:
Huic Paſtor dices, Intret Ovile meum.

An APPENDIX Containing MEMOIRS of Mr. *James Noyes.*

WHEN we had thus finiſhed our *Memoirs* of Mr. *Parker*, our *Second Thoughts* told us, that *ſome* of Mr. *Noyes* muſt accompany them. Sending therefore to my Excellent Friend, Mr. *Nicolas Noyes*, the preſent Miniſter of *Salem*, for ſome Account, concerning a Perſon ſo nearly related unto him, he favoured me with the following Relation. And tho' he were pleaſed in his Letters to tell me, 'That he had ſent me only a Rude Immethodical Jumble of things, intending that I ſhould ſerve my Occaſions out of them, for a Compoſition of my own. Yet I find, that I ſhall not give my Readers a better Satisfaction, any way, than by tranſcribing the Words of my Friend. The Account in his own Words, is too Elegant, and Expreſſive, to need any Alteration.

'Mr. *James Noyes* was Born, 1608. at *Choulderton* in *Wiltſhire*, of Godly and Worthy Parents. His Father was Miniſter of the ſame Town, a very Learned Man, the Shool-Maſter of Mr. *Thomas Parker*. His Mother was Siſter to the Learned Mr. *Robert Parker*, and he had much of his Education and Tutorage under Mr. *Thomas Parker*. He was called by him, from *Brazen Noſe College* in *Oxford*, to help him in teaching the Free School at *Newberry*; where they taught School together, till the Time they came to *New England*. He was converted in his Youth, by the Miniſtry of Dr. *Twiſs*, and Mr. *Thomas Parker*, and was admired for his Piety and his Vertue in his younger Years. The Reaſon of his coming to *New England*, was, becauſe he could not comply with the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. He was married in *England* to Mrs. *Sarah Brown*, the Eldeſt Daughter of Mr. *Joſeph Brown* of *Southampton*, not long before he came to *New England*, which was in the Year 1634. In the ſame Ship came Mr. *Thomas Parker*, Mr. *James Noyes*, and a Younger Brother of his, Mr. *Nicolas Noyes*, who then was a ſingle Man: Between which Three, was a more than ordinary Endearment of Affection, which was never ſhaken or broken, but by Death Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *James Noyes*, and others that came over with them, Faſted and Prayed together many times, before they undertook this Voyage; and on the Sea, Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes* preached or expounded, one in the Forenoon, other in the Afternoon, every Day during the Voyage, unleſs ſome extraordinary thing intervened, and were abundant in Prayer.

'When they arrived, Mr. *Parker* was at firſt called to preach at *Ipſwich*, and Mr. *Noyes* at *Miſtick*, at which Places they continued nigh a Year. He had a Motion made unto him to be Miniſter at *Watertown*; but Mr. *Parker* and others of his Brethren and Acquaintance, ſettling at *Newberry*, and gathering the *Tenth* of the Churches in the Colony, and calling Mr. *Noyes* to be the Teacher of it, he preferred that place; being lothe to be ſeparated from Mr. *Parker*, and Brethren that had ſo often Faſted and Prayed together, both in *England* and on the *Atlantic* Sea. So he became the Teacher of that Church, and continued painful and ſucceſsful in that Station ſomething above Twenty Years, without any conſiderable Trouble in the Church. Notwithſtanding his Principles as to *Diſcipline*, were ſomething differing from many of the Brethren, there was ſuch Condeſcenſion on both Parts, that *Peace* and *Order* was not Interrupted. He was very much loved and Honoured in *Newberry*; his Memory is precious there to this Day, and and his *Catechiſm* (which is a publick and ſtanding Teſtimony of his Underſtanding and

 Orthodoxy

Orthodoxy in the Principles of Religion) is publickly and privately uſed in that Church and Town hitherto. He was very well Learned in the *Tongues*, and in *Greek* excelled moſt. He was much Read in the *Fathers* and the *Schoolmen*. And he was much eſteemed by his Brethren in the Miniſtry. 'Twice he was called by Mr. *Wilſon* and others, to preach, in the Time when the *Antinomian* Principles were in danger of prevailing; which he did with good Succeſs, and to the Satisfaction of thoſe that invited him. Mr. *Wilſon* dearly loved him; and it ſo happened once at *Newbury*, that he preached in the Forenoon about *Holineſs* ſo *Holily* and *Ably*, that Mr. *Wilſon* was ſo affected with it, as to change his own Text, and pitch upon Mr. *Noyes*'s, for the Afternoon; prefacing his Diſcourſe, with telling the Auditory, that his Brother *Noyes*'s Diſcourſe about Holineſs in the Forenoon had ſo much Impreſſion upon his mind, he knew not how in the Afternoon to purſue any other Argument. His Converſation was ſo unqueſtionably Godly, that they who differed from him in ſmaller Matters as to Diſcipline, held a moſt amicable Correſpondence with him, and had an high Eſtimation of him. Altho' he was very averſe to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, accounting them needleſs, many Ways offenſive and hurtful at the beſt, and the Rigorous Impoſition of them Abominable and Intolerable, ſo that he left *England* for their ſake; yet he was not equally averſe to *Epiſcopacy*, but was in Opinion for *Epiſcopus Præſes*, tho' not for *Epiſcopus Princeps*. His own Words teſtify this, for ſo he wrote; *It ſeemeth he that was called*, Antiſtes Præpoſitus, *the* Biſhop, *in a Presbytery, by Proceſs of Time was only called* Biſhop, *tho' all Elders are alſo according to their Office Eſſentially* Biſhops, *and differing only in Gradual Juriſdiction*. He no ways approved of a *Governing Vote*, in the *Fraternity*, but took their Conſent in a Silential way. He held *Eccleſiaſtical Councils* ſo far Authoritative and Binding, that no particular Elder, or Society, might ſeem to have *Independency* and *Soveraignty*, or the *Major Part* of them have Liberty to ſin with Impunity. He was equally afraid of *Ceremonies* and of *Schiſm*; and when he fled from *Ceremonies* he was afraid of being guilty of *Schiſm*. For that Reaſon he was jealous (if not too jealous) of particular *Church-Covenants*; yet he accounted them *Adjuncts* of the *Covenant of Grace*. He held Profeſſion of *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Subjection* to the Ordinances, to be the *Rule* of Admiſſion into *Church-Fellowſhip*; and that ſuch as ſhow a Willingneſs to *Repent*, and be *Baptiſed* in the Name of the Lord Jeſus, without known Diſſimulation, are to be admitted thereto; and that it depended more on God's *Providence*, than his *Ordinances*, to render Church-Members ſound in the Faith; and that God took into Covenant ſome that were Veſſels of Wrath, as for other Ends, ſo to facilitate the Converſion of their Elect Children. He was as Religious at Home as Abroad, in his Family and in ſecret, as he was publickly; and they that beſt knew him, moſt loved and eſteemed him. Mr. *Parker* and he kept a Private Faſt once a Month, ſo long as they lived together, and Mr. *Parker* after his own Death, till his own Departure. Mr. *Noyes* bitterly lamented the Death of K. *Charles* I. and both he and Mr. *Parker* too had too great Expectations of K. *Charles* II. but Mr. *Parker* lived to ſee his Expectations of *Charles* the Second fruſtrated. He had a long and tedious Sickneſs, which he bore patiently and chearfully; and he died joyfully in the Forty Eighth Year of his Age, Oct. 22. 1656. He left Six Sons and Two Daughters, all of which lived to be married, and have Children, tho' ſince one Son and one Daughter be dead. He hath now living Fifty Six Children, Grand-Children, and Great Grand-Children. And his Brother that came over with him a ſingle Man, is thro' the Mercy of God, yet living; and hath of Children, Grand Children, and Great Grand-Children, above an Hundred: Which is an Inſtance of Divine Favour, in making the *Families of his Servants in the Wilderneſs like a Flock*. There was the greateſt Amity, Intimacy, Unanimity, yea, Unity imaginable between Mr. *Parker*, and Mr. *Noyes*. So unſhaken was their Friendſhip, nothing but Death was able to part them. They taught in *one School*; came over in *one Ship*; were Paſtor and Teacher of *one Church*; and Mr. *Parker* continuing always in Celibacy, they lived in *one Houſe*, till Death ſeparated them for a Time; but they are both now together in *one Heaven*, as they that beſt knew them have all poſſible Reaſon to be perſwaded. Mr. *Parker* continued in his Houſe, as long as he lived; and as he received a great deal of Kindneſs and Reſpect there, ſo he ſhow'd a great deal of Kindneſs in the Educating of his Children, and was very Liberal to that Family during his Life, and at his Death. He never forgot the Old Friendſhip, but ſhewed Kindneſs to the *Dead*, in ſhewing Kindneſs to the *Living*.

‘ Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*, were Excellent Singers, both of them; and were extraordinary delighted in Singing of *Pſalms*. They ſang Four times a Day in the Publick Worſhip, and always juſt after Evening-Prayer in the Family, where reading the Scripture, expounding, and Praying, were the other conſtant Exerciſes. Mr. *Parker* and Mr. *Noyes*, were of the ſame *Opinion* with Dr. *Owen*, about the *Sabbath*; yet in *Practice*, were ſtrict Obſervers of the *Evening* after it. Mr. *Parker*, whoſe Practice I my ſelf remember, was the ſtricteſt Obſerver of the *Sabbath*, that ever I knew. I once asked him, ſeeing his Opinion was otherwiſe, as to the Evening belonging to the *Sabbath*, why his *Pra-*

ctice

'*ſtice* differed from his *Opinion!* He anſwered 'me, *Becauſe he dare not depart from the Foot-'ſteps of the Flock, for his private Opinion.*

'Being got into ſome Paſſages of Mr. *Par-'ker*'s Life before I am aware, I will inſert a 'few more: And you may make what uſe of 'them you pleaſe. He kept a *School*, as well 'as preached, at *Newbury* in *New England* 'He ordinarily had about Twelve or Fourteen 'Scholars. He took no pay for his pains, unleſs 'any preſent were freely ſent him. He uſed 'to ſay, *He lived for the Churches ſake*, and 'begrutch'd no pains that were for its Bene-'fit; and by his Good Will he was not free 'to teach any but ſuch as were deſigned for 'the Miniſtry by their Parents; for he would 'ſay, *He could not beſtow his Time and Pains 'unleſs it were for the Benefit of the Church.* 'Tho' he were blind, yet ſuch was his Me-'mory, that he could in his Old Age, teach '*Latin, Greek*, and *Hebrew*, very Artificially. 'He ſeldom corrected a Scholar, unleſs for *Ly-'ing* and *Fighting*, which were unpardonable 'Crimes in our School. He promoted Learn-'ing in his Scholars, by ſomething an unuſual 'way; encouraging them to learn Leſſons, 'and make Verſes, beſides and above their 'ſtinted Tasks, for which they had *Pardons* 'in Store, that were kept on Record in the 'School, and were for leſſer *School-Faults*, 'ſuch as were not Immoralities, and Sins 'againſt God, croſs'd out; but he always 'told them, they muſt not think to eſcape 'unpuniſhed for Sin againſt God, by reaſon 'of them; tho' for ſome leſſer Defects about 'their Leſſons, they were accepted. I heard 'him tell Mr. *Millar* the Miniſter, that the 'great Changes of his Life had been ſignified 'to him before-hand by *Dreams*. And I heard 'him ſay, That before a Fiery Temptation of 'the Devil befel him, he had a very Terrible 'Repreſentation in a Dream, of the Devil 'aſſaulting of him, and he wreſtled with him, 'and had more than once like to have prevailed 'againſt him; but that when he was moſt likely 'and moſt near to be overcome, he was afreſh 'animated and ſtrengthened to reſiſt him; till at 'length the Devil ſeemed to break abroad like 'a Flaſh of Lightning, and then diſappeared; 'and that not long after, the moſt Diſmal 'Temptation of Satan befel him that ever he 'was ſenſible of, and that all the Paſſages of 'that Temptation anſwered the forementioned 'Repreſentarion; and that the Hazards of it, 'and his freſh Supplies when almoſt van-'quiſhed, and his Deliverance was ſo remar-'kable, that every Day he had lived ſince 'that Time, he had given Thanks to God par-'ticularly for his Aſſiſtance of him in that 'Temptation, and his Deliverance out of it: 'Tho' it were Twenty Years before the time 'of his now telling me concerning it. Mr. *Parker* 'excell'd in Liberty of Speech, in Praying, 'Preaching and Singing, having a moſt delicate 'ſweet Voice; yet he had all along an *Impulſe* 'upon his Spirit, that he ſhould have the *Pal-'ſey* in his *Tongue*, before he died. His Voice 'held extraordinarily, until very Old Age; and 'I think the more, becauſe his *Teeth* held 'ſound and good until then; his Cuſtom be-'ing to waſh his Mouth, and rub his Teeth 'every Morning. Some few Years before his 'Death, he began to complain of the *Tooth-ach*, 'and then he quickly began to loſe his *Teeth*; 'and now he ſaid, *The Daughters of his Muſick 'began to fail him.* And about a Year and half be-'fore he Died, *That* which he had long feared 'befel him, viz. The *Palſy in his Tongue*; and 'ſo he became Speechleſs, and thus continued 'until Death; having this only help left him, that 'he could pronounce *Letters*, but not *Syllables* 'or *Words*. He ſignified his Mind, by *Spelling* his 'Words, which was indeed a tedious way, but 'yet a Mercy ſo far to him and others. Du-'ring that Time, which was in our firſt *In-'dian War*, when the *Indians* broke in upon 'many Towns, and committed horrible Out-'rages, and tormented ſuch as they took Cap-'tives, one Night he fell into a dreadful Ten-'tation, leſt the *Indians* ſhould break in upon '*Newbury*, and the Inhabitants might gene-'rally eſcape by fighting or flying, but he be-'ing Old and Blind, and grown Decrepit, he 'muſt of Neceſſity fall into their hands; and 'that being a Miniſter, they would urge him 'by Torture to Blaſpheme Chriſt, and that he 'ſhould not have Grace to hold out againſt 'the Tentation of *Indian Torture*; and with 'the very fear of this, he was for the moſt part 'of the Night in ſuch Agonies of Soul, that 'he was on the very Brink of Deſparation; 'but at length, God helpt him, by bringing 'to his Mind, Two Places of Scripture: That 'in Iſa. 51. 12, 13. *I, even I, am he that com-'forts thee; who art thou, that thou ſhouldeſt 'be afraid of a Man that ſhall die, and forget-'teſt the Lord thy Maker!* And that in Rom. '8. 35, 36. *Who ſhall ſeparate us from the Love 'of Chriſt? Shall Tribulation or Diſtreſs, or 'Perſecution, or Famine, or Nakedneſs, or 'Peril, or Sword! —— For thy Sake we are 'killed all the Day long; — Nay in all theſe 'things, we are more than Conquerors thro' him 'that hath loved us.* Sleep departed from him 'that Night, by reaſon of the Horrour of that '*Tentation*; and the Joy that came towards 'Morning he was wonderfully affected with; 'and in the Morning early, he pronounced all 'this to me Letter by Letter, and glorified 'God. Once hearing ſome of us *laughing* ve-'ry freely, while, I ſuppoſe, he was better 'buſied in his Chamber above us, he came 'down, and gravely ſaid to us, *Couſins, I won-'der you can be ſo merry, unleſs you are ſure 'of your Salvation!* He was a very Holy and 'Heavenly-minded Man, and as much morti-'fied to the World, as almoſt any in it. He 'ſcarce called any thing his *own*, but his *Books* 'and his *Cloaths*. When he was urged, to 'vindicate himſelf to be the Author of the '*Theſes de Traductione Peccatoris ad Vitam*, he 'utterly refuſed it; ſaying, being young at the

‘ the Time when he made them, he was afraid he had not ſo fully aimed at the Glory of God, as he ought to have done. But a while after, one unbeknown to him in *Holland*, Reprinted them, with the Name of the Author, and ſet him forth with more advantage, than would have been modeſt or proper for himſelf to have done; giving him his *Parental* as well as *Perſonal* Honour; and ſaying, That his Father was, *Pater dignus tali Filio*; and that he was, *Filius dignus tali Patre*. Thus *he that humbleth himſelf ſhall be exalted.*

‘ Mr. *Wilſon* once, on occaſion of his *Cœlibacy*, ſaid to him, That if there could be Anger in Heaven, his Father would chide him, when he came there, becauſe he had not, like him, a Son to follow him. But he had many Spiritual Children, that were the *Seals* of his Miniſtry: He was alſo a Father to the Fatherleſs; and many Scholars were little leſs beholden to him for their Education, than they were to their Parents for their Generation.

‘ The Occaſion of his *Cœlibacy* was this: At the time that he meditated *Marriage*, he was aſſaulted with violent Temptations to *Infidelity*, which made him regardleſs of every thing, in compariſon of confirming his Faith, about the Truth of the Scriptures. This occaſion'd his falling into the Study of the *Prophecies*, which proved a means of Confirming his Faith; but he fell ſo in Love with that Study, that he never got out of it, until his Death: And the Church had doubtleſs had much Benefit by his profound Studies in that kind, could the Biſhops have been perſwaded to Licenſe his Books; which they refuſed, becauſe he found the Pope to be propheſied of, where they could not underſtood it. His whole Life, beſides what was neceſſary for the Support of it, by Food, and Sleep, was *Prayer*, *Study*, *Preaching*, and teaching *School*. I once heard him ſay, He felt the whole Frame of his Nature giving way, which threatned his Diſſolution to be at hand: But *he thank'd God, he was not amaz'd at it.*

‘ To conclude, all I intend concerning Mr. *Parker*, or Mr. *Noyes*, I ſhall give you Mr. *Parker*'s Character of Mr. *Noyes*, who beſt knew him, and whoſe Teſtimony of him is very credible.

‘ *Mr.* James Noyes, *my worthy Collegue in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, was a Man of ſingular Qualifications, in Piety excelling, an implacable Enemy to all Hereſie and Schiſm, and a moſt able Warriour againſt the ſame. He was of a reaching and ready Apprehenſion, a large Invention, a moſt profound Judgment, a rare and tenacious and comprehenſive Memory, fixed and unmovable in his grounded Conceptions; ſure in Words and Speech, without Raſhneſs; gentle and mild in all Expreſſions, without all Paſſion, or provoking Language. And as he was a notable Diſputant, ſo he never would provoke his Adverſary, ſaving by the ſhort Knocks, and heavy Weight of Argument. He was of ſo loving, and compaſſionate, and humble Carriage, that I believe never any were acquainted with him, but did deſire the Continuance of his Society and Acquaintance. He was reſolute for Truth, and in defence thereof, had no reſpect to any Perſons. He was a moſt excellent Counſellor in Doubts, and could ſtrike at an Hair's-breadth, like the* Benjamites, *and expedite the Entangled, out of the Briars. He was Courageous in Dangers, and ſtill was apt to believe the beſt, and made fair Weather in a Storm. He was much honoured and eſteemed in the Country, and his Death was much bewailed. I think he may be reckoned among the greateſt Worthies of this Age.*

CHAP. XXVI.

The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS THACHER.*

Virtutem Virtus pariat; De lumine Lumen prodeat.

§ 1. Athanaſius writing the Life of his *Antonius*, deſcribes him as propounding to his own Obſervation and Imitation, the various *Excellencies* of the Good Men whom he converſed withal: The τὸ χαρίεν, or *Good Carriage* of One; the τὸ πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς σύντονον, or *Prayerfulneſs*, of Another; the τὸ ἀόργητον, or *Lenity*, of a Third; the τὸ φιλάνθρωπον, or *Humanity*, of a Fourth; attending to one τοῦ ἀγρυπνοῦντι, or keeping of his *Watchfulneſs*; to another τοῦ φιλολογοῦντι, or loving of *Learning*: Remarking of One, τὸν ἐν καρτερίᾳ, in his *Patience*; of Another, τὸν ἐν νηστείαις καὶ χαμευνίαις, in his *Faſtings* and *Hardſhips*: Regarding the τὴν πραότητα, or *Manſuetude*, of One; the τὴν μακροθυμίαν, or *Longanimity* of Another: But, πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγάπην, the *Piety* of them All, toward the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the *Charity* of them All, towards One another.

Such *Excellencies* of Good Men have been ſet before my Reader, in the Lives that we have written of ſeveral ſuch Good Men, who were the *Excellent on the Earth*. But if my Reader would ſee a *many* of thoſe *Excellencies* meeting together in one Man, there are not many, in whom I could more hopefully promiſe him ſuch a Sight, than in our Excellent Mr. *Thomas*

Thacher:

Thacher: Who is now, therefore, to be conſidered.

§ 2. Mr. *Thomas Thacher* was born *May* 1. *1620.* the Son of Mr. *Peter Thacher*, a Reverend Miniſter at *Salisbury*, in *England*: One, whom, in a Letter of Dr. *Twiſs* to Mr. *Mede*, at the end of his Works, we find joined with famous Mr. *White* of *Dorcheſter*, in a Converſation, wherein the Learned Exerciſes of that Great Man, made a grateful Entertainment. And becauſe it may be ſome Satisfaction unto Good Men, to ſee Inſtances multiplied, for the Confirmation of a Matter mentioned by Mr. *Baxter*, in his Proof of *Infant-Baptiſm*, where he ſays, *As large Experience as I have had in my Miniſtry, of the State of Souls, and the* Way of Converſion, *I dare ſay, I have met not with* one of very many, *that would ſay*, That they knew the time when they were converted: *And of thoſe that would ſay ſo, by reaſon that they then found ſome more* remarkable Change, *yet they diſcovered ſuch Stirrings and Workings before, that many, I had cauſe to think, were* themſelves miſtaken. *I was once in a Meeting of very many* Chriſtians, *the moſt eminent for Zeal and Holineſs of moſt in the Land, of whom divers were* Miniſters, *and ſome at this Day as famous, and as much followed as any I know in* England; *and it was there deſired, that every one ſhould give in the* Manner of their Converſion, *that it might be obſerved,what was God's* ordinary way; *and there was but* one, *that I remember, of them all, that could conjecture at the* Time *of their* firſt Converſion. It ſhall here be noted, That this was the Experience of our *Thatcher*. The Regenerating and Verticordious Grace of Heaven, took advantage from his Religious Education, inſenſibly, as it were, to ſteal into the Heart of this *young Diſciple*.

He afterwards affirmed, That he was never able to determine the *Time*, when the Spirit of God firſt began to convince him, and renew him; only he could ſay with the Reverend Blind Man, *I was blind, but now I ſee*. When *Thacher* was *a Child, the Lord loved him*, and this Child alſo loved the Lord: He was an *Abijah*, that *while he was a Child*, had many *Good Things in him towards the Lord God of his Father*: He was a *Timothy*, that while *he was a Child, knew the Holy Scriptures*. He was a *Samuel*, that in his Childhood was viſited by the *Holy Spirit*: He was a *Joſiah*, that while he was yet young, *ſought after the Lord*; and ſo much remarked was his *Early Piety*, that while he was in his *Earlieſt Minority*, they would ſay of him, *There goes a Puritan*. It might indeed be ſaid of him, as they report of St. *Nicholas*, That he led a Life, *Sanctiſſimè ab ipſis Incunabulis Inchoatam*. And it might be ſaid by him, as it was by the Bleſſed Ancient in his Confeſſions, *Domine, puer cæpi rogare te Auxilium & Refugium meum, & rogavi parvus, non parvo affectu*.

§ 3. Having been well Educated at the *Grammar School*, he had the Offer of his Father to perfect his Education at the Univerſity, either of *Cambridge* or *Oxford*. But conſidering the Impoſitions of Things, to him appearing *unwarrantable*, whereto he then muſt have expoſed himſelf, he Conſcientiouſly declined his Father's Offer, and choſe rather to venture over the *Atlantic* Ocean,and content himſelf with the Meanneſſes of *America*, than to wound his own Conſcience for the Academical Priviledges of *England*.

When his Parents diſcerned his Inclination, they permitted his Removal to *New-England*: Intending themſelves, within a Year or two, with their Family, to have removed thither after him: Which Intention was prevented by the Death of his Mother, before it could be effected.

He arrived at *Boſton*, *June* 4. 1635. In which Year he was wonderfully preſerved from a Shipwreck, with his Uncle, wherein a worthy Miniſter, one Mr. *Avery*, loſt his Life, as elſewhere we have related. A Day or two before that fatal Voyage from *Newberry* to *Marblehead*, our young *Thacher* had ſuch a ſtrong, and ſad Impreſſion upon his Mind, about the Iſſue of the Voyage, that he, with another, would needs go the Journey by Land, and ſo he eſcaped periſhing with ſome of his pious and precious Friends by Sea.

§ 4. 'Tis well known, that in the *early Days of Chriſtianity*, there were no *Colledges*, (except we'll ſay the *Catechetick Lecture* at *Alexandria* was one) for the breeding of young Miniſters; but the Biſhop of every Church took the Care to educate and elevate ſome *young Men*, who might be prepared thereby to ſucceed in their place, when they ſhould be dead and gone. And in the *early Days of New-England*, they were for a little while obliged unto ſuch a Method of providing *young Men* for the Service of the Churches. Thus our *Thacher*, by the good Providence of God, was now caſt into the Family, and under the Tuition of that Reverend Man, Mr. *Charles Chancey*; who was afterwards the Preſident of *Harvard* Colledge, in our *Cambridge*. Under the Conduct of that eminent Scholar, he became ſuch an one himſelf; and his indefatigable Studies were ſo proſpered,that he became *Aliquis in Omnibus*, without the Blemiſh uſually, but ſometimes *unjuſtly* annexed unto it, *Nullus in Singulis*. He was not unskill'd in the *Tongues*, eſpecially in the *Hebrew*, whereof he did compoſe a *Lexicon*; but ſo comprize it, that within *One Sheet* of Paper, he had every conſiderable Word of the Language. And he was as well skill'd in the *Arts*, eſpecially in *Logic*, whereof he gave Demonſtration, in his being a moſt *irrefragable* Diſputant, on ſome great Occaſions.

Moreover, it was his Cuſtom, once in three or four Years time, at *ſubceſſive Hours*, to go over the *Tongues*, and *Arts*, at ſuch a Rate, that his good Skill in them continued freſh unto the laſt. And to all his other Accompliſhments, there was this added, that he was a moſt incomparable *Scribe*: He not only wrote all the ſorts of Hands in the beſt *Copy-Books* then extant,

tant, with a ſingular Exactneſs and Acuteneſs, but there are yet extant Monuments of *Syriac*, and other Oriental Characters of his Writing, which are hardly to be imitated. He had likewiſe a certain *Mechanic Genius*, which diſpoſed him in his Recreations unto a Thouſand *Curioſities*, eſpecially the Ingenuity of *Clock-work*, wherein at his Leiſure, he did things to Admiration.

§ 5. On *May* 11. 1643. he was married unto the Daughter of that Venerable Man Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, the Miniſter of *Duxbury*, The Conſort, whom the *Favour* of Heaven, thus beſtowed upon him, was a Perſon of a moſt amiable Temper; one Pious, and Prudent, and every way worthy of the *Man* to whom ſhe became a *Glory*. By her he received *Three Sons* and *One Daughter*; and when ſhe had continued *Three Sevens of Years with him*, ſhe went after a very Triumphant manner to be *for ever with the Lord*, June 2. 1664. uttering thoſe for her Dying Words, *Come, Lord Jeſus, Come quickly: Why are thy Chariot-Wheels ſo long a coming?*

§ 6. Having, as a *Candidate* of the Miniſtry, by his moſt commendable *Preaching* and *Living*, abundantly Recommended himſelf unto the Service of the Churches, he was invited by the Church of *Weymouth* to take the Paſtoral Charge of them; whereto he was Ordained, Jan. 2. 1644. And here he did for many Years fulfil his Miniſtry, not only with Elaborate and Affectionate *Sermons*, twice every *Lord's Day*, and in a Lecture once a Fortnight; but alſo in *Catechiſing* the *Lambs* of his Flock, for which he likewiſe made a *Catechiſm*. Theſe, alſo, he would at fit Seaſons call to an Account, concerning their *Proficiency* under the means of *Grace*; and ſuch as he found *Ripe* for an Admiſſion unto the *Higheſt Myſteries*, at the Table of the Lord, he would encourage to put themſelves upon the Publick and Uſual *Probation*, in order thereunto, but ſuch as he found *ſhort*, he would ſuitably, faithfully, and fervently adviſe unto the *Preparations*, wherein they appeared hitherto defective. And God crowned theſe Methods and Labours of his Holy Servant, with obſervable Succeſſes; which were ſeen in the great Growth of the *Church*, whereof he had the Overſight. But one Excellency that ſhined above the other Glories of his Miniſtry, was that *Excellent Spirit of Prayer*, which continually breathed in him. It has been uſed among the Arguments for *Men* to be *much in Prayer*, That the *Dignity* of the *Perſon praying* is thereby much augmented; and *Chryſoſtom*, in his Book, *De Deo Orando*, ſays, *The very Angels cannot but honour him, whom they ſee familiarly, and frequently to be admitted unto the Audience, and as it were, diſcourſe with the Divine Majeſty.* Now, though *this Honour have all the Saints*, yet our *Thacher* had more than ordinary ſhare of this *Honour*; he was a Perſon *much in Prayer*, and as he was *much in Prayer*, ſo he had an Eminency above moſt Men living for his *Copious*, his *Fluent*, his *Fervent* manner of performing that Sacred Exerciſe.

It was an *Heaven upon Earth*, to be preſent at the Notable Salleys of a Raiſed Soul, a Livecy Faith, and a *Tongue* toucht with a *Coal from the Altar*, with which, in his Prayers, he did *Cælum Tundere, & Miſericordiam Extorquere*.

§ 7. After the Death of his *Firſt* Wife, he married a *Second* in *Boſton*, which, with a Concurrence of many obliging Circumſtances, occaſioned his Removal *thither*. And it was afterwards found, that *He who holds the Stars in his Right Hand*, had a Purpoſe of Service to be done for his Name, in that Populous Town, by the *Talents* of this his *Good and Faithful Servant*. For in the Month of *May*, 1669. A *Third* Church *ſwarming* out from the *Firſt* in *Boſton*, which afterwards made one of the moſt conſiderable Congregations in the Colony, this Worthy Perſon was choſen the Paſtor of that *Church*: And Enſtalled in the Paſtoral Charge thereof, *Feb.* 16. 1669. wherein he continued until he died. From this Time, I behold him in the *Metropolis* of the Engliſh *America*, not only diſpenſing both *Light* and *Warmth*, unto his own particular Flock, but alſo as he had Opportunity, expreſſing a *Care of all the Churches*. And for the Comfort of thoſe Worthy Miniſters, who commonly have their Spirits *Buffeted* with ſtrong *Temptations* and ſore *Dejections*, before their performing any ſpecial Service of their Miniſtry, I'll mention one Paſſage, that may a little deſcribe how *this* Worthy Man became ſo uſeful: He would ſay to his Son; *Son, I never preach a Sermon, till I cannot preach at all!*

§ 8. As he was in his whole Behaviour a Serious, Holy, and Uſeful Man, ſo in his Government of his *Family*, he ſo well *Rul'd his own Houſe*, as to give particular Demonſtrations of his Abilities to *Take Care of the Church of God*. His Domeſticks both *lov'd* him, and *fear'd* him; and he was moſt Conſcientiouſly and Exemplarily Careful, about their *Interiour* as well as *Temporal* Welfare. This appeared eſpecially in the Management of his *Family Worſhip*; wherein he uſually read a Portion of the *Scriptures*, both *Morning* and *Evening*, and he would Raiſe *Doctrines* from every Verſe with Brief *Confirmations*, and cloſe *Applications* thereof as he went along. Yea, ſometimes one might hear from him thus, in *One Family Expoſition*, as entertaining a Variety of Truth, notably and pungently expreſſed, as in *ſeveral publick Sermons*: And he has told his Worthy Son, for his Encouragement unto ſuch Exerciſes, that he had found as much Advantage by *them*, as by moſt of his other Studies of *Divinity*; adding that he looked upon it as the Lord's Gracious Accompliſhment of that Word, *Shall I hide any thing from Abraham! I know Abraham, that he will Teach his Houſe!*

§ 9. He was one very *Watchful* over the Souls of his People, and *Careful* to preſerve them

from

from *Errors* as well as *Vices:* But of all *Errors*, he diſcovered an Antipathy unto none more, than that *Sink* of all *Errors*, *QUAKERISM*. It was in his Time, namely, about the Year 1652. that there appeared a *New Sect* of People in the World, which from the odd Motions of their Bodies, that attended eſpecially their Firſt *Perverſion*, were called *QUAKERS*; and it was not long after their firſt Appearance, that *New England* began to be troubled with them. Their *Spirit of the Hat*, and their Fopperies of *Thou* and *Thee*, in their Language to a Single Perſon, were the leaſt of thoſe things which gave our *Thacher* a Diſſatiſfaction at them; that which cauſed him to employ a moſt fervent Zeal againſt thoſe Hereticks, was the Horrible *End* of their Hereſies, to lead Men into a Pit of *Darkneſs*, under a Pretence of *the Light*, and *Annihilate* all the *Senſible* Objects of our Holy Religion, under a Pretence of advancing the *Spiritual*; ſo that we muſt have no *Bible*, no *Jeſus*, no *Baptiſm*, no *Euchariſt*, no *Ordinances*, but what ſhall be Evaporated into *Diſpenſations*, *Allegories*, and meer *Myſtical Notions:* When he ſaw that quite contrary to the Tendency and Character of every *Truth*, which is to *Abuſe the Creature*, the Main Deſign of *Quakeriſm* is to Exalt *Man*, and find that in *Man* himſelf, which may be inſtead of *Saviour*, *Scripture*, *Heaven*, *Righteouſneſs* and all *Inſtitutions* unto him, he could not but adore the Juſtice and Vengeance of God, in permitting ſuch a *Spiritual Plague* to be inflicted on Places, where the *Goſpel* had been more eminently ſinned againſt; but he ſet himſelf with the more of a *Paſtoral Diligence* to defend his own Flock from the Contagion: And hence, when he heard of any *Books* left by the *Quakers* in any Houſes of his Neighbourhood, he would preſently repair to the Houſes, and obtain thoſe Venomous Pamphlets from them: For which, that the *Wolves* barked more at him than at many other Men, and would ſometimes come with their *Faces* hideouſly *Black'd*, and their *Garments* fearfully *Torn*, into his Congregation, whereby the Neighbours were frighted unto the Danger of their Lives, is not at all to be wondred at. In this his Paſtoral Care, he met with ſome *Experiments*, that were extraordinary; whereof one ſhall here be related. It has here ſometimes been Remarked, That a very ſenſible *Poſſeſſion* of the *Devil* has attended the Firſt Arreſt of *Quakeriſm*, on the Minds of Men, and the Seducers, have with a Real and Proper *Witchcraft*, by certain *Ceremonies* conveyed it unto them. Agreeably hereunto, an Inhabitant of *Weymouth* having bought certain *Bibles* at *Boſton*, lod'g'd the Night following at a Tavern, where two *Quakers* lodged with him. The *Quakers* fell to diſgracing and degrading the *Bibles*, wherewith he had furniſhed himſelf, as a *Dead Letter*, and adviſed him to hearken to the *Light within*, which would ſufficiently direct him to Heaven; and the Effect of their *Enchantments* was, that before Morning, the poor Man was as very a *Quaker* as the beſt of them. In the Morning he was carrying back his *Bibles* to the Bookſellers, as Books now become altogether *uſeleſs*; and reſolving to keep no *Dead Letter* any longer in his hands; but in the way, he was met by Mr. *Thacher*, who ſeeing the Man look Wild and Strange, and of an *Energumen*-Countenance, over-perſwaded him to go aſide with him, that he might enquire a little further to his Condition. He carried the poor Man into a Neighbour's Houſe, and privately there *Talked* with him, and prayed with him, and by the Wonderful Bleſſing of Heaven, immediately recovered him from the *Error of his Way:* The Man was never any more a *Quaker*, but ever after this, wonderfully thankful unto God, and unto this his Servant, for his Recovery.

§ 10. The laſt that I ſhall mention of the *Excellencies* that ſignalized this Worthy Man ſhall be his Claim to the Accompliſhments of an *Excellent Phyſician*. He that for his Lively Miniſtry was juſtly reckoned among *The Angels of the Churches*, might for his *Medical* Acquaintances, Experiences, and Performances, be truly called a *Raphael*. Ever ſince the Days of *Luke* the Evangeliſt, Skill in *Phyſick* has been frequently profeſſed and practiſed, by Perſons whoſe more declared Buſineſs was the Study of *Divinity*. To ſay nothing of ſuch *Monks* as *Ægidius Athenienſis*, or *Conſtantinus Afer*, or *Johannes Damaſcenus*, or *Truſianus Florentinus*, and to ſay nothing of *Henry Bochelt*, a Biſhop, or of *Albicus*, an Arch Biſhop, or of *Ludovicus Patavinus*, a Cardinal, or of *John* 22. a Pope, all of whom were Notable *Phyſicians*, our *Engliſh* Nation has commonly afforded Eminent *Phyſicians*, who were alſo *Miniſters* of the Goſpel.

But I ſuppoſe the Greateſt Frequency of the *Angelical Conjunction*, has been ſeen in theſe Parts of *America*, where they are moſtly *the Poor to whom the Goſpel is preached*, by *Paſtors* whoſe Compaſſion to them in their *Poverty*, invites them to ſupply the Want of Able *Phyſicians* among them, and ſuch an Univerſally Serviceable Paſtor was our *Thacher*. They were the *Prieſts* of *Egypt*, of *Greece*, and of *Rome*, who reſerved in the *Archives* of their Temples the Stories and Methods of the *Cures*, wrought on the Recovered Perſons, who brought thither their *Thankful Sacrifices*; and by the *Prieſts* were Directions hence communicated unto ſuch as wanted *Cures* for the like Diſtempers. As the *Art of Healing* was firſt brought into ſome Order by the Hands of Officers that have been ſet apart for the *Care of Souls*; thus, that Art has been happily exerciſed by the Hands of *Church-Officers* in all Ages, who have adminiſtred unto the *Souls* of People the more effectually, for being Able to Adminiſter unto their *Bodies*. And a Singular *Artiſt* herein was our *Thacher*; who, knowing that every Rank of *Generous Men* had at ſome time or other afforded Perſons Eminent for Skill in *Phyſick*; yea, that it had been ſtudied by no leſs than ſuch *Crowned Head* as *Mithridates* and *Hadrianus*, and *Conſtantinus Pogonatus*, he

thought it no ways misbecoming him, to follow the Example. How many Hundreds in this way fared the better for him, I cannot ſay; but this I can ſay, That as King *Zamolxes* of *Thracia*, who was of Old a Renowned Phyſician, would give this as the Reaſon why the *Greeks* had the Diſeaſes among them, ſo much uncured, *Becauſe they neglected their Souls, the Chief thing of all:* So our *Thacher* was Bleſſed of God in his Faithful Endeavours to make *Natural* and *Spiritual* Health accompany each other in thoſe that were about him.

§ 11. But, *Contra Vim Mortis* —— Nothing will exempt from the Arreſt of *Death.* It happened that this Excellent Man preached for my Father, a Sermon on the 1 Pet. 4. 18. *The Righteous ſcarcely ſaved*; the laſt Words of which Sermon were, *When a Saint comes to die, then often it is the Hour and Power of Darkneſs with him; then is the laſt Opportunity that the Devil has to vex the People of God; and hence they then ſometimes have the greateſt of their Diſtreſſes. Don't think him no Godly Man, that then meets with Doubts and Fears; our Lord Jeſus Chriſt then cries out,* My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me? *God help us, that as we live by Faith, ſo we may Walk in it.* And theſe proved the *Laſt Words* that ever he uttered in any Sermon whatſoever. For viſiting a *Sick* Perſon, after his going out of the Aſſembly, he got ſome Harm, which turned into a *Fever*, whereof he did, without any *Hour and Power of Darkneſs* upon his own Holy Mind, expire on *October* 15. 1678. He left behind him Two Worthy Sons, Mr. *Peter Thacher*, who is at this time the Paſtor of the Church at *Milton*, and one from whoſe pious Labours, not the *Engliſh* only, but even the *Indians* alſo receive the *Glad Tydings of Salvation*; and Mr. *Ralph Thacher*, Miniſter of the Word at *Martha's Vineyard.* And he likewiſe left one Printed *Off-ſpring* of his Mind; for as the Reverend Prefacer thereto obſerves, *When the Lord knew that* Boſton, *yea that* New-England *would have cauſe for many Days of Humiliation, he therefore ſtirred up the Heart of his Servant aforehand to give Inſtructions and Directions, concerning the Acceptable Performance of ſo great a Duty,* he did in the Year 1674. preach on the Nature of a Sacred *Faſt*; and ſome of his Hearers, who wrote after him, when he preached, afterwards publiſhed it under the Title of, *A Faſt of God's Chuſing.*

§ 12. The Church of this Worthy Man at *Weymouth*, has been entertained with one *Curioſity*, which by way of Appendix to his *Life*, is not unworthy to be related.

One *Matthew Prat*, whoſe Religious Parents had well inſtructed him in his Minority, when he was Twelve Years of Age, became totally *Deaf* thro' Sickneſs, and ſo hath ever ſince continued. He was taught after this to *Write*, as he had been before to *Read*; and both his *Reading* and his *Writing* he retaineth perfectly, but he has almoſt forgotten to *ſpeak*; ſpeaking but *Imperfectly*, and ſcarce *Intelligibly*, and very *ſeldom.* He is yet a very Judicious Chriſtian, and being admitted into the Communion of the *Church*, he has therein for many Years behaved himſelf, unto the extream Satisfaction of Good People, in the Neighbourhood. *Sarah Prat*, the Wife of this Man, is one alſo who was altogether deprived of her *Hearing*, by Sickneſs, when ſhe was about the *Third Year* of her Age; but having utterly loſt her Hearing, ſhe has utterly loſt her *Speech* alſo, and no doubt, all Remembrance of every thing that refers to *Language.* Mr. *Thacher* made an Eſſay to teach her the Uſe of *Letters*, but it ſucceeded not: However, ſhe has a moſt quick Apprehenſion of things, by her *Eye*, and ſhe diſcourſes by *Signs*, whereat ſome of her Friends are ſo expert, as to maintain a Converſation with her upon any point whatever, with as much *Freedom* and *Fulneſs*, as if ſhe wanted neither *Tongue*, nor *Ear*, for Conference. Her Children do learn her *Signs* from the Breaſt: And ſpeak ſooner by her *Eyes* and *Hands*, than by their *Lips.* From her Infancy, ſhe was very ſober and modeſt; but ſhe had no Knowledge of a Deity, nor of any thing that concerns another Life, and World. Neverthelcſs, God of his Infinite Mercy has *Revealed* the *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, and the Great *Myſteries* of Salvation by him, unto her, by a more *Extraordinary* and *Immediate* Operation of his own *Spirit* upon her. An Account of her *Experiences* was written from her, by her Husband; and the Elders of the Church employing her Husband, with two of her Siſters, who are notably skilled in her *Way of Communication*, examined her ſtrictly hereabout; and and they found that ſhe underſtood the *Unity* of the Divine Eſſence, the *Trinity* of Perſons in the Godhead, the *Perſonal Union* in our Lord, the *Myſtical Union* between our Lord and his Church; and that ſhe was acquainted with the Impreſſions of *Grace* upon a *Regenerate Soul.* She was under great Exerciſe of Mind, about her Internal and Eternal State; ſhe expreſſed unto her Friends deſire of Help; and ſhe made uſe of the *Bible*, and other Good *Books*, and with Tears, remark'd ſuch Paſſages as were ſuitable to her own Condition. Yea, ſhe once, in her Exerciſe, wrote with a Pin upon a Trencher, three times over, *Ah, Poor Soul!* and therewith before divers Perſons, burſt into Tears. At a Sermon ſhe would enquire after the *Text*, which being ſhewn her, ſhe would look and muſe upon it: And ſhe ſtrangely knows the *Names* of thoſe with whom ſhe is acquainted; inſomuch that if they be *Names* found in the *Scripture*, ſhe will turn and find, and point them there. It ſeems that *Written Words* are a ſort of *Hieroglyphicks* unto her.

She was admitted into the Church with the General Approbation of the Faithful, nor would the moſt Judicious Caſuiſts in the World, a *Luther*, a *Melancthon*, a *Gerhard*, an *Alting*, a *Baldwin*, have ſcrupled her Admiſſion to the *Sacred Myſteries*: And her Carriage

riage is that of a Grave, Gracious, Holy Woman.

The wonderful Circumſtances of this Couple, may juſtly be added unto the *Entertainments for the Curious*, which we have in the young Man and Maid, mentioned by *Camerarius*, who tho' *Deaf* and *Dumb*, could Read and Write, and Cypher, and know a Man's Meaning by the Motion of his Lips. And the Perſon mentioned by *Platerus*, who tho' born *Deaf* as well as *Dumb*, yet could expreſs his Thoughts in a *Table-Book*, and comprehend what was written by others in it, and with Edification attend upon the Miniſtry of *Oecolampadius*: And both Mr. *Criſp* of *London*, and *Gennet Lowes* of *Edinburgh*, who tho' naturally *Deaf*, and by conſequence *Dumb*, could yet ſee what People ſpoke, by ſeeing them when they ſpoke: And in a word, the exquiſite Sence of the *Mutes* in the *Ottoman Court*, related by *Rycaut*, in his Hiſtory of that Empire.

An *Epitaph* muſt now be ſought for this Worthy Man: And becauſe the Nation and Quality of the *Author*, will make the Compoſure to become a Curioſity, I will here, for an *Epitaph*, inſert an Elegy, which was compoſed upon this Occaſion, by an *Indian Youth*, who was then a Student of *Harvard* Colledge. (His Name was, *Eleazar*.)

In obitum Viri verè Reverendi

D. THOMÆ THACHERI,

QUI AD

Dom. ex hâc Vitâ migravit, 18. 8. 1678.

Tentabo Illuſtrem, triſti memorare dolore,
Quem Lacrymis repetunt Tempora, noſtra Virum.
Memnona *ſic Mater, Mater ploravit Achillem,*
Juſtis cum Lacrymis, cumque Dolore gravi.
Mens ſtupet, ora ſilent, juſtum nunc palmo recuſat
Officium: Quid? Opem Triſtis Apollo negat?
Aſt Thachere *Tuus conabor dicere laudes,*
Laudes Virtutis, quæ ſuper Aſtra volat.
Conſultis Rerum Dominis, Gentiquæ togatæ
Nota fuit virtus, ac tua Sancta Fides.
Vivis poſt Funus; Fælix poſt Fata; Jaces Tu?
Sed Stellas *inter* Gloria *nempe* Jaces.
Mens Tua jam cælos repetit; Victoria parta eſt:
Jam Tuus eſt Chriſtus, quod meruitque tuum.
Hic Finis Crucis; magnorum hæc meta malorum;
Ulterius non quo progrediatur erit.
Crux jam caſſa manes; requieſcunt oſſa Sepulchro;
Mors moritur; Vitæ Vita Beata redit.
Quum tuba per Denſas ſonitum dabit ultima Nubes,
Cum Domino Rediens Ferrea Sceptra geres.
Cæles tum ſcandes, ubi Patria Verv piorum;
Prævius hanc Patriam *nunc tibi* Jeſus *adit.*
Illic vera Quies; illic ſine fine voluptas;
Gaudia & Humanis non referenda ſonis.

Σῶμ' ἔχει ἡ κονίν, ἐπὶ γῆς τ' ὄνομ' οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται,
Κλεινὸν ἐν ἡμετέροις κ' ἐσσομένοισι χρόνοις·
Ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη, βῆ οὐρανὸν αἰπύν,
Μιχθεῖσ' ἀθάνατος πνεύμασιν ἀθανάτοις.

Eleazar, Judus Senior Sophiſta.

CHAP. XXVII.

The LIFE of Mr. *PETER HOBART*.

§ 1. IT was a Saying of *Alphonſus* (whom they Sir-named, *The Wiſe*, King of *Arragon*) *That among ſo many Things as are by Men poſſeſſed or purſued, in the Courſe of their Lives, all the reſt are Baubles, beſides, Old Wood to burn, Old Wine to drink, Old Friends to converſe with, and Old Books to read.* Now there having been Proteſtant and Reformed Colonies here formed, in a *New World*, and thoſe Colonies now growing *Old*, it will certainly be no unwiſe thing for them to converſe with ſome of their *Old Friends*, among which one was Mr. *Peter Hobart*, whom therefore a *New Book* ſhall now preſent unto my Readers.

§ 2. Mr. *Peter Hobart* was born at, or near *Hingham*, a Market-Town, in the County of *Norfolk*, about the latter end of the Year 1604. His Parents were eminent for Piety, and even from their Youth *feared God above many*; wherein their Zeal was more conſpicuous, by the Impiety of the Neighbourhood, among whom there were but three or four in the whole Town,

Town, that minded ſerious Religion, and theſe were ſufficiently maligned by the Irreligious for their *Puritaniſm.* Theſe Parents of our *Hobart,* were ſuch as had obtained each other from the God of Heaven, by *Iſaac*-like Prayers unto him, and ſuch as afterwards *beſieged Heaven* with a continual Importunity for a Bleſſing upon their Children; whereof the Second was this our *Peter.* This their Son was like another *Samuel,* from his Infancy dedicated by them unto the Miniſtry, and in order thereunto, ſent betimes unto a Grammer School; whereto, ſuch was his deſire of Learning, that he went ſeveral Miles on foot, every Morning, and by his early Appearance there, ſtill ſhamed the Sloth of others. He went afterwards unto the *Free-School* at *Lyn,* from whence when he was by his Maſter judged fit for it, he was admitted into a Colledge in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; where he remained, ſtudied, profited, until he proceeded *Batchellor of Arts:* Giving all along an Example of Sobriety, Gravity, Averſation from all Vice, and Inclination to the Service of God.

§ 3. Retiring then from the *Univerſity,* he taught a *Grammar School*; but he lodg'd in the Houſe of a Conformiſt Miniſter, who tho' he were no Friend unto *Puritans,* yet he employed this our young *Hobart* ſometimes to preach for him, and when ask'd, *What his Opinion of this young Man was?* He ſaid, *I do highly approve his Abilities; he will make an able Preacher: But I fear he will be too preciſe.* When the time for it came, he returned unto the Univerſity, and proceeded *Maſter of Arts:* But the reſt of his time in *England* was attended with much *Unſettlement* of his Condition. He was employed here and there, as Godly People could obtain Permiſſion from the Parſon of the Pariſh, who upon any little Diſguſt would recal that Permiſſion: And yet all this while, by the Bleſſing of God upon his own Diligence and Diſcretion, and the Frugality of his Vertuous Conſort, he lived comfortably. The laſt place of his Reſidence in *England,* was the Town of *Haverbil,* where he was a Lecturer, laborious and ſucceſsful in the Vineyard of our Lord.

§ 4. His Parents, his Brethren, his Siſters, had not without a great Affliction to him, embarked for *New-England*; but ſome time after this, the Cloud of Prelatical Impoſitions and Perſecutions grew ſo black upon him, that the Solicitations of his Friends, obtained from him a Reſolution for *New-England* alſo, where he hoped for a more ſettled Abode, which was moſt agreeable to his Inclination. Accordingly in the Summer of the Year 1635, he took Ship, with his Wife and four Children, and after a Voyage by conſtant Sickneſs rendred very tedious to him, he arrived at *Charles-Town,* where he found his deſired Relations got ſafe before him. Several Towns now addreſſed him to become their Miniſter; but he choſe with his Father's Family, and ſome other Chriſtians, to form a new Plantation, which they called *Hingham*; and there gathering a Church, he continued a faithful Paſtor, and an able Preacher, for many Years. And his old People at *Haverbil* indeed, in ſome time after, ſent moſt importunate Letters unto him, to invite his Return for *England:* And he had certainly returned, if the Letters had not ſo miſcarried, that before his Advice to them, there fell out ſome Remarkble, and Invincible Hindrances of his Removal.

§ 6. Not long after this, he had (as his own Expreſſion for it was) *his Hart rent out of his Breaſt,* by the Death of his Conſort; but his Chriſtian, Patient, and Submiſſive Reſignation, was rewarded by his Marriage to a Second, that proved a rich Bleſſing unto him. His Houſe was alſo edified and beautified with many Children, on whom, when he look'd, he would ſay ſometimes with much Thankfulneſs; *Behold, thus ſhall the Man be bleſſed, that feareth the Lord!* And for whom he employ'd many Tears in his Prayers to God, that they might be happy, and like another *Job,* offered up his daily Supplications.

His Love to Learning, made him ſtrive hard that his hopeful Sons might not go without a Learned Education; and accordingly we find four or five of them wearing Laurels in the Catalogue of our Graduates; and ſeveral of them are, at this Day, worthy *Preachers* of the Goſpel in our *Churches.*

§ 7. He was moſtly a *Morning Student,* not meriting the Name of *Homo Lectiſſimus,* as he in the witty Epigrammatiſt, from his *long lying a Bed*; and yet he would improve the Darkneſs of the Evening alſo, for ſolemn, fixed, and illuminating Meditations. He was much admired for *well-ſtudied Sermons*; and even in the midſt of Secular Diverſions and Diſtractions, his active Mind would be buſie at providing Materials for the Compoſure of them. He much valued that Rule, *Study Standing*; and until *Old Age,* and Weakneſs compelled him, he rarely would *Study ſitting:* Which Practice of his he would recommend unto other Students, as an excellent Preventive of that *Flagellum Studioſorum,* the *Stone.* And when he had an opportunity to hear a Sermon from any other Miniſter, he did it with ſuch a diligent and reverent Attention, as made it manifeſt that he worſhipped God in doing of it: And he was very careful to be preſent ſtill, at the beginning of the Exerciſes, counting it a Recreation, to ſit and wait for the Worſhip of God.

Moreover, his Heart was knit in a moſt ſincere and hearty Love towards pious Men, tho' they were not in all things of his own Perſwaſion. He would admire the Grace of God in Good Men, tho' they were of Sentiments contrary unto his; and he would ſay, *I can carry them in my Boſome:* Nor was he by them otherwiſe reſpected.

§ 8. There was deeply rooted in him a ſtrong Antipathy to all *Profanities,* whereof he was a faithful Reprover, both in publick and in private; and when his Reproofs prevailed not, he would *weep in ſecret Places.*

Drinking

Drinking to Exceſs, and Miſpence of precious *Time*, in Tipling or Talking with vain Perſons, which he ſaw grown too common, was an Evil ſo extremely offenſive to him, that he would call it, *Sitting at Meat in an Idol's Temple*; and when he ſaw that Vanity grow upon the more high Profeſſors of Religion, it was yet more diſtaſtful to him, who in his own Behaviour was a great Example of Temperance.

Pride, expreſſed in a Gaiety, and Bravery of *Apparel*, would alſo cauſe him with much Compaſſion to addreſs the young Perſons with whom he ſaw it *Budding*, and adviſe them to correct it, with more Care to *adorn their Souls* with ſuch things as were of *great Price before God*: And here likewiſe his own Example, joined *Handſomneſs* with *Gravity*, and a Moderation that could not endure a ſhow. But there was no ſort of Men from whom he more *turned away* than thoſe, who under a Pretence of Zeal for *Church Diſcipline*, were very pragmatical in *Controverſies*, and furiouſly ſet upon having all things carried *their Way*, which they would call, *The Rule*; but at the ſame time, were moſt inſipid Creatures, deſtitute of the *Life and Power of Godlineſs*, and perhaps *Immoral* in their Converſations. To theſe he would apply a Saying of Mr. *Cotton*'s, *That ſome Men are all Church, and no Chriſt.*

§ 9. He was a Perſon that met with many *Temptations* and *Afflictions*, which are better forgotten than remembred; but he was internally, and is now eternally a Gainer by them. It is remark'd of the Patriarch *Jacob*, that when he was a very Old Man, and much older than the moſt that lived after him, he complained, *Few and evil have been the Days of the Years of my Life*: In which Complaint, the *few* is explained by the *evil*; his Days were *Winter-days*, and ſpent in the *Darkneſs* of ſore Calamity. *Winter-days* are Twenty four Hours long as well as *other Days*; yea, longer, if the *Equation of Time* ſhould be Mathematically conſidered; yet we count them the *ſhorter Days*. Thus altho' our *Hobart* lived unto *Old Age*, he might call his Days *few*, becauſe they had been *Evil*. But *mark this perfect Man, and behold this upright one*; *for the end of this Man was Peace*. In the Spring of the Year 1670, he was viſited with a *Sickneſs* that ſeemed the *Meſſenger of Death*; but it was his humble Deſire, that by having his Life prolonged a little further, he might ſee the Education of his own younger Children perfected, and beſtow more Labour alſo upon the Converſion of the young People in his Congregation: *I have travelled in the Miniſtry in this place, Thirty five Years, and might it pleaſe God ſo far to lengthen out my Days, as to make it up Forty, I ſhould not, I think, deſire any more.* Now the Lord heard this Deſire of his praying Servant, and added no leſs than *Eight Years* more unto his Days. The moſt part of which time, except the laſt Three Quarters of a Year, he was employed in the Publick Services of his Miniſtry.

Being recovered from his Illneſs, he proved that he did not flatter with his Lips, in the Vows that he had made for his Recovery; for he now ſet himſelf with great Fervour to gather the *Children* of his Church, under the ſaving *Wings* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and in order thereunto he preached many pungent Sermons, on *Eccleſ.* 11. 9, 10. and *Eccl.* 12. 1. and uſed many other ſucceſsful Endeavours.

§ 10. Tho' his Labours were not without *Succeſs*, yet the *Succeſs* was not ſo general, and notable, but that he would complain, *Alas, for the Barrenneſs of my Miniſtry!* And when he found his Lungs decay by *Old Age*, and *Fever*, he would clap his Hands on his Breaſt and ſay, *The Bellows are burnt, the Founder has melted in vain!* At length Infirmities grew ſo faſt upon this painful Servant of our Lord, that in the Summer of the Year 1678, he ſeemed apace drawing on to his End; but after ſome Revivals he again got abroad; however, he ſeldom, if ever preached after it, but only adminiſtred the *Sacraments*. In this time his *Humility*, and conſequently all the other *Graces* which God gives unto the *Humble*, grow exceedingly, and obſervably; and hence he took delight in hearing the *Commendations* of *other Men*, tho' ſometimes they were ſo unwiſely uttered, as to carry ſome *Diminutions* unto *himſelf*; and he ſet himſelf particularly to put all Reſpect and Honour upon the Miniſters that came in the time of his Weakneſſes to ſupply his place. After and under his Confinement, the *ſinging of Pſalms* was an Exerciſe wherein he took a particular delight; ſaying, *That it was the Work of Heaven, which he was willing to anticipate.* But about Eight Weeks before his Expiration, he did with his Aged Hand Ordain a Succeſſor; which when he had performed with much Solemnity, he did afterwards with an Aſſembly of Miniſters, and other Chriſtians, at his own Houſe, joyfully ſing the Song of Aged *Simeon*, *Thy Servant now letteſt thou depart in Peace.* He had now *nothing to do, but to die*; and he ſpent his Hours accordingly, in aſſiduous Preparations; not without ſome dark Intervals of *Temptation*; but at laſt with *Light ariſing in Darkneſs* unto him. While his *Exteriour* was *decaying*, his *Interiour* was *renewing*, every Day, until the Twentieth Day of *January*, 1678. When he quietly and ſilently reſigned his holy Soul, unto its *faithful Creator.*

Epitaphium.

D. PETRI HOBARTI,

Oſſa ſub hoc Saxo, Latitant defoſſa Sepulchro,
Spiritus in Cælo, carcere miſſus agit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A Man of God, and an Honourable Man. The LIFE of Mr. *SAMUEL WHITING.*

Hi mihi Doctores ſemper placuere, docenda
Qui faciunt, plus, quam qui facienda docent.

§ 1. WHEN the miſerable *Saul* applied himſelf to the Witch of *Endor*, for the Invoking of, and Conſulting with, ſome *Spirit* in the *Inviſible World*, he choſe that the *Spirit* ſhould rather appear in the Shape of the Venerable *Samuel*, than in any other. A Diſpute is raiſed among Learned Men, on the Occaſion of the *Spirit* thus raiſed; *Who it ſhould be?* For while ſome think, that beyond the Expectation, and unto the Aſtoniſhment of the *Witch*, it was the True *Samuel*, which now appeared; in as much as the Apparition is five times over called by the Name of *Samuel*, and the Apocryphal *Eccleſiaſticus* affirms of *Samuel*, that *after his Death he propheſied:* And ſeveral of the *Fathers* and of the *School-men*, herein followed by *Mendoza*, *Delrio*, Dr. *More*, Mr. *Glanvil*, and others, are of this Opinion: They imagine with *Lyra*, that God then ſent in the Real *Samuel*, *unlook'd for*, as *he* came upon *Balaam*, when employed about his *Magical Impoſtures:* There are more, who judge that it was a *Spirit* of the ſame kind with that, which is deſcribed by *Porphyrius*, πανταμορφόν τε καὶ πολύτροπον *changing themſelves into multifarious Forms, one while acting the Parts of Dæmons, another while of Angels, and another while the Souls of the Deceaſed:* Of which Opinion was *Tertullian*, and the Author of the *Queſt. & Reſp.* aſcribed unto *Juſtin Martyr*, and the Generality of *Proteſtants:* Who cannot perſwade themſelves, that the Lord would have ſo far countenanced *Necromancy*, or *Pſycomancy*, as to have let the *Real Samuel* come, upon the Sollicitations of an *Enchantreſs*; and that the *Real Samuel* would not have diſcourſed at the Rate of the *Spectre* now exhibited.

Let the Diſputants, upon this Queſtion, wrangle on; while we by a very Lawful and Laudable *Art*, will fetch another *Samuel* from the *Dead:* And by the Happy *Magick* of our Pen, Reader, we will bring into the View of the World, a Venerable *Old Man*, a *Samuel* who ſhall entertain us with none but Comfortable and Profitable Tidings.

§ 2. Mr. *Samuel Whiting* drew his firſt Breath at *Boſton*, in *Lincolnſhire*, Nov. 20. A.D. 1597. His Father a Perſon of good Repute there, the *Eldeſt Son* among many Brethren, an *Alderman*, and ſometimes a *Mayor* of the Town, had three Sons; the Second of theſe was our *Samuel*, who had a Learned Education by his Father beſtowed upon him, firſt at *Boſton School*, and then at the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. He had for his Companion in his Education, his Coſen-German, the very Renowned *Anthony Tuckney*, afterwards Doctor, and Maſter of St. *John's* College: They were *School*-Fellows at *Boſton*, and Chamber Mates, at *Cambridge*; they both belonged unto *Immanuel*-Colledge, and they continued an Intimate *Friendſhip*, when they left the Seats of the *Muſes*, which indeed was not *quenched by the many Waters* of the *Atlantick*, when they were a Thouſand Leagues aſunder. It was while he was thus at the Univerſity, that the good Spirit of God made early Impreſſions of Grace upon his *young Soul*; and the Cares of his pious Tutor, (I think Mr. *Yates*) to inſtruct him in Matters of *Religion*, as well as of *Literature*, were bleſſed for the Imbuing of his Mind, with a Tincture of *Early Piety*; which was further advanced by the Miniſtry of ſuch Preachers as Dr. *Sibs* and Dr. *Preſton:* So that in his *Age* he would give Thanks to God for the Divine Favours which he thus received in his *Youth*, and when he was entring into his *Reſt*, where he expected the moſt Intimate Communion with our Glorious *Immanuel*, and with the *Spirits of Juſt Men made perfect*, he could with Joy reflect upon the Anticipations of it, which he enjoyed in the *Retired Walk* of *Immanuel-College*.

§ 3. Having proceeded *Maſter of Arts*, he removed from *Cambridge*, and became a Chaplain to Sir *Nathanael Bacon*, and Sir *Roger Townſend*, where he did for *Three Years* together, with Prayers, with Sermons, with Catechiſing, and with a Grave and Wiſe Deportment, ſerve the Intereſt of Religion, in a Family, which had no leſs than *Two Knights* and *Five Ladies* in it. He next removed unto *Lyn*, in the County of *Norfolk*, and ſpent another *Three Years*, as a Collegue in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, with a Reverend and Excellent Man, Mr. *Price*. But the Great Content which he took in his preſent Scituation, and Society, and Service, was interrupted at length by Complaints made unto the Biſhop of *Norwich*, for his *Non Conformity* unto thoſe Rites, which never were of any Uſe in the Church of God, but only to be *Tools*, by which the Worſt of Men might thruſt out the Beſt from ſerving it. Being Cited unto the *High Commiſſion Court*, he expected that he ſhould loſe the moſt of his Eſtate, for his being a *Non Conformiſt*; but before the Time for his Appearance, according

to the Citation, came, King *James* died; and ſo his Trouble at this Time was diverted. The Earl of *Lincoln* afterwards interceding for him, the Biſhop was willing to promiſe, that he would no farther *Worry* him, in caſe he would be gone out of his *Dioceſs*, where he could not reach him; and therefore leaving *Lyn*, he exerciſed his Miniſtry at *Skirbick*, near *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, for a conſiderable *while*, with no Inconſiderable *Fruit*; refreſhed with the Delightful Neighbourhood of his Old Friends and eſpecially thoſe Eminent Perſons Mr. *Cotton* and Mr *Tuckney*, to both of whom he had ſome Affinity, as from both of them, no little Affection.

§ 4. Having buried his Firſt Wife, by whom he had Three Children, Two Sons, who died in *England*, and one Daughter afterwards matched with one Mr. *Thomas Weld*, in another Land; he married the Daughter of Mr. *Oliver St. John*, a *Bedfordſhire* Gentleman, of an Honourable Family, nearly related unto the Lord *St. John* of *Bletſo*. This Mr. *St. John*, was a Perſon of Incomparable Breeding. Vertue and Piety; ſuch, that Mr. *Cotton*, who was well acquainted with him, ſaid of him, *He was one of the Compleateſt Gentlemen, without Affectation, that ever he knew.* And this his Daughter was a Perſon of ſingular Piety and Gravity; one who by her Diſcretion freed her Husband from all *Secular Avocations*; one who upheld a daily and conſtant Communion with God, in the *Devotions* of her Cloſet; one, who not only *Wrote* the Sermons that ſhe heard on the *Lord's Days* with much Dexterity, but *Liv'd* them, and *Liv'd* on them all the Week. The uſual Phraſe for an *Excellent Woman*, among the Ancient Jews was, *One who deſerves to marry a Prieſt*: Even ſuch an *Excellent Woman* was now married unto Mr. *Whiting*. This Gentlewoman having ſtay'd with her worthy Conſort Forty Seven Years, went in the Seventy Third Year of his Age, unto him to whom her *Soul* had been ſome Scores of Years *eſpouſed*. Mr. *Whiting* had by her four Sons and two Daughters. Three of the Sons lived unto the Eſtate and Stature of *Men*; and had a Learned Education. *Samuel* is at this Day a Reverend, Holy and Faithful Miniſter of the Goſpel, in the *New-Engliſh* Town of *Billerica*: *John* was intended for a *Phyſician*, but became a *Preacher*, firſt at *Butterwich*, then at *Leverton* in *Lincolnſhire*, where he died a Godly Conformiſt: *Joſeph* is, at this Day, a Worthy and Painful Miniſter of the Goſpel, at *Southampton* upon *Long-Iſland*.

§ 5. After he had abode ſeveral Years at *Skirbick*, ſoon after Mr. *Cotton*'s Removal, he fell into ſuch Trouble, for his *Non-Conformity* to the *Vanities*, which Men had *received by Tradition from their* Popiſh *Fathers*, and this through the Complaint of the ſame unhappy Man, 'tis ſaid, who procured the Trouble of Mr. *Cotton*, that he found he muſt *be gone*: But *New-England* offered it ſelf as the moſt Hopeful and Quiet, and indeed the only Place that he could be gone unto. The Eccleſiaſtical *Sharks* then drove this *Whiting* over the *Atlantic* Sea, unto the *American* Strand. Let it not be a matter of *Wonder*, That Perſons of a *Conſcience* rightly informed and inclined, choſe rather to undergo an uncomfortable *Exile* from the beſt *Iſland* under *Heaven*, to as hard a *Deſart* as any upon *Earth*, rather than to Conform to the *Ceremonies* of the Engliſh *Liturgy*. If the things had been as *Lawful* in the Judgment of the *Sufferers*, as they were in the Pretences of the *Impoſers*, they were not ſo fond of *Miſeries* as to have refuſed Conformity. But it was of old obſerved, that when *Sinful Things* were commanded, *Nihil obſtinacius Chriſtiano*, nothing is more *Obſtinate* than a Chriſtian *Diſſenter*: And it is a Commendable *Obſtinacy*! The Faithful in *Tertullian*'s Time, would undergo any thing rather than uſe the *Ceremonies* of *Idolaters*, though they might have us'd them to another *End*, and with another *Mind* than *they*. The Firſt Planters of *New England* knew, that the *Ceremonies* retained in the Church of *England*, had been firſt Invented and Practis'd by *Idolaters*: And knowing that all the Abominations of the *Popiſh Maſs*, originally ſprang from an Impoſed *Liturgy*, they thought it no *Nicety* to have declined all Compliance with ſuch a thing, though they ſhould not have had as they *had*, numberleſs *Objections* againſt it. The very *Words* uſed in the *Rites* then required, were fear'd by thoſe good Men, as *Dangerous*; after they read thoſe Words of the *Rhemiſts*, *While they ſay*, Miniſters, *let us ſay*, Prieſts; *When they call it*, A Communion Table, *Let us call it*, An Altar. *Let us keep our Old Words, and we ſhall keep our Old Things, our Religion.* But much more did theſe good Men fear the *Rites* of *Things* themſelves; eſpecially when they ſaw them to be not only *Unſcriptural* and *Uninſtituted*, but alſo of *Pernicious Conſequence* to the very *Vitals of Religion*. For this they had the Example of *Peter Martyr*, who wiſhed, that the *Reformed Churches*, keeping up theſe things would be ſenſible, *Evangelium iis manentibus, non ſatis eſſe firmum*; That the *Goſpel* can't be ſecure, while the *Ceremonies* continue: They had the Example of *Martin Bucer*, who complained, That the *Ceremonies* and the *Preaching* of the *Word*, mutually *expel* one another. Where *Knowledge* through the *Preaching* of the *Goſpel* prevails, there the Love of *theſe* withers, and where the *Love* of *theſe* prevails, there *Knowledge* decays: They had the Example of the Divines of *Hamburgh*, who looked upon ſuch *Ceremonies* to be the *Cuniculi*, the *Secret Mines* by which the *Papiſts* would convey themſelves under our *Foundations*, and overthrow our Churches. And if they did then entertain *Auſtin*'s Fear, *In Multitudine Ceremoniarum periclitatur Fides*; I wiſh the *Event* had leſs confirmed it. It is very certain, in the *Engliſh Nation*, they ſerv'd only as *Gileadites*, to keep the *Paſſages* of the Church, ſo that no Miniſter, how able or worthy

thy ſoever could paſs, unleſs he could pronounce that *Shibboleth*. And if the Man of *Bern*, mentioned by *Melancthon*, who would rather be *Martyred* than obſerve one *Faſt* in the Popiſh manner, were to be *commended* for his Fidelity to Chriſt, tho' it ſeemed ſuch a *little matter*, theſe good Men muſt not be *reproached* for this, that they would rather be *Exiled* than conform to thoſe things, which were like the pretended *indifferent Things*, impoſed in the Old *German* Inſtrument called the *Interim*, namely *Semina Corruptelæ*, the Seeds of *Romiſh* Corruption. 'Tis time for me now, without any further Obſervation, to add concerning our *Whiting*. His Vertuous Conſort was far from diſcouraging him, through any unwillingneſs in her to forſake her *Native Country*, or expoſe her own Perſon firſt unto the *Hazards* of the *Ocean*, and then unto the *Sorrows* of a *Wilderneſs*: But tho' ſome of her Friends were much againſt it, yet ſhe rather *forwarded* than *hindred* her Huſband's Inclination for *America*. When he ſhip'd himſelf, he took with him all that he had; and whereas he might have reſerved his Lands in *England*, which would have yielded him a conſiderable Annual Revenue, and notable Acceſſion to the *ſmall Salary*, which he was afterwards put off withal; yet judging that he never ſhould return to *England* any more, he ſold all, ſaying, *I am going into the Wilderneſs to a Sacrifice unto the Lord, and I will not leave an Hoof behind me.*

He took Shipping about the beginning of *April*, *1636.* and arrived *May 26.* after he had been ſo very ſick all the way, that he could preach but one Sermon all the while; and he would ſay, *That he had much rather have undergone ſix Weeks Impriſonment for a good Cauſe, than to undergo ſix Weeks of ſuch terrible Sea-ſickneſs as he had now been tried withal.*

But in a Sermon after his Arrival, he thus expreſſed his Apprehenſions and Conſolations:

'We in this Country have left our near and 'our dear Friends: But if we can get nearer to 'God here, he will be inſtead of all, and more 'than all unto us: He hath all the Fulneſs of 'all the ſweeteſt Relations bound up in him. 'We may take out of God, which we forſook 'in Father, Mother, Brother, Siſter, Friends 'that hath been as near, and as dear as our own 'Soul.

§ *6.* When he came aſhore, his Friends at the *New Engliſh Boſton*, with many of whom he had been acquainted in *Lincoln-ſhire*, let him know how glad they were to ſee him; and having lodged about a Month with his Kinſman, Mr. *Adderton Haugh*, he removed unto *Lyn*, the Church there inviting him to be their Paſtor; and in the Paſtoral Care of that Flock, he ſpent all the reſt of his Days. The Year following Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* followed him: And ſoon after his Arrival at *New-England*, became his Collegue, in the Service of the Church at *Lyn*. Great was the Love that ſweetned the Labours, and whole Converſation and Vicinity of theſe *Fellow Labourers*; the Rays with which they illuminated the Houſe of God, *ſweetly united*; they were almoſt *every Day* together, and thought it a *long Day* if they were not ſo; one rarely travelling abroad without the other: And theſe two Angelick Men ſeem'd willing to give one another as little Joſtle, as the Angels upon *Jacob's Ladder* did unto one another, while one was deſcending, and another aſcending there. How *little Stipends* theſe great great Servants of the Church, were oppreſſed, but yet contented withal, may be gathered from this one Story.

The ungrateful Inhabitants of *Lyn*, one Year paſs'd a Town Vote, That they could not allow their Miniſters above Thirty Pounds apiece, that Year, for their Salary: And behold, the God who will not be mocked, immediately cauſed the Town to loſe Three hundred Pounds, in that one Specie of their Cattel, by one Diſaſter.

However, Mr. *Whiting* found ſuch a Bleſſing of God upon his *Little*, that he would cheerfully ſay, *He queſtion'd whether, if he had abode in* England, *where his Means were much more conſiderable, he could have brought up three Sons at the Univerſity there, as he did at* Harvard-*Colledge here.* But after they had lived about a Score of Years together, Mr. *Cobbet* was, upon the Death of Mr. *Rogers*, tranſlated unto *Ipſwich*; from this time was Mr. *Whiting* moſtly alone in his Miniſtry; *and yet not alone, becauſe the Heavenly Father was with him.* And as he drew near his End, he had his youngeſt Son for his Aſſiſtant.

In the Sixty Third Year of his Age, *A D.1659.* he began to be viſited with the grinding and painful Diſeaſe of the *Stone* in the Bladder, with which he was much exerciſed, [and the Reader that knows any thing of it, will ſay it was *Exerciſe* enough] until he came to be, *where the Weary are at reſt.* He bore his Affliction with incomparable Patience; and he had one Favour which he much ask'd of God, that tho' ſmall Stones, with great Pains, often proceeded from him, and he ſcarce enjoy'd one Day of perfect Eaſe, after this, until he died; yet it is not remembred, that he was ever hindred thereby one Day from his Publick Services. And whereas it was expected, both by himſelf and others, that as he grew in Years, the Torments of his Malady would grow upon him, it proved much otherwiſe; the Torments and Complaints of his Diſtemper abated, as his Age increaſed. At length a *Senile Atrophy* came upon him, with a waſting *Diarrhæa*, which brought *Lyn* into *Darkneſs*, Decemb. *11. 1679.* in the Eighty third Year of his *Peregrination*.

§ *7.* For his Learning he was many ways well accompliſhed: Eſpecially he was accurate in *Hebrew*, in which Primitive and Expreſſive Language, he took much delight: And he was elegant in *Latin*, whereof among other Demonſtrations he gave one, in an Oration at one of our Commencements: And much of his vacant Hours he employ'd in Hiſtory: Hiſtory, which made good unto him her ancient Character:

Omnis nunc noſtro pendet Prudentia Senſu:
Riteque nil, noſtrâ, qui caret Arte, ſapit.

He

Hiſtory, whoſe great Votary *Polybius*, truly aſſerts, *Nulla hominibus facilior ad Vitæ Inſtitutionem via eſt, quam Rerum antè geſtarum Cognitio.* And he was no leſs a Man of Temper, than of Learning: The peculiar Sweetneſs and Goodneſs of his Temper, muſt be an *eſſential Stroke* in his Character: He was wonderfully happy in his meek, his compoſed, his peaceable Diſpoſition: And his Meekneſs of Wiſdom out-ſhone all his other Attainments in Learning; for there is no Humane Literature ſo hardly attained, as the Diſcretion of a Man to regulate his Anger. His very Countenance had an amiable Smile continually ſweetning of it: And his Face herein was but the true Image of his Mind, which like the upper Regions was marvelloully free from the Storms of Paſſions.

In Proſperity he was not much elated, in Adverſity he was not much dejected; under Provocations he would ſcorn to be provoked. When the Lord would not expreſs himſelf unto *Elijah* in the Wind, nor in the Earthquake, nor in the Fire, but in the ſtill Voice, I ſuſpect, leſt one thing intended among others, might be an Admonition unto the Prophet himſelf, to beware of the boiſterous, uneven, inflamed Efforts, whereto his Natural Conſtitution might be ready to betray him.

This worthy Man, as taking that Admonition, was for doing every thing with a ſtill Voice. He knew himſelf to be born, as all Men are, with at leaſt a Dozen Paſſions; but being alſo *new born*, he did not allow himſelf to be Hagridden with the Enchantments thereof. The Philoſopher of old, call'd our Paſſions, by the juſt Name of *unnurtured Dogs*; but theſe Dogs do often worry the Children of God themſelves; even a Great *Luther*, who removed the fouleſt Abominations out of the Houſe of God, could not hinder theſe Dogs from infecting of his own Heart: However, this excellent (becauſe cool, therefore excellent) Spirited Perſon, kept theſe Dogs with a ſtrong Chain upon them; and ſince Man was created with a Dominion over the Beaſts of the Field, he would not let the θηρία τῆς ψυχῆς, hold him in any Slavery. He liv'd as under the *Eye* and *Awe* of the Great *God*; and as *Baſil* noted, *Poteſt Miles corum Rege ſuo non iraſci, ob ſolum Regiæ majeſtatis Eminentiam:* Thus the Fear of God ſtill reſtrained him from thoſe Ebullitions of Wrath which other Men are too fearleſs of. As virulent a Pen as ever blotted Paper in the *Engliſh* Nation, pretends to obſerve, *That ſome Men will pray with the Ardours of an Angel, love God with Raptures of Joy and Delight, be tranſported with deep and pathetick Devotions, talk of nothing but the unſpeakable Pleaſures of Communion with the Lord Jeſus, be raviſh'd with devout and ſeraphick Meditations of Heaven, and like the bleſſed Spirits there, ſeem to reliſh nothing but Spiritual Delights and Entertainments: Who when they return from their Transfiguration, to their ordinary Converſe with Men, are churliſh as a Cynick, paſſionate as an angry Waſp, envious as a ſtudious Dunce, and inſolent as a Female Tyrant; proud and haughty in their Deportment; peeviſh, petulant, and ſelf-willed, impatient of Contradiction, implacable in their Anger, rude and imperious in all their Converſation, and made up of nothing but Pride, Malice, and Peeviſhneſs.* But if any have ever given occaſion for this Obſervation, there was none given by our *Whiting*, who would have thought himſelf a Fiſh out of his Element, if he had ever been at any time any where but in the *Pacifick Sea.* And from this Account of his Temper, I may now venture to proceed unto his Vertue; by which I intend the Holineſs of his renewed Heart and Life, and the Change made by the ſupernatural Grace of Chriſt upon him, without which all Vertue is but a Name, a Sham, a Fiction. He was a very Holy Man: As the Ancients hath aſſured us, *Ama Scientiam Scripturarum & Vitia Carnis non Amabis:* Thus by reading daily ſeveral Chapters in both Teſtaments of the Scriptures, with ſerious and gracious Reflections thereupon, which he ſtill followed with ſecret Prayers he grew more holy continually, until in a flouriſhing *Old Age*, he was found fit for Tranſplantation.

His Worſhip in his Family, was that which argued him a true Child of *Abraham*; and his Counſel to his Children, was grave, watchful, uſeful, ſavoury, and very memorable. And if Meditation (which was one of *Luther*'s Great Things to make a Divine) be a thing of no little conſequence to make a *Chriſtian*, this muſt be numbred among the Exerciſes whereby our *Whiting* became very much improved in *Chriſtianity. Meditation* (which is *Mentis-Ditatio*) daily enriched his Mind with the Diſpoſitions of Heaven; and having a *Walk* for that purpoſe in his Orchard, ſome of his Flock that ſaw him conſtantly taking his *Turns* in that *Walk*, with Hand, and Eye, and Soul, often directed Heavenward, would ſay, *There does our dear Paſtor walk with God every Day.*

In fine, As the Apoſtle *Peter* ſays, *They that obey not the Word, yet with Fear behold the chaſt Converſation of them who do.* And as *Ignatius* deſcribes the Paſtor of the *Trallians*, for one *of ſuch a Sanctity of Life, that the greateſt Atheiſt would have been afraid to have look'd upon him:* Even ſo the Natural Conſcience in the worſt of Men, paid an Homage of Reverence to this *Holy Man*, where-ever he came.

§ 8. Tho' he ſpent his Time chiefly in his beloved *Study*, yet he would ſometimes Viſit his Flock; but in his Viſit, he made Conſcience of entertaining his Neighbours with no *Diſcourſe* but what ſhould be *grave*, and *wiſe*, and *profitable*; as knowing that, *Quæ ſunt in Ore Populi Nugæ, ſunt in Ore Paſtoris Blaſphemiæ.* And ſometimes an *Occaſional Word* let fall by him, hath had a notable Effect: Once particularly, in a Journey being at an *Inn* upon the *Road*, he over-heard certain People in the next Room, ſo *merry*, as to be too loud and rude in their *Mirth*; wherefore, as he paſſed by the Door, he look'd in upon them, and with a ſweet Majeſty, only dropt thoſe Words: *Friends, If you are ſure that*

your Sins are pardoned, you may be wiſely merry. And theſe Words not only ſtill'd all their Noiſe for the preſent, but alſo had a great Effect afterwards upon ſome of the Company. Indeed, his Converſation preached where-ever he was; as being ſenſible of the Jewiſh Proverb, *Propheta qui tranſgreditur Prophetiam ſuam propriam, Mors ejus eſt in Manibus Dei:* But in the Pulpit he laboured eſpecially to approve himſelf a Preacher. In his *Preaching* his Deſign was, *Prodeſſe magis quam placere:* And his Practice was, *Non alta ſed apta proferre.* But what a proper and uſeful *Speaker* he was, we may gather from what we find him, when a Writer.

There are eſpecially two *Books*, wherein we have him yet living among us. In the Fate and Fire of *Sodom*, there was a notable *Type* of the *Conflagration*, that will arreſt this polluted *World* at the *Day of Judgment:* And the famous Prayer of *Abraham*, (who as R. *Bechai* imagines, had ſome hope, when he deprecated that *Ruine* for the ſake of *Ten Righteous Ones*, that *Lot*, and his Wife, and the Four Daughters, which Tradition hath aſſigned him, and his four Sons-in-Law, would have made up the Number) on that occaſion, is indeed a very rich Portion of Scripture. Now our *Whiting* publiſhed a Volume of *Sermons* upon that Prayer of *Abraham*; wherein he does raiſe, confirm, and apply *Thirty two* Doctrines, which he offered unto the Publick (as he ſays in his Preface) *as the Words of a dying Man*; hoping, that as *Conſtantine* the Great would ſtoop ſo low, as to kiſs *Paphnutius's* maimed Eye, ſo the Lord Jeſus Chriſt would condeſcend to put Marks of his Favour, on (that which he humbly calls), *A Maimed Work.* But that which encouraged him unto this Publication, was the Acceptance which it had, before this, been found by another Treatiſe of his upon *The Day of Judgment* it ſelf. In the *Fifty eighth* Chapter of *Iſaiah*, the Lord promiſes a Time of wondrous *Light* and *Joy*, unto his reſtored People, and the Conſolations of a laſting *Sabbatiſm:* Things to be accompliſhed at the *Second Coming* of our Lord. Now to prepare for that *Bleſſedneſs*, thoſe very things be required which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt afterwards mentioned, in the *Twenty fifth* Chapter of *Matthew*, as the Qualifications of thoſe whom he will admit into his *bleſſed Kingdom.* There ſeems, at leaſt, a little Reaſon for it, that at the Second Coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, one of the firſt things will be a glorious Tranſlation, wherein the Members of *Chriſtian Churches* will be call'd before him, and be Examined, in order to the Determination of their State under the *New Jeruſalem*, that is to follow: Either to take their part in the Glories of that City, and Kingdom, for the *Thouſand Years* to come, and by conſequence what enſues thereupon; or to be exiled into the Confuſions of them that are to be without. Now tho' 'tis poſſible, that whole Diſcourſe of our Lord, may nextly refer to no no more than this Tranſaction, yet inaſmuch as the generality of Interpreters have carried it unto the more general and ultimate Proceedings of the *laſt Judgment*, our *Whiting* did ſo too; and he has given us *Forty two Doctrines* thereupon, ſo handled as to ſuit the Edification of all Readers. The Notes are ſhort, and but the conciſe Heads of what the Author prepared for his Weekly Exerciſes; nevertheleſs Mr. *Wilſon*, and Mr. *Mitchel*, obſerve in their Preface thereunto: That the Reader by having *much in a little Room*, is the better furniſhed with variety of Matter, worthy of *Meditation*, for want of which many a Man does digeſt little of what he reads. They ſay, 'It is a good Saying of one, *That the Reading of many diverſe Heads, without ſome interlaced Meditation, is like eating of Marrow without Bread.* But he that ſhall take time to pauſe upon what he reads (where *great Truths* are but in *few Words* hinted at) with intermixed *Meditations* and *Ejaculations*, ſuitable to the Matter in hand, will find ſuch Truths conciſely delivered, to be like *Marrow and Fatneſs*, whereof a little does go far, and feed much.

But a little *Poetry* muſt now wait upon the Memory of this Worthy Man.

Upon the very Reverend

Samuel Whiting.

Mount *Fame*, the glorious Chariot of the *Sun*;
Through the *World's Cirque*, all you, her Herald's, run:
And let this Great Saint's *Merits* be reveal'd,
Which, during Life, he ſtudiouſly conceal'd.
Cite all the *Levites*, fetch the Sons of *Art*,
In theſe our Dolours to ſuſtain a part.
Warn all that value *Worth*, and every one
Within their Eyes to bring an *Helicon.*
For in this *ſingle Perſon* we have loſt
More Riches, than an *India* has engroſt.

When *Wilſon*, that Plerophory of *Love*,
Did from our *Banks*, up to his *Center* move,
Rare *Whiting* quotes *Columbus* on this Coaſt,
Producing *Gems*, of which a *King* might boaſt.
More ſplendid far than ever *Aaron* wore,
Within his Breaſt, *this* Sacred *Father* bore.
Sound Doctrine *Urim*, in his Holy Cell,
And all Pefections *Thummim* there did dwell.
His *Holy Veſture* was his *Innocence*,
His *Speech, Embroideries* of curious *Sence.*
Such awful *Gravity* this Doctor us'd,
As if an *Angel* every Word infus'd.
No Turgent Stile, but *Aſiatic* Store;
Conduits were almoſt full, ſeldom run o're
The *Banks of Time:* Come Viſit when you will,
The Streams of *Nectar* were deſcending ſtill:
Much like Septemfluous *Nilus*, riſing ſo,
He watered Chriſtians round, and made them grow.

His

His modeſt *Whiſpers* could the *Conſcience* reach,
As well as *Whirlwinds*, which ſome others preach;
No *Boanerges*, yet could touch the Heart,
And clench his *Doctrine* by the *meekeſt Art*.
His *Learning* and his *Language*, might become
A *Province* not inferiour to *Rome*.
Glorious was *Europe*'s Heaven, when ſuch as theſe
Stars of his Size, ſhone in each *Dioceſs*.

Who writ'ſt the *Fathers Lives*, either make Room,
Or with his Name begin your *Second Tome*.
Ag'd *Polycarp*, Deep *Origen*, and ſuch
Whoſe *Worth* your *Quills*; your *Wits* not *them*, enrich;
Lactantius, *Cyprian*. *Baſil* too the Great,
Quaint *Jerom*, *Auſtin* of the foremoſt Seat,
With *Ambroſe*, and more of the Higheſt Claſs,
In CHRIST's great *School*, with Honour, I let paſs;
And humbly pay my Debt to *Whiting*'s Ghoſt,
Of whom both *Englands*, may with Reaſon boaſt.
Nations for Men of Leſſer Worth have ſtrove,
To have the *Fame*, and, in Tranſports of Love,
Built *Temples*, or fix'd *Statues* of pure Gold,
And their vaſt Worth to After-Ages told.
His Modeſty forbad ſo fair a *Tomb*,
Who in Ten Thouſand *Hearts* obtain'd a Room.

What ſweet *Compoſures* in his *Angels Face!*
What ſoft Affections, Melting Gleams of Grace!
How mildly pleaſant! By his cloſed Lips,
Rhetoricks Bright Body ſuffers an *Eclipſe*.
Should half his *Sentences* be truly *Numbred*,
And *weigh'd* in Wiſdom's Scales, 'twould ſpoil a *Lombard:*
And Churches *Homilies*, but *Homily* be,
If Venerable WHITING, ſet by thee.
Profoundeſt *Judgment*, with a *Meekneſs* rare,
Preferr'd him to the *Moderator*'s Chair;
Where like *Truth's Champion*, with his piercing Eye,
He ſilenc'd *Errors*, and made *Hectors* fly.
Soft Anſwers quell *hot Paſſions*; ne'er too ſoft
Where *ſolid Judgment* is enthron'd aloft.
Church Doctors are my Witneſſes, that here
Affections always kept their *proper Sphere*,
Without thoſe Wilder *Eccentricities*,
Which ſpot the faireſt Fields of Men moſt Wiſe.
In *pleaſant Places* fall that Peoples *Line*,
Who have but *Shadows* of Men thus Divine.
Much more their *Preſence*, and Heaven piercing *Prayers*,
Thus many Years, to mind our Soul-Affairs.
A *pooreſt Soil* oft has the *Richeſt Mine*;
This Weighty Oar, poor *Lyn* was lately thine.
O Wondrous Mercy! But this Glorious Light
Hath left thee in the Terrors of the Night.
New-England, didſt thou know this Mighty *One*.
His Weight and Worth, thou'dſt think thy ſelf *undone*:
One of thy Golden Chariots, which among
The *Clergy*, render'd thee a *Thouſand* ſtrong:
One, who for Learning, Wiſdom, Grace, and Years,
Among the *Levites* hath not many Peers:
One, yet with God a Kind of *Heavenly Band*,
Who did whole *Regiments* of *Woes* withſtand:
One, that prevail'd with *Heaven*; *One* greatly miſt
On *Earth*; he gain'd of Chriſt whate'er he liſt:
One of a World; who was both born and bred
At *Wiſdom*'s *Feet*, hard by the *Fountain*'s *Head*.
The *Loſs* of ſuch an *One*, would fetch a Tear,
From *Niobe* her ſelf if ſhe were here.

What qualifies our *Grief*, centers in *This*,
Be our *Loſs* near ſo Great, the *Gain* is *his*.

B. Thompſon.

We will now leave him, with ſuch a Diſtich, as *Wigandus* provided for his own

EPITAPH.

In Chriſto Vixi, Morior, Vivoq; WHITINGUS;
Do Sordes Morti, cætera, Chriſte, Tibi.

CHAP. XXIX.

The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN SHERMAN.*

Vetuſtas judicavit Honeſtum, ut Mortui Laudarentur. Thucid.

§ 1. THAT Great *Athanaſius*, whom ſome of the Ancients juſtly called, *Propugnaculum Veritatis*, others *Lumen Eccleſiæ*, others *Orbis Oraculum*, is in the Funeral Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*, on him ſo ſet forth: *To Commend* Athanaſius, *is to praiſe Vertue it ſelf.* My Pen is now falling upon the *Memory* of a Perſon, whom, if I ſhould not commend unto the Church of God, I ſhould refuſe to praiſe *Vertue* it ſelf, with *Learning*, *Wiſdom*, and all the Qualities that would render any Perſon Amiable. I ſhall proceed then with the Endeavour of my Pen, to *Immortalize* his *Memory*, that the Signification of the Name *Athanaſius*, may belong unto him, as much as the *Grace* for which that great Man was Exemplary.

§ 2. Mr. *John Sherman* was born of Godly and Worthy Parents, Decemb. 26. 1613. in the Town of *Dedham*, in the County of *Eſſex*. While he was yet a Child, the Inſtruction of his Parents, joined with the Miniſtry of the Famous *Rogers*, produced in him, that *Early Remembrance of his Creator*, which more than a little encourag'd them to purſue and expect the Good Effects of the *Dedication*, which they had made of him, unto the Service of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Work of the Goſpel. His Education at School was under a Learned Maſter, who ſo much admired his Youthful Piety, *Induſtry* and *Ingenuity*, that he never beſtowed any *Chaſtiſement* upon; except once for his giving the *Heads of Sermons* to his Idle School-Mates, when an Account thereof was demanded from them. So ſtudious was he, that next unto Communion with his *God*, he delighted in Communion with his *Book*, and he ſtudied nothing more, than to be an Exception unto that Ancient and General Complaint, *Quem mihi dabis, qui Diem æſtimet?*

§ 3. *Early Ripe* for it, he went into the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where being admitted into *Immanuel-College*, and inſtructed ſucceſſively by two very Conſiderable *Tutors*, his Proficiency ſtill bore Proportion to his *Means*, but out-went the Proportion of his *Years*. When his Turn came to be a *Graduate*, he ſeriouſly conſidered the *Subſcription* required of him: And upon Invincible Arguments, became ſo diſſatisfied therewithal, that adviſing with Mr. *Rogers*, Dr. *Preſton*, and other eminent Perſons, who commending his Conſcientious *Conſideration*, counſelled his Remove, he went away under the Perſecuted Character of a *Colledge-Puritan*. The ſame that occaſioned his Removal from the *Colledge*, in a little time occaſioned alſo his Removal from the *Kingdom*; for upon Mature Deliberation, after extraordinary Addreſſes to Heaven for Direction, he embark'd himſelf, with ſeveral Famous Divines, who came over in the Year 1634. hoping that by going over the *Water*, they ſhould in this be like Men going under the *Earth*, lodg'd *where the Wicked would ceaſe from Troubling and the Weary be at Reſt.*

§ 4. So much was *Religion* the *Firſt ſought*, of the *Firſt come*, into this Country, that they ſolemnly offer'd up their Praiſes unto him that *Inhabits the Praiſes of Iſrael*, before they had provided *Habitations*, wherein to offer thoſe Praiſes. A *Day of Thankſgiving* was now kept by the Chriſtians of a *New Hive*, here called *Water-Town*, under a *Tree*; on which Thankſgiving, Mr. *Sherman* preached his *Firſt Sermon*, as an Aſſiſtant unto Mr. *Philips*: There being preſent many other Divines, who wondred exceedingly to hear a Subject ſo accurately and excellently handled by one that had never before performed any ſuch publick Exerciſe.

§ 5. He continued not many Weeks at *Water-town*, before he removed, upon Mature Advice, unto *New Haven*; where he preached occaſionally in moſt of the Towns then belonging to that Colony: But with ſuch deſerved Acceptance, that Mr. *Hooker* and Mr. *Stone* being in an Aſſembly of Miniſters, that met after a Sermon of our Young *Sherman*, pleaſantly ſaid, *Brethren, we muſt look to our ſelves, and our Miniſtry; for this Young Divine will out-do us all.*

Here, though he had an Importunate Invitation unto a Settlement in *Milford*, yet he not only declined it out of an Ingenuous *Jealouſy*, leſt the Worthy Perſon, who muſt have been his *Collegue*, ſhould have thereby ſuffered ſome Inconveniencies, but alſo for a little while, upon *that*, and ſome other *ſuch* Accounts, he wholly ſuſpended the Exerciſe of his *Miniſtry*. Hereupon the Zealous Affection of the People to him appeared, in their chuſing him a Magiſtrate of the Colony; in which Capacity, he ſerved the Publick, with an Exemplary Diſcretion and Fidelity, until a freſh Opportunity for the Exerciſe of his *Miniſtry*, within Two or Three Years, offered it ſelf; and then all the Importunity uſed by the Governour and Aſſiſtents, to faſten him among themſelves, could not prevail with him to *Look back from that Plow.*

Our

Our Land has enjoyed the Influences of many accompliſhed Men, who from Candidates of the *Miniſtry*, have become our *Magiſtrates*; but this Excellent Man, is the only Example among us, who left a Bench of our *Magiſtrates*, to become a painful Servant of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the Work of the Miniſtry. Nevertheleſs, he that beholds *Joſeph* of *Arimathæa*, a Counſellour of State, *Ambroſe* the Conſul of *Millain*, *George* the Prince of *Anhalt*, *Chryſoſtom*, a Noble *Antiochean*, *John a Laſco*, a Noble *Polonian*, all becoming the *plain Preachers* of the Goſpel, will not think that Mr. *Sherman* herein either ſuffered a *Degradation*, or was without a Pattern.

§ 6. Upon the Death of Mr. *Philips* at *Watertown*, Mr. *Sherman* was addreſſed by the Church there, to ſucceed him; and he accepted the Charge of that Church, although at the ſame time, one of the Churches at *Boſton*, uſed their Endeavours to become the Owner of ſo well *Talented* a Perſon, and ſeveral Churches in *London* alſo, by Letters much urged him to *Come over and help them*. And now, being in the Neighbourhood of *Cambridge*, he was likewiſe choſen a Fellow of *Harvard College* there; in which place he continued unto his Death, doing many Good Offices for that Society. Nor was it only as a *Fellow* of the *College*, that he was a Bleſſing, but alſo as he was in ſome ſort a *Preacher* to it: For his *Lectures* being held for the moſt part once a *Fortnight*, in the Vicinage, for more than Thirty Years together, many of the Scholars attending thereon, did juſtly acknowledge the Durable and Abundant Advantage which they had from thoſe *Lectures*.

§ 7. His Intellectual Abilities, whether *Natural* or *Acquired*, were ſuch as to render him a *Firſt-Rate Scholar*; the Skill of *Tongues* and *Arts*, beyond the *common rate* adorned him. He was a Great Reader, and as *Athanaſius* reports of his *Antonius*, προσεῖχεν ὅλω τῇ ἀναγνώσει, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πίπτειν χαμαὶ, πάντα δὲ κατέχειν, καὶ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ τὴν γνώμην ἀντὶ βιβλίων γίνεσθαι: *He read with ſuch Intention, as to loſe nothing, but keep every thing, of all that he read, and his Mind became his Library*: Even ſuch was the Felicity of our *Sherman*; he read with an unuſual *Diſpatch*, and whatever he *Read* became his own. From ſuch a Strength of *Invention* and *Memory* it was, that albeit he was a curious *Preacher*; nevertheleſs, he could preach without any Preparatory *Notes*, of what he was to utter. He ordinarily wrote but about half a Page in *Octavo*, of what he was to preach; and he would as ordinarily preach, without writing of *one Word* at all. And he made himſelf wonderfully acceptable and ſerviceable unto his Friends, by the *Homeliſtical Accompliſhments*, which were produced by his Abilities, in his Converſation. For though he were not a Man of *much Diſcourſe*, but ever thought, ἐν πολυλογίᾳ ἐστι πολυμαθεία: And when ſome have told him, *That he had Learned the Art of Silence*, he hath, with a very becoming Ingenuity, given them to underſtand, That it was an *Art*, which it would hurt none of them to learn, yet his Diſcourſe had a rare Conjunction of *Profit* and *Pleaſure* in it.

He was *Witty* and yet *Wiſe*, and *Grave*, carrying a Majeſty in his very Countenance; and much viſited for Council, in weighty Caſes; and when he delivered his Judgment in any Matter, there was little or nothing to be ſpoken by others after him.

§ 8. It is a Remark, which *Melchior Adam* has in the Life of his Excellent *Pitiſcus*; *Illud mirandum, quod Homo* Theologus, *in* Mathematum *ſtudiis, nullo niſi ſe Magiſtro, eo uſq; progreſſus eſt, ut Editis Scriptis, Diſciplinæ illius Gloriam, magnis Matheſeos Profeſſoribus præripuerit*: And it might be well applied unto our Eminent *Sherman*, who though he were a *Conſummate Divine*, and a *Continual Preacher*, yet making the *Mathematicks* his *Diverſion*, did attain unto ſuch an Incomparable Skill therein, that he was undoubtedly one of the beſt *Mathematicians* that ever lived in this *Hemiſphere* of the World, and it is great Pity that the World ſhould be deprived of the *Aſtronomical Calculations*, which he has left in Manuſcript behind him. It ſeems, that Men of great Parts may, as it is obſerved by that great Inſtance thereof, Mr. *Boyle*, ſucceſſively apply themſelves to more than one Study. Thus *Copernicus* the Aſtronomer, eternized like the very *Stars*, by his New *Syſtem* of them, was a Church-man; and his Learned Champion *Lansbergius*, was a Miniſter. *Gaſſendus* was a Doctor of Divinity; *Clavius* too was a Doctor of Divinity; nor will the Names of thoſe *Engliſh* Doctors, *Wallis*, *Wilkins*, and *Barrow*, be forgotten ſo long as that *Learning* which is to be called *Real*, has any Friends in the *Engliſh* Nation: And *Ricciolus* himſelf, the Compiler of that Voluminous and Judicious Work, the *Almageſtum Novum*, was a Profeſſor of Theology.

Into the Number of theſe *Heroes*, is our *Sherman* to be admitted; who, if any one had enquired, how he could find the Leiſure for his *Mathematical* Speculations? Would have given the Excuſe of the Famous *Pitiſcus* for his Anſwer, —— *Alii Schacchia Ludunt, & Talis: Ego Regnala & Circino, ſi quando Ludere datur.*

And from the View of the Effects, which the *Mathematical* Contemplations of our *Sherman*, produced in his Temper, I cannot but utter the Wiſh of the Noble *Tycho Brache* upon that Bleſſed *Pitiſcus*, *Optarem plures ejuſmodi Concionatores reperiri, qui Geometrica gnavitur callerent: forte plus eſſet in iis Circumſpecti & ſolidi Judicii, Rixarum inanium & Logomachiarum minus*: For among other things very valuable to *me*, in the Temper of this Great Man, one was a certain *Largeneſs of Soul*, which particularly diſpoſed him to embrace the *Congregational* Way of *Church Government*, without thoſe *Rigid* and *Narrow* Principles of Uncharitable *Separation*, where with ſome Good Men have been *Leavened*.

§ 9. But

§ 9. But as our mentioned *Pitiſcus*, when his Friends congratulated unto him the Glory of his *Mathematical Excellencies*, with an humble and holy Ingenuity replied, *Let us rejoice rather that our Names be written in Heaven.* Thus our *Sherman* was more concerned for, and more employed in an Acquaintance with the *Heavenly Seats* of the Bleſſed, than with the Motions of the *Heavenly Bodies.* He did not ſo much uſe a *Jacob's Staff* in Obſervations, as he was in Supplications a true *Jacob* himſelf. He was a Perſon of a moſt *Heavenly Diſpoſition* and *Converſation*; *Heavenly* in his Words, *Heavenly* in his Thoughts, *Heavenly* in his Deſigns and Deſires; few in the World had ſo much of *Heaven* upon *Earth.* He was a moſt Practical Commentary upon thoſe Words of the Pſalmiſt, *Mine Eyes are ever towards the Lord:* And thoſe of the Apoſtle, *Keep your ſelves in the Love of God.*

As the *Scriptures* are the *Firmament*, which God hath *expanded* over the *Spiritual World*, ſo this good Man uſually ſpent an Hour every Morning, in entertaining himſelf with the *Lights* that are ſhining there. Beſides this, with Meditations on *God*, *Chriſt*, and *Heaven*, he fell aſleep at Night; and with the like Meditations he woke and roſe in the Morning; and Prayer was therefore the firſt and laſt of his Daily Works. Yea, had any one caſt a Look upon him, not only abroad in Company, but alſo in his cloſeſt *Retirement*, they would have ſeen ſcarce a Minute paſs him, without a Turn of his Eye towards Heaven, whereto his *Heaven-touch'd Heart* was carrying of him, with its continual Vergencies. And as the Stars, they ſay, may be ſeen from the bottom of a Well, when the Day-light in higher places hinders the ſight thereof; ſo this worthy Man, who ſaw more not only of the *Stars in Heaven*, but alſo of the *Heaven* beyond the *Stars*, than moſt other Men, was one, who, in his Humility, laid himſelf low, even to a Fault; and he had buried himſelf in the Obſcurity of his Receſſes and Retirements, if others that knew his worth, had not ſometimes fetch'd him forth to more publick Action.

The Name *Deſcentius*, which I found worn by an eminent Perſon, among the Primitive Chriſtians, I thought proper for this eminent Perſon, when I have conſidered the Condeſcenſion of his whole Deportment. And, methought it was an Inſtance of this Condeſcenſion, that this Great Man would ſometimes give the Country an *Almanack*, which yet he made an Opportunity to do good, by adding at the end of the Compoſures thoſe *Holy Reflections*, which taught good Men how to recover that *little*, but *ſpreading* thing, the *Almanack*, from that common Abuſe, of being an *Engine* to convey only ſilly *Impertinencies*, or ſinful *Superſtitions*, into almoſt every Cottage of the Wilderneſs. One of thoſe *Reflections* I will recite, becauſe it lively expreſſed the holy Sence of Death, in which the Author daily lived:

Let me intreat one thing of thee, and I will adventure to promiſe thee a good Year; the Requeſt is in it ſelf reaſonable, and may to thee be eternally profitable. It's only this: Duly to prize, and diligently to improve Time, for obtaining the bleſſed End it was given for, and is yet graciouſly continued unto thee, by the Eternal God. Of Three hundred ſixty five Days, allowed by the making up of this Year, which ſhall be thy laſt, thou knoweſt not; but that any of them may be it, thou oughteſt to know, and ſo conſider, that thou mayeſt paſs the Time of thy Sojourning here with Fear.

§ 10. Behold him either in the *Lord's Houſe*, or in *his own*, of *both* which a *Well Government* is joined in the Demands of the Apoſtle, and we may behold both of them after an exemplary manner ordered. In his *Miniſtry* he was *Judicious*, *Induſtrious*, *Faithful*; a moſt curious Expoſitor of Scripture, and one that fed us with the *fatteſt Marrow* of Divinity. And there was one thing in his Preaching, which procured it a ſingular admiration; this was a natural, and not affected *Loftineſs of Stile*; which with an eaſie Fluency beſpangled his Diſcourſes with ſuch glittering Figures of Oratory, as cauſed his ableſt Hearers, to call him a Second *Iſaiah*, the *Honey-dropping*, and *Golden-mouthed* Preacher. But among the Succeſſes of his Conduct in his Miniſtry, there was none more notable than the Peace, which by God's Bleſſing upon his Wiſdom and Meekneſs, more than any other things was preſerved in his populous Town, as long as he lived, notwithſtanding many Temptations unto Differences, among the good People there. From thence let us follow him to his Family, and there we ſaw him with much Diſcretion, maintaining both Fear and Love, in thoſe that belong'd unto him, and a zealous Care to uphold Religion among them. The Duties of *Reading*, *Praying*, *Singing*, and *Catechiſing*, were conſtantly obſerved, and *Sermons* repeated. And he was, above all, a great Lover, and ſtrict Keeper of the *Chriſtian Sabbath*; in the very Evening of which approaching, he would not allow any Worldly Matter to diſturb, or divert the Exerciſes of Piety *within his Gates.*

§ 11. He was twice married. By his *Firſt Wife*, the Vertuous Daughter of Parents therein reſembled by her, he had *Six Children.* But his next Wife was a young Gentlewoman whom he choſe from under the Guardianſhip, and with the Countenance of *Edward Hopkins*, Eſq; the excellent Governour of *Connecticut.* She was a Perſon of good Education, and Reputation, and honourably deſcended; being the Daughter of a *Puritan* Gentleman, whoſe Name was *Launce*, and whoſe Lands in *Cornwal* yielded him Fourteen hundred Pounds a Year. He was a Parliament-man, a Man learned and pious, and a notable Diſputant; but once diſputing againſt the *Engliſh Epiſcopacy*, (as not being ignorant of what is affirmed by *Contzen* the Jeſuite, in his Politicks, *That were all* England *brought once to approve of* Biſhops, *it were eaſie to reduce it unto the Church of* Rome,) he was worſted by ſuch a way of maintaining the Argument, as was thought

thought agreeable; that is, by a Wound in the Side, from his furious Antagoniſt; of which Wound at laſt he died. The Wife of that Gentleman was Daughter to the Lord *Darcy*, who was Earl of *Rivers*; a Perſon of a *Proteſtant*, and *Puritan* Religion, tho' of a *Popiſh* Family, and one that after the Murder of her former Husband, Mr. *Launce*, had for her Second Huſband the famous Mr. *Sympſon*. But by the Daughter of that Mr. *Launce*, who is yet living among us, Mr. *Sherman* had no leſs than *twenty* Children added unto the Number of *ſix*, which he had before.

I remember *John Helwigius* of late, beſides what has been related formerly by other Authors, brings undeniable Atteſtations of a Married Couple, who in one Wedlock were Parents to *Fifty three* Children, at Thirty five Births brought into the World: Somewhat ſhort of that, but not ſhort of Wonder, is a late Inſtance of one Mother, that has brought forth no leſs than *Thirty nine* Children, the *Thirty fifth* of whom, was lately diſcourſed by Perſons of Honour and Credit, from whom I had it. Altho' *New-England* has no Inſtances of ſuch a *Polytokie*, yet it has had Inſtances of what has been remarkable: One Woman has had not leſs than *Twenty two* Children; whereof ſhe buried Fourteen Sons, and Six Daughters. Another Woman has had no leſs than *Twenty three* Children, by one Husband; whereof Nineteen lived unto Mens and Womens Eſtate. A third was Mother to *Seven and twenty* Children: And ſhe that was Mother to Sir *William Phips*, the late Governour of *New-England*, had no leſs than *Twenty five* Children beſides him; ſhe had *One and twenty* Sons, and *Five* Daughters. Now into the Catalogue of ſuch *fruitful Vines by the ſides of the Houſe*, is this Gentlewoman, Mrs. *Sherman*, to be enumerated. *Behold, thus was* our *Sherman*, that Eminent *Fearer of the Lord*, *Bleſſed of him.*

§ 12. He had the rare Felicity to *grow like the Lilly*, as long as he lived; and enjoy a flouriſhing, and perhaps increaſing *Livelineſs* of his Faculties, until he died. Such *Keenneſs* of Wit, ſuch *Soundneſs* of Judgment, ſuch *Fulneſs* of Matter, and ſuch *Vigour* of Language, is rarely ſeen in *Old Age*, as was to be ſeen in *him*, when he was old.

The laſt Sermon which he ever preached, was at *Sudbury*, from *Eph.* 2. 8. *By Grace ye are ſaved:* Wherein he ſo diſplayed the Riches of the *Free Grace* expreſſed in our *Salvation*, as to fill his Hearers with admiration. Being thus at *Sudbury*, he was taken ſick of an Intermitting, but malignant *Fever*; which yet abated, that he found opportunity to return unto his own Houſe at *Water-Town*. But his *Fever* then renewing upon him, it prevailed ſo far, that he ſoon expired his holy Soul; which he did with Expreſſions of abundant *Faith*, *Joy*, and *Reſignation*, on a *Saturday*-Evening, entring on his *Eternal Sabbath*, *Auguſt* 8. 1685. Aged Seventy two.

Epitaphium.

For an *Epitaph* upon this Worthy Man, I'll preſume a little to alter the *Epitaph* by *Stenius*, beſtow'd upon *Pitiſcus*.

Ut Pauli *Pietas*, *ſic* Euclidea *Matheſis*,
Uno, Shermanni, *conditur*, *in Tumulo.*

And annex that of *Altenburg* upon *Cæſius*.

Qui curſum Aſtrorum *vivens Indagine multâ*
Quæſivit, *coràm nunc ea cernit ovans.*

CHAP. XXX.

Euſebius The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS COBBET.*

Et Eruditis Pietate, & Piis Eruditione Laude entecellens, ità Secundas Doctrinæ ferens, ut Pietatis primas obtineret.

Nazianz. de Baſilio.

§ 1. IN the Old Church of *Iſrael* we find a conſiderable Sort and Sett of Men, that were called, *The Scribes of the People:* Whoſe Office it was, not only to Copy out the *Bible*, for ſuch as deſired a Copy thereof, with ſuch Exactneſs, that the Myſteries occurring, even in the leaſt Vowels and Accents of it, might not be loſt, but alſo to be the more Publick *Preachers of the Law*, and common and conſtant *Pulpit-Men*; taking upon them to be the Expounders, as well as the *Preſervers* of the Scripture. But one of the principle *Scribes* enjoy'd by the *People of New-England*, was Mr. *Thomas Cobbet*, who wrote more *Books* than the moſt of the Divines, which did their parts to make a *Kirjath-Sepher* of this Wilderneſs; in every one of which he approv'd himſelf one of the *Scribes* mention'd by our Saviour, from his *rich Treaſure* bringing forth Inſtructions, both out of the New Teſtament, and out of the Old.

§ 2. Our

§ 2. Our Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* was born at *Newbury*, long enough before our *New England* had a Town of that Name, or indeed had any ſuch thing as a Town at all; namely, in the Year 1608. And altho his Parents, who after wards came alſo to *New-England*, were ſo deſtitute of Worldly *Grandure*, that he might ſay, as divers of the Jewiſh *Rabbi's* tell us, the Words of *Gideon* may be Read, *Behold, my Father is Poor*, yet this their Son was *Greatneſs* enough to render one Family memorable. Reader, we are to deſcribe,

Ingenua de plebe Virum, ſed Vita Fideſq;
Inculpata fuit.

And remember the Words of *Seneca*, *ex caſa etiam Virum magnum prodire poſſe*.

When *Cicero* was jeer'd, for the mean Signification of his Name, he ſaid, *However he would not change it, but by his Actions render the Name of* Cicero *more Illuſtrious than that of* Cato: And our *Cobbet* has done enough to make the Name of *Cobbet* Venerable, in theſe *American* Parts of the World, whether there were the Actions of any Anceſtors or no, to ſignalize it. A Good Education having prepared him for it, he became an *Oxford* Scholar, and removing from *Oxford* in the Time of a *Plague* raging there, he did, with other young Men, become a Pupil to Famous Dr. *Twiſs* at *Newbury*. He was, after this, a Preacher at a ſmall Place in *Lincolnſhire*; from whence, being driven by a Storm of Perſecution upon the *Reforming* and *Puritan* Part of the Nation, he came over unto *New-England*, in the ſame Veſſel with Mr. *Davenport* coming to *New-England*, his Old Friend Mr. *Whiting* of *Lyn* expreſſed his Friendſhip, with Endeavours to obtain and to enjoy his Aſſiſtance, as a Collegue, in the Paſtoral Charge of the Church there; where they continued *Fratrum Dulce Par*, until upon the Removal of Mr. *Norton* to *Boſton*, and of Mr. *Rogers* to *Heaven*, he was Tranſlated unto the Church of *Ipſwich*; with which he continued in the Faithful Diſcharge of his Miniſtry, until his Reception of the *Crown of Life* at his *Death*, about the Beginning of the Year 1686. Then 'twas, that he was (to ſpeak Jewiſhly) *Treaſur'd up*.

§ 3. The Witty Epigrammatiſt hath told us.

Qui dignos Ipſi Vita ſcripſere Libellos,
Illorum Vitam ſcribere non Opus eſt.

And we might therefore make the Story of this Worthy Man's *Life*, to be but an Account of the Immortal *Books*, wherein he *lives* after he is *Dead*. What Mr. *Cobbet* was, the Reader may gather by Reading a very Savoury Treatiſe of his, upon the *Fifth* Commandment. But that he might ſerve *both Tables* of the Law, he was willing to write ſomething upon the *Firſt* Commandment, as well as the *Fifth*; and this he did in a Large, Nervous, Golden Diſcourſe *Of Prayer*. But that the *Second* Commandment, as well as the *Firſt* might not be unſerved by him, there were divers *Diſciplinary Tracts*, which he publickly offered unto the Church of God. He Printed upon the Duty of the *Civil Magiſtrate*, in the Point of *Toleration*; a Point then much *Debated*, and not yet every where *Decided*; whereto he annexed a Vindication of the Government of *New-England*, from the Aſperſions of ſome, who thought themſelves perſecuted under it.

He was likewiſe a Learned and a Lively Defender of *Infant-Baptiſm*, and he gave the World an Elaborate Compoſure, on that Subject, on the Occaſion whereof, Mr. *Cotton*, in his Incomparable Preface to a Book of Mr. *Norton*'s, has theſe Paſſages. *COVETUS cum perſentiſceret aliquot ex Ovibus Chriſti ſibi commiſſis, Antipædobaptiſmi Laqueis atq; Dumetis irretitas, Zelo Dei accenſus (& Zelo quidem ſecundum Scientiam) imo, & Miſerecordia etiam Chriſti Commotus, erga Errantes Oviculas; Libros quos potuit, ex Anabaptiſtarum penu, congeſſit; Rationum Momenta (Qualia fuerant) in Lance Sanctuarii trutinavit; Teſtimoniorum Plauſtra, quæ ab aliis congeſta fuerant, ſedulo perquiſivit; & pro eo, quo floret, Diſputandi Acumine, Dijudicandi ſolertia, ſolida multa, paucis Complectendi Dexteritate atq; Indefeſſo Labore, nihil pene Intentatum reliquit, quod vel ad Veritatem, in hac Cauſa Illuſtrandam, vel ad Errorum Nebulas Diſcutiendas, atq; Diſpellendas, conduceret.*

Reader, To receive ſo much Commemoration from ſo Reverend and Renowned a Pen, is to have One's *Life*, ſufficiently written: It is needleſs for me to proceed any further, in ſerving the Memory of Mr. *Cobbet*.

§ 4. And yet there is one thing, which my *poor Pen* may not leave unmentioned. Of all the Books written by Mr. *Cobbet*, none deſerves more to be *Read* by the World, or to *Live* till the General Burning of the World, than that *Of Prayer*: And indeed *Prayer*, the Subject ſo *Experimentally*, and therefore *Judiciouſly*, therefore *Profitably*, therein handled, was not the leaſt of thoſe things, for which Mr. *Cobbet* was Remarkable. He was a *very Praying Man*, and his Prayers were not more obſervable throughout *New-England* for the *Argumentative*, the *Importunate*, and I had almoſt ſaid, *Filially Familiar*, Strains of them, than for the wonderful *Succeſſes* that attended them. It was a *Good* Saying of the Ancient, *Homine probo Orante nihil potentius*; and it was a *Great* Saying of the Reformer, *Eſt quædam Precum Omnipotentia*. Our *Cobbet* might certainly make a conſiderable Figure in the Catalogue of thoſe Eminent Saints, whoſe Experiences having notably Exemplified, *The Power of Prayer*, unto the World. That *Golden Chain*, one End whereof is tied unto the *Tongue of Man*, the other End unto the *Ear of God* (which is as *Juſt*, as *Old*, a Reſembling of

of *Prayer)* our *Cobbet* was always pulling at, and he often pull'd unto ſuch Marvellous purpoſe, that the Neighbours were almoſt ready to ſing of him, as *Claudian* did upon the proſperous *Prayers* of *Theodoſius.*

—— *O Nimium Dilecte Deo.*

A Son of this *Man of Prayer* was taken into Captivity by the Barbarous, Treacherous *Indian* Salvages, and a Captivity from whence there could be little Expectation of Redemption: Whereupon Mr. *Cobbet* called about Thirty, as many as could ſuddenly convene, of the Chriſtians in the Neighbourhood unto his Houſe; and there, they together *pray'd* for the *Young Man*'s Deliverance. The *Old Man*'s Heart was now *no more ſad*; he believed that the God of Heaven had accepted of their Supplications, and becauſe *he Believed, therefore he ſpake* as much, to thoſe that were about him, who when they heard him *ſpeak* did *Believe* ſo too. Now within a few Days after this, the Prayers were all anſwered, in the Return of the Young Man unto his Father, with Circumſtances little ſhort of *Miracle!* But indeed the Inſtances of ſurprizing Effects following upon the *Prayers* of this Gracious Man, were ſo many, that I muſt ſuperſede all Relation of them, with only noting thus much, That it was generally ſuppoſed among the pious People in the Land, that the Enemies of *New-England* owed the wondrous Diſaſters and Confuſions that ſtill followed them, as much to the *Prayers* of this *True Iſraelite*, as perhaps to any one Occaſion. Mr. *Knox*'s Prayers were ſometimes more feared, *than an Army of Ten Thouſand Men*; and Mr. *Cobbet*'s Prayers were eſteemed of no little Significancy to the Welfare of the Country, which is now therefore Bereaved of its *Chariots* and its *Horſemen.* If *New-England* had its *Noah, Daniel* and *Job*, to *pray* wonderfully for it, *Cobbet* was one of them!

Epitaphium.

STA VIATOR; *Theſaurus hic Jacet,*

THOMAS COBBETUS;

CUJUS,

Noſti Preces Potentiſſimas, ac Mores Probatiſſimos,
Si es Nov-Anglus.
Mirare, *Si Pietatem Colas*;
Sequere, *Si Felicitatem Optes.*

CHAP. XXXI.

The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN WARD.*

§ 1. SOme famous Perſons of old, thought it a Greater *Glory*, to have it enquired; *Why ſuch a one had not a Statue erected for him?* Than to have it enquired, *Why he had?* Mr. *Nathanael Ward*, born at *Haverhil*, in *Eſſex*, about 1570. was bred a *Scholar*, and was firſt Intended and Employed for the Study of the *Law*. But afterwards travelling with certain Merchants into *Pruſſia* and *Denmark*, and having Diſcourſe with *David Paræus*, at *Heidelberg*, from whom he received much Direction; at his return into *England*, he became a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and had a Living at *Stondon*. In the Year 1634. he was driven out of *England*, for his *Non-Conformity*; and coming to *New-England*, he continued ſerving the Church of *Ipſwich*, till the Year 1645. When returning back to *England*, he ſettled at *Sherfield*, near *Brentwood*; and there he ended his Days, when he was about Eighty Three Years of Age. He was the Author of many Compoſures full of Wit, and Senſe; among which, that Entituled, *The Simple Cobler* (which demonſtrated him to be a *Subtil Stateſman*) was moſt conſidered. If it be enquired, *Why this our St.* Hilary *hath among our Lives no Statue erected for him?* Let that Enquiry go for part of one. And we will pay our Debt unto his Worthy *Son.*

§ 2. Mr. *John Ward* was Born, I think, at *Haverhil*, — on Nov. 5. — 1606. His Grandfather was that *John Ward*, the Worthy Miniſter of *Haverhil*, whom we find among *The Worthies of England*; and his Father was the Celebrated *Nathanael Ward*, whoſe Wit made him known to more *Englands* than one. *Where* his Education was, I have not been informed; the firſt Notice of him that occurs to me, being in the Year 1639. When he came over into theſe Parts of *America*; and ſettled there in the Year 1641. in a Town alſo called *Haverhil.* But *What* it was, every Body that ſaw him, ſaw it in the *Effects* of it, that it was Learned, Ingenuous, and Religious. He was a Perſon of a Quick *Apprehenſion*, a clear *Underſtanding*, a ſtrong *Memory*, a facetious *Converſation*; he was an exact *Grammarian*, an expert *Phyſician*, and which was the Top of all, a thorough *Divine:* But, which *rarely* happens, theſe

theſe Endowments of his *Mind*, were accompanied with a moſt Healthy, Hardy, and Agile Conſtitution of *Body*, which enabled him to make nothing of walking on foot, a Journey as long as *Thirty Miles together*.

§ 3. Such was the Bleſſing of God upon his Religious *Education*, that he was not only *Reſtrained* from the Vices of Immorality in all his younger Years, but alſo *Inclined* unto all Vertuous Actions. Of young Perſons, he would himſelf give this Advice; *Whatever you do, be ſure to maintain Shame in them; for if that be once gone, there is no Hope that they'll ever come to good.* Accordingly, our *Ward* was always *aſhamed* of doing any ill thing. He was of a *Modeſt* and *Baſhful* Diſpoſition, and very ſparing of *Speaking*, eſpecially before *Strangers*, or ſuch as he thought his *Betters*. He was wonderfully Temperate, in Meat, in *Drink*, in *Sleep*, and he was always *Expreſſed*, I had almoſt ſaid, *Affected*, a peculiar Sobriety of *Apparel*. He was a Son moſt Exemplarily *Dutiful* unto his *Parents*; and having paid ſome conſiderable *Debts* for his *Father*, he would afterwards humbly obſerve and confeſs, that God had abundantly *Recompenced* this his Dutifulneſs.

§ 4. Tho' he had great Offers of Rich Matches, in *England*, yet he choſe to marry a meaner Perſon, whom *Exemplary Piety* had recommended. He lived with her for more than Forty Years, in ſuch an Happy *Harmony*, that when ſhe died, he profeſſed, that in all this Time, he never had received one Diſpleaſing *Word* or *Look* from her. Altho' ſhe would ſo faithfully tell him of every thing that might ſeem *Amendable* in him, that he would pleaſantly compare her to an *Accuſing Conſcience*, yet ſhe ever *pleaſed* him wonderfully: And ſhe would often put him upon the Duties of ſecret *Faſts*, and when ſhe met with any thing in Reading that ſhe counted ſingularly agreeable, ſhe would ſtill impart it unto him. For which Cauſes, when he loſt this his Mate, he cauſed thoſe Words to be fairly written on his Table-Board,

In Lugenda Compare, Vitæ Spacium Compleat Orbus.

And there is this memorable Paſſage to be added. While ſhe was a Maid, there was enſured unto her, the Revenue of a Parſonage worth two Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, in caſe that ſhe married a Miniſter. And *all this had been given* to our *Ward*, in Caſe he had conformed, unto the *Doubtful Matters* in the Church of *England*: But he left all the Allurements and Enjoyments of *England*, *chuſing rather to ſuffer Affliction with the People of God in a Wilderneſs.*

§ 5. Altho' he would ſay, *There is no place for Fiſhing like the Sea, and the more Hearers a Miniſter has, the more Hope there is that ſome of them will be catch'd in the Nets of the Goſpel*; nevertheleſs, thro' his Humility and Reſervation, it came to paſs, that as he choſe to begin his Miniſtry in *Old England*, at a very ſmall Place, thus when he came to *New England* he choſe to ſettle with a *New Plantation*, where he could expect none but ſmall Circumſtances all his Days. He did not love to appear upon the *Publick Stage* himſelf, and there appeared few there, whom he did not prefer above himſelf: But when he was there, every one might ſee how conſcientiouſly he ſought the *Edification* of the Souls of the plaineſt Auditors, before the *Oſtentation* of his own Abilities. And from the like *Self-Diffidence* it was, that he would never manage any *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs* in his Church, without previous and prudent *Conſultations* with the beſt *Adviſers* that he knew: He would ſay, *He had rather always follow Advice, tho' ſometimes the Advice might miſlead him, than ever act without Advice, tho' he might happen to do well by no Advice but his own.*

§ 6. This Diligent Servant of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, continued under and againſt many Temptations, watching over his Flock at *Haverhil*, more than twice as long as *Jacob* continued with his Uncle; yea, for as many Years as there are *Sabbaths* in the Year. On Nov. 19. 1693. he preached an Excellent Sermon, entring the *Eighty Eighth* Year of his Age; the only Sermon that ever was, or perhaps ever will be preached in this Country at ſuch an Age. He was then ſmitten with a *Paralytic* Indiſpoſition upon the Organs of his Speech, which continuing about a Month upon him, not without Evident Proofs of his *Underſtanding*, and his *Heavenlineſs*, continuing firm with him to the laſt; at laſt, on Dec. 27. he went off, bringing up the Rear of our Firſt Generation.

Epitaphium.

Bonorum Ultimus, at inter Bonos non Ultimus.

Mantiſſa

The *Church* of God is wrong'd, in that the *Life* of the Great *John Owen* is not written. He was by his Intention, ſo much a *New England* Man, that a *New Engliſh* Book affords no Improper *Station* for him. Let him that once would have choſe to *die* among the Worthies of *New England*, be counted worthy to live among them. The moſt Expreſſive *Memorials* of his *Life*, that we at *Boſton* can yet procure, are Inſcribed on his *Grave* at *London*. Theſe muſt be then Tranſcribed; Behold, the Language of his

EPITAPH.

Johannes Owen, *S. T. P.*

AGro *Oxonienſi*, Patre *Inſigni* Theologo.
Matre *Pia* Matrona, Oriundus:
Morum

Morum Elegantiâ, & Lepore *Innocuo*,
Omnibus quibuſcum converſatus eſt, *Gratiſſimus*:
Donorum pari, *Gratiarumque* Eminentia
Iis potiſſimum in *Pretio* habitus, & *Deliciis*,
Quibus, ſincera, *Curæ* erat, *Cordiq;* Religio:
Literis natus, *Literis* innutritus, *Totuſque* Deditus,
Donec *Animata* plane evaſit *Bibliotheca*:
Authoribus *Claſſicis*, quà *Græcis*, quà *Latinis*,
Sub *Edv. Silveſtro*, Scholæ *Privatæ* Oxonii *Moderatore*,
Operam navavit ſatis *Felicem*;
Feliciorem adhuc Studiis *Philoſophicis*,
Magno ſub *Barlovio*, Coll. Reginſis id tempus *Socio*;
(*Ædis Chriſti* ibidem, temporis Decurſu, Ipſemet *Decanus*,
Et *quinquennalis* Academiæ *Vice-Cancellarius*:)
Theologiæ demum longe *feliciſſimus* incubuit; Artibus
Pediſequis, *Duce*, & *Auſpice*, Sancto Chriſti Spiritu;
(Cujus *omnes*, in Partâ à Chriſto Redemptione
Applicanda, *Partes* Theologorum *ſolus* Expoſuit.)
Triumque, quæ *Doctæ* præſertim audiunt,
(Alias præter *Orientales*) Linguarum Peritus;
Paginas Sacras *Intus*, & in *Cute*,
Spiritu, & *Litera*, ſibi habuit notiſſimas;
In Magnis verò *Naſcentis* Eccleſiæ Luminibus Verſatiſſimus;
Primis *longùm Degeneris* Reſtitutoribus neutiquam neglectis;
Nec *melioris* Notæ Scholaſticis Contemptui habitis;
Tam in *Palæſtrâ*, quàm *Pulpito*, Dominatus eſt.
In Palæſtrâ; *Pontificios*, *Remonſtrantes*, *Sociniſtas*, *Noſtroſque*
In Momentoſo *Juſtificationis* Apice *Novaturientes*,
Scriptis *Nervoſiſſimis* Proſtravit, Proculcavit:
In Pulpito, maximè Infirmi *Corporis*,
Præſentiâ minimè Infirmâ:
Geſtu, *Theatricâ* procul Geſticulatione,
Ad Optimas *Decori* Regulas Compoſito:
Sermone, à *Contemptibili* remotiſſimo; *Canovo*,
Sed non *Stridulo*; Suavi, ſed prorſus *Virili*;
Et *Authoritatis* quiddam Sonante:
Pari, ſi non & Superiore, *Animi* Præſentiâ;
Concionum, quas, ad Verbum, *totas* Chartis commiſit,
Ne verbum quidem vel carptim, & ſtringente oculo
Inter Prædicandum *Lectitavit*:
Sed omnia, *Suo* primùm Impreſſa altiùs Pectori,
Auditorum *Animis*, *Cordibuſq;* potentiùs ingeſſit:
Nec *Orandi*, minùs, quàm *Perorandi*, Donis Inſtructus;
Miniſtri *verè Evangilici* Omnes complevit Numeros:
Cultus & Regiminis *Inſtituti* (unà cum Doctrinâ *Revelatâ*)
Magnus *Ipſemet Zelotes*, & *Aſſertor* ſtrenuus;
Ampliſſimæ denique, cui, Spiritus S. Eum præfecerat, *Eccleſiæ*
Prudentiſſimis pariter, ac *Vigilantiſſimus* Paſtor.
Cujus *Prælustri* è Multis Unum ſufficiat Epitaphio
Author Quadripartiti in Ep. ad Hebr. Commentarii.
Peracto in *Terris* Curſu, & quod acceperat, Miniſterio,
Ad Chriſti in *Cœlo* Statum, quem Sero Vitæ Veſpere,
Clariùs, licet *eminùs*, Proſpectum Graphicè lineârat,
Propiùs, *Penitiùſque* contuendum Anhelus Deceſſit.

Menſis *Auguſti* (*Non-Conformiſtis* id magis adhuc *Fatali*) Die XXIV. *Anno Sal.* MDCLXXXIII. *Ætat.* LXVII.

Epitaphium *iſtud ab Indigno* Symmiſta *Compoſitum*
Uti Latiùs, *quam ut infra* breves
Tabula Marmoreæ *Cancellos clauderetur*;
Ità etiam Anguſtius, *quàm ut* Juſtum
Drs Admodum Reverendi adimpleret Characterem;
Nobiliorem, *quam meruit, ſortitum eſt*, Sedem,
A Fronte Operis *Hujus Operoſiſſimi*
Chartacei *Marmereo Perennioris* Monumenti.

Ὀνησιφόρα Διηγήματα: Sive, *UTILES NARRATIONES.*

THE
TRIUMPHS of the Reformed Religion in AMERICA:
OR, THE
LIFE of the Renowned *John Eliot*;

A

Perſon juſtly Famous in the Church of GOD;

NOT ONLY

As an Eminent Chriſtian, and an Excellent Miniſter among the *Engliſh*; but alſo, as a Memorable Evangeliſt among the *Indians* of *New-England*.

WITH

Some Account concerning the late and ſtrange Succeſs of the Goſpel in thoſe Parts of the World, which for many Ages have lain buried in *Pagan Ignorance*.

Eſſay'd by *COTTON MATHER.*

Ὀυ γὰρ ὤμην ὅσιον, λαμπροτάτων ἔργων καὶ ὀνησιφόρων δογμάτων τὸ κλέος περιιδεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς λήθης συλώμενον: *i. e.* Exiſtimavi, haud ſine ſcelere fieri potuiſſe, ut factorum ſplendidiſſimorum, & utilium Narrationum gloria, Oblivioni traderetur. *Theodorit.*

Bleſſed is that Servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find ſo doing.

The Third Part.

To the Right Honourable PHILIP *Lord* Wharton; *a no leſs Noble, than Aged Patron of Learning and Vertue.*

May it pleaſe your Lordſhip,

If it be conſidered that ſome *Evangelical* and *Apoſtolical* Hiſtories of the New Teſtament, were by the Direction of the Holy Spirit himſelf, Dedicated unto a Perſon of Quality, and that the Noble Perſon addreſſed with One ſuch Dedication, entertained it with Reſentments that encouraged his dear *Lucilius* to make a *Second*, the World will be ſatisfy'd that I do a thing but reaſonable and agreeable, when unto a Narrative of many *Evangelical* and *Apoſtolical* Affairs, I preſume to prefix the Name of one ſo excellent for Love to God, as your Lordſhip is known to be: And one upon this Account only, an unmeet Subject for the Praiſes of the obſcure Pen which now writes, that *Quis Vituperat?* I do not, I dare not, ſo far intrude upon your Honour, as to ask your Patronage unto all the *New Engliſh* Principles and Practices, which are found in the Character of our Celebrated *Eliot*; for as the diſtance of a thouſand Leagues, has made it impoſſible for me to attend the (*uſual*) Orders and Manners of asking firſt

firſt your Allowance for what I have openly entitled you unto; ſo the Renowned *Eliot* is gone beyond any Occaſions for the greateſt Humane *Patronage*.

But that which has procured unto your Lordſhip, the Trouble of this *Dedication*, is, my Deſire to give you the Picture of one *Aged* Saint, lately gone to that *General Aſſembly*, which the Eternal King of Heaven, by the Advances of your own *Age in the way of Righteouſneſs*, does quickly Summon your ſelf unto the profound Reſpect which our *Eliot* had for your Honour, will doubtleſs be anſwered and requited with your own Value for the Memory of ſuch a memorable *Chriſtian*, *Miniſter*, and *Evangeliſt*; inaſmuch as your Affections, like his, take not their Meaſures from theſe or thoſe Matters of *doubtful Diſputation*, but from ſuch an univerſal *Piety* and *Charity*, and Holineſs, as he was an Inſtance of.

No Man ever complained of it, that in the Works of *Chryſoſtom*, we find ſeven Orations not far aſunder, in Commendation of *Paul*: Nor is it any Fault that I have now written One, in Commendation of a Man whom a *Pauline* Spirit had made Illuſtrious. In deſcribing him, I have made but little Touches upon his Parentage and Family, becauſe as the truly Great *Baſil* excuſes his Omiſſion of thoſe Things, in his Oration upon *Gordius* the *Martyr*, *Eccleſia hæc tanquam ſupervacua dimittit*. But I have related thoſe Things of him, which cannot but create a good Eſteem for him, in the Breaſt of your Lordſhip, who are a faithful and Ancient Witneſs againſt thoſe Diſtempers of the World, whereby (as the bleſſed *Salvian* lamented it) *Cogimur eſſe Viles, ut Nobiles habeamur*: And raiſe the Sweetneſs of your Thoughts upon your Approaches; which may our God make both ſlow and ſure, unto that State which cannot be moved. But if I may more ingenouſly confeſs the whole Ground and Cauſe of this Dedication, I muſt own, *'Tis to pay a part of a Debt*: A Debt under which you have laid my Country, when you did with your own Honourable Hand, preſent unto His Majeſty, the ſame Account, which I have here again publiſhed, *Concerning the Succeſs of the Goſpel among the* Indians *in* New-England.

My Lord,

In one *Eliot* you ſee what a People 'tis, that you have counted worthy of your Notice, and what a People 'tis, that with ardent Prayers beſpeak the Mercies of Heaven for your Noble Family. Indeed it is impoſſible that a Country ſo full as *New-England* is, of what is truly Primitive, ſhould not be expoſed unto the bittereſt Enmity and Calumny of thoſe, that will ſtrive to entangle the Church in a *Sardian* Unreformedneſs, until our Lord Jeſus do ſhortly *make them know, that he has loved*, what they have hated, maligned, perſecuted. But if the God of *New-England* have inclined any *Great Perſonage*, to intercede, or interpoſe, for the prevention of the *Ruines* which ill Men have deſigned for ſuch a Country; or to procure for a People of an *Eliot*'s Complexion in Religion, the undiſturbed Enjoyment and Exerciſe of that Religion: It is a thing that calls for our moſt ſenſible Acknowledgments.

It is an odd *Superſtition* which the *Indians* of this Country have among them, that they count it (on the Penalty of otherwiſe *never proſpering* more) neceſſary for them, never to paſs by the *Graves* of certain famous Perſons among them, without laying and leaving ſome Token of Regard thereupon. But we hope, that all true *Proteſtants*, will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the Land which has in it, the Grave of ſuch a remarkable Preacher to the *Indians*, as our *ELIOT*, ſhould be Treated with ſuch a *Love*, as a *Jeruſalem* uſes to find from them that are to proſper.

Upon that Score then, let my Lord accept a *Preſent*, from, and for a remote Corner in the *New World*, where God is praiſed on your behalf; a ſmall *Preſent* made by the Hand of a rude *American*, who has nothing to recommend him unto your Lordſhip, except this, That he is the Son of one whom you have admitted unto your Favours; and that he is ambitious to wear the Title of,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt Humble,

and moſt Obedient Servant,

COTTON MATHER.

THE INTRODUCTION.

'T*Was a very ſurpriſing as well as an undoubted Accident which happen'd within the Memory of Millions yet alive, when (as the Learned* Hornius *has given us the Relation), certain Shepherds upon Mount* Nebo, *following part of their ſtraggling Flock, at length came to a Valley, the prodigious Depths and Rocks whereof, rendred it almoſt inacceſſible; in which there was a Cave of inexpreſſible Sweetneſs, and in that Cave was a* Sepulchre, *that had very difficult Characters upon it. The Patriarchs of the* Maronites *thereabouts inhabiting, procured ſome Learned Perſons to take Notice, and make Report of this Curioſity, who found the Inſcription of the Grave-ſtone to be in the* Hebrew *Language and Letter;* Moſes, the Servant of the Lord.

The Jews, *the* Greeks, *and the* Roman Catholics *thereabouts, were all together by the Ears, for the Poſſeſſion of this Rarity, but the* Turks *as quickly laid Claim unto it, and ſtrongly guarded it. Nevertheleſs, the* Jeſuites *found a way by Tricks and Bribes, to engage the* Turkiſh *Guards into a Conſpiracy with them, for the tranſporting of the incloſed and renowned Aſhes into* Europe; *but when they opened the Grave, there was no* Body, *nor ſo much as a* Relick *there. While they were under the Confuſion of this Diſappointment, a* Turkiſh *General came upon them, and cut them all to pieces; therewithal taking a Courſe never to have that place viſited any more. But the Scholars of the* Orient *preſently made this a Theme which they talk'd and wrote much upon: And* whether this were the true Sepulchre of Moſes, *was a Queſtion upon which many Books were publiſhed.*

The World would now count me very abſurd, if after this I ſhould ſay, that I had found the Sepulchre of Moſes, *in* America: *But I have certainly here found* Moſes *himſelf; we have had among us, one appearing in the* Spirit of a Moſes; *and it is not the* Grave, *but the* Life *of ſuch a* Moſes, *that we value our ſelves upon being the Owners of.*

Having implored the Aſſiſtance and Acceptance of that God, whoſe Bleſſed Word has told us, The Righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting Remembrance: *I am attempting to write the* Life *of a* Righteous Perſon, *concerning whom all things, but the meanneſs of the* Writer, *invite the* Reader *to expect nothing ſave what is truly* extraordinary. *'Tis the* Life *of One who has better and greater Things to be affirmed of him, than could ever be reported concerning any of thoſe famous Men, which have been celebrated by the Pens of a* Plutarch, *a* Pliny, *a* Laertius, *an* Eunapius, *or in any Pagan Hiſtories. 'Tis the Life of one whoſe Character might very agreeably be look'd for, among the* Collections *of a* Dorotheus, *or the* Orations *of a* Nazianzen; *or is worthy at leaſt of nothing leſs than the exquiſite Stile of a* Melchior Adam, *to eternize it.*

If it be, as it is, a true Aſſertion, That the leaſt Exerciſe of true Faith, or Love, towards God, in Chriſt, is a more glorious thing than all the Triumphs of a *Cæſar, there muſt be ſomething very conſiderable, in the* Life *of one who ſpent ſeveral Scores of Years in ſuch Exerciſes; and of one, in the mention of whoſe Atchievements, we may alſo recount, that he fought the Devil in (once) his* American *Territories, till he had recovered no ſmall Party of his old Subiects and Vaſſals out of his cruel Hands; it would be as* unreaſonable, *as* unprofitable, *for Poſterity to bury the Memory of ſuch a Perſon in the Duſt of that Obſcurity and Oblivion, which has covered the Names of the Hero's, who dy'd before the Days of* Agamemnon.

PRELIMI-

PRELIMINARY I.

The Birth, Age, *and* Family *of Mr.* ELIOT.

THE Inſpired *Moſes*, relating the Lives of thoſe Anti-Diluvian Patriarchs, in whom the Church of God, and Line of Chriſt was continued, through the firſt Sixteen hundred Years of Time, recites little but their *Birth*, and their *Age*, and their *Death*, and their *Sons* and *Daughters*. If thoſe Articles would ſatisfie the Appetites and Enquiries of ſuch as come to read the Life of our *Eliot*, we ſhall ſoon have diſpatch'd the Work now upon our Hands.

The *Age*, with the *Death* of this Worthy Man, has been already terminated, in the Ninetieth Year of the preſent Century, and the Eighty ſixth Year of his own Pilgrimage. And for his *Birth*, it was at a Town in *England*; the Name whereof I cannot preſently recover; nor is it neceſſary for me to look back ſo far as the place of his *Nativity*; any more than 'tis for me to recite the Vertues of his *Parentage*, of which he ſaid, *Vix ea noſtra voco:* Tho' indeed the pious Education which they gave him, cauſed him in his Age, to write theſe Words: *I do ſee that it was a great Favour of God unto me, to ſeaſon my firſt Times with the Fear of God, the Word, and Prayer.*

The *Atlantick Ocean*, like a River of *Lethe*, may eaſily cauſe us to forget many of the things that happened on the other ſide. Indeed the *Nativity* of ſuch a Man, were an Honour worthy the Contention of as many *Places*, as laid their Claims unto the famous *Homer*'s: But whatever *Places* may challenge a ſhare in the Reputation of having enjoy'd the *firſt Breath* of our *Eliot*, it is *New-England* that with moſt Right can call him *Hers*; his *beſt Breath*, and afterwards his *laſt Breath* was here; and here 'twas, that God beſtow'd upon him *Sons and Daughters*.

He came to *New England* in the Month of *November*, *A. D.* 1631. among thoſe bleſſed old Planters, which laid the Foundations of a remarkable Country, devoted unto the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, in its pureſt and higheſt Reformation. He left behind him in *England*, a Vertuous young Gentlewoman, whom he had purſued and purpoſed a *Marriage* unto; and ſhe coming hither the Year following, that Marriage was conſummated in the Month of *October*, *A. D.* 1632.

This *Wife of his Youth* lived with him until ſhe became to him alſo the *Staff of his Age*; and ſhe left him not until about three or four Years before his own Departure to thoſe Heavenly Regions, where they now together *ſee Light*. She was a Woman very eminent, both for *Holineſs* and *Uſefulneſs*, and ſhe excelled moſt of the *Daughters that have done vertuouſly*. Her Name was *Anne*, and *Gracious* was her Nature. God made her a rich Bleſſing, not only to her *Family*, but alſo to her *Neighbourhood*; and when at laſt ſhe died, I heard and ſaw her Aged Husband, who elſe very rarely wept, yet now with Tears over the Coffin, before the Good People, a vaſt Confluence of which were come to her Funeral, ſay, *Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful Wife; I ſhall go to her, and ſhe not return to me.* My Reader will of his own accord excuſe me, from beſtowing any further *Epitaphs* upon that *gracious* Woman.

By her did God give him ſix worthy Children, Children of a Character which may forever ſtop the Mouths of thoſe *Antichriſtian Blaſphemers*, who have ſet a falſe Brand of Diſaſter and Infamy, on the Off-ſpring of a *Married Clergy*. His Firſt-born was a Daughter, born *Sept.* 17. *A. C.* 1633. This Gentlewoman is yet alive, and one well approven for her Piety and Gravity. His next was a Son; born *Aug.* 31. *A. C.* 1636. He bore his *Father's Name*, and had his *Father's Grace*. He was a Perſon of notable Accompliſhments, and a lively, zealous, acute, Preacher, not only to the *Engliſh* at *New-Cambridge*, but alſo to the *Indians* thereabout. He grew ſo faſt, that he was found ripe for Heaven, many Years ago; and upon his Death-bed uttered ſuch penetrating things as could proceed from none, but one upon the Borders and Confines of Eternal Glory. 'Tis pity that ſo many of them are forgotten; but one of them, I think, we have cauſe to remember: *Well*, (ſaid he) *my dear Friends; There is a dark Day coming upon* New-England; *and in ſo dark a Day, I pray how will you provide for your own Security! My Counſel to you is, get an Intereſt in the bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that will carry you to the World's end.* His Third was alſo a Son, born *Decemb.* 20. *A. C.* 1638. him he call'd *Joſeph*. This Perſon hath been a Paſtor to the Church at *Guilford*. His Fourth was a *Samuel*, born *June* 22. *A. C.* 1641. who dy'd a moſt lovely young Man, eminent for Learning and Goodneſs, a *Fellow* of the Colledge, and a *Candidate* of the Miniſtry. His Fifth was an *Aaron*, born *Feb.* 19. *A. C.* 1643. who tho' he dy'd very young, yet firſt manifeſted *many good things towards the Lord God of Iſrael*. His Laſt was a *Benjamin*, born *Jan.* 29. *A. C.* 1646. Of all theſe three, it may be ſaid, as it was of *Haran*, *They dy'd*

before

before their Father; but it may alſo be written over their Graves, *All theſe died in Faith.* By the pious Deſign of their Father, they were all Conſecrated unto the Service of God, in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel; but God ſaw meet rather to fetch them away, by a *Death*, which (therefore) I dare not call *Præmature*, to glorify him in another and a better World. They all gave ſuch Demonſtrations of their Converſion to God, that the good old Man would ſometimes comfortably ſay, *I have had ſix Children, and I bleſs God for his Free Grace, they are all either with Chriſt, or in Chriſt; and my Mind is now at reſt concerning them.* And when ſome asked him, how he could bear the Death of ſuch excellent Children, his humble Reply thereto was this, *My Deſire was that they ſhould have ſerved God on Earth; but if God will chuſe to have them rather ſerve him in Heaven, I have nothing to object againſt it, but his Will be done!* His *Benjamin* was made the *Son of his Right-Hand*; for the Invitation of the good People at *Roxbury*, placed him in the ſame Pulpit with his Father, where he was his Aſſiſtant for many Years; there they had *a Proof of him, that as a Son with his Father, he ſerved with him in the Goſpel.* But his Fate was like that which the great *Gregory Nazianzen* deſcribes in his Diſcourſe upon the Death of his honourable Brother, his Aged Father being now alive and preſent; *My Father having laid up in a better World, a Rich Inheritance for his Children, ſent a Son of his before, to take Poſſeſſion of it.*

PRELIMINARY II.

Mr. Eliot*'s Early Converſion, Sacred Employment, and Juſt Removal into* America.

BUT all that I have hitherto ſaid, is no more than an entrance into the Hiſtory of our *Eliot*. Such an *Enoch* as he, muſt have ſomething more than theſe things recorded of him; his *Walk with God*, muſt be more largely laid before the World, as a thing that would beſpeak us all to be *Followers* no leſs than we ſhall be *Admirers* of it.

He had not paſſed many *Turns* in the World, before he knew the meaning of a ſaving *Turn* from the Vanities of an Unregenerate State, unto God in Chriſt, by a true Repentance; he had the ſingular Happineſs and Privilege of an *early Converſion* from the Ways, which *Original Sin* diſpoſes all Men unto. One of the principal Inſtruments which the God of Heaven uſed in tingeing, and filling the Mind of this *choſen Veſſel*, with good Principles, was that Venerable *Thomas Hooker*, whoſe Name in the Churches of the Lord Jeſus, is, *As an Ointment poured forth*; even that *Hooker*, who having *Angled* many Scores of Souls into the Kingdom of Heaven, at laſt laid his Bones in our *New England*; it was an Acquaintance with *him*, that contributed more than a little to the Accompliſhment of our *Eliſha*, for that Work unto which the moſt High deſigned him. His liberal *Education*, having now the Addition of *Religion* to direct it, and improve it, it gave ſuch a *Biaſs* to his young Soul, as quickly diſcovered it ſelf in very ſignal Inſtances. His firſt Appearance in the World after his Education in the *Univerſity*, was in the too *difficult* and *unthankful* but very *neceſſary* Employment of a *School-Maſter*, which Employment he diſcharged with a good Fidelity. And as this *firſt Eſſay* of his Improvement was no more Diſgrace unto him, than it was unto the famous *Hieron*, *Whitaker*, *Vines*, and others, that they *thus* began to be ſerviceable; ſo it rather prepared him, for the further Service, which his Mind was now ſet upon. He was of worthy Mr. *Thomas Wilſon*'s Mind, that the calling of a *Miniſter* was the only one wherein a Man might be more ſerviceable to the Church of God, than in that of a *School-Maſter:* And with *Melchior Adam*, he reckoned, the Calling of a *School-Maſter*, *Pulverulentam*, *ac Moleſtiſſimam quidem, ſed Deo longe gratiſſimam Functionem.* Wherefore having dedicated himſelf unto God betimes, he could not reconcile himſelf to any leſſer way of ſerving his Creator and Redeemer, than the Sacred *Miniſtry* of the Goſpel; but alas, where ſhould he have Opportunities for the Exerciſing of it? The *Laudian*, *Grotian*, and *Arminian* Faction in the Church of *England*, in the Proſecution of their Grand Plot, for the reducing of *England* unto a moderate ſort of *Popery*, had pitched upon *this* as one of their Methods for it; namely, to *creeple* as faſt as they could, all the Learned, Godly, Painful Miniſters of the Nation; and invent certain *Shibboleths* for the detecting and the deſtroying of ſuch Men as were cordial Friends to the Reformation. 'Twas now a time when there were every day multiplied and impoſed thoſe unwarrantable *Ceremonies* in the Worſhip of God, by which the Conſcience of our Conſiderate *Eliot* counted the *ſecond Commandment* notoriouſly violated; 'twas now alſo a time, when ſome Hundreds of thoſe Good People which had the Nick-name of *Puritans* put upon them, tranſported themſelves, with their whole Families and Intereſts, into the

the Deſarts of *America*, that they might here peaceably erect *Congregational Churches*, and therein attend and maintain all the pure Inſtitutions of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; having the Encouragement of *Royal Charters*, that they ſhould never have any Interruption in the Enjoyment of thoſe *precious and pleaſant things*. Here was a Proſpect which quickly determined the devout Soul of our young *Eliot*, unto a Remove into *New England*, while it was yet a *Land not ſown*; he quickly liſted himſelf among thoſe valiant Souldiers of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who cheerfully encountred firſt the Perils of the *Atlantick Ocean*, and then the Fatigues of the *New Engliſh Wilderneſs*, that they might have an undiſturbed Communion with him in his Appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himſelf the Conſolation of having afterwards and for ever a Room in that Remembrance of God, *I remember thee, the Kindneſs of thy Youth, and the Love of thine Eſpouſals, when thou wenteſt after me into the Wilderneſs.*

On his firſt Arrival to *New-England*, he ſoon joined himſelf unto the Church at *Boſton*; 'twas *Church-work* that was his Errand hither, Mr. *Wilſon*, the Paſtor of that Church, was gone back into *England*, that he might perfect the Settlement of his Affairs; and in his Abſence, young Mr. *Eliot* was he that ſupplied his place. Upon the Return of Mr. *Wilſon*, that Church was intending to have made Mr. *Eliot* his Collegue, and their Teacher; but it was diverted. Mr. *Eliot* had engaged unto a ſelect Number of his Pious and Chriſtian Friends in *England*, that if they ſhould come into theſe Parts before he ſhould be in the Paſtoral Care of any other People, he would give himſelf to *Them*, and be for *Their* Service. It happened, that theſe Friends tranſported themſelves hither, the Year after him; and choſe their Habitation at the Town which they called *Roxbury*. A Church being now gathered at this place, he was in a little while *Ordained* unto the Teaching and Ruling of that Holy Society. So, 'twas in the Orb of that Church that we had him as a *Star fixed* for very near Threeſcore Years; it only remains that we now obſerve what was his *Magnitude* all this while, and how he performed his *Revolution*.

PART I.

Or, ELIOT *as a* CHRISTIAN.

ARTICLE I.

His Eminent PIETY.

SUch was the *Piety* of our *Eliot*, that like another *Moſes*, he had upon his *Face* a continual *ſhine*, ariſing from his uninterrupted Communion with the Father of Spirits. He was indeed a *Man of Prayer*, and might ſay after the Pſalmiſt, *I Prayer*, as being in a manner made up of it. Could the Walls of his Old *Study* ſpeak, they would even Raviſh us with a Relation of the many Hundred and Thouſand fervent *Prayers* which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily Practice to *enter into that Cloſet, and ſhut his Door, and pray to his Father in Secret*, but he would not rarely *ſet* apart whole *Days* for Prayer with Faſting, in ſecret Places before the God of Heaven. *Prayer* ſolemnized with *Faſting* was indeed ſo agreeable unto him, that I have ſometimes thought he might juſtly inherit the Name of *Johannes Jejunator*, or *John the Faſter*, which for the like Reaſon was put upon one of the Renowned Ancients. Eſpecially, when there was any remarkable Difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. *Preſton*'s Mind, *That when we would have any great things to be accompliſhed, the beſt Policy is to work by an Engine which the World ſees nothing of.* He could ſay as the pious *Robertſon* did upon his Death-bed, *I thank God, I have loved Faſting and Prayer, with all my heart!* If one would have known what that Sacred thing, *The Spirit of Prayer*, intends, in him there might have been ſeen a moſt luculent and Practical Expoſition of it. He kept his Heart in a *Frame for Prayer*, with a marvellous Conſtancy; and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any conſiderable News, his uſual and ſpeedy Reflection thereupon would be, *Brethren, let us turn all this into Prayer!* And he was perpetually jogging the *Wheel of Prayer*, both more privately in the *Meetings*, and more publickly in the *Churches* of his *Neighbourhood*. When he came to an Houſe that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often ſay, *Come, let us not have a Viſit without a Prayer; let us pray down the Bleſſing of Heaven on your Family before we go.* Eſpecially when he came into a Society of Miniſters, before he had ſat long with them, they would look to hear him urging, *Brethren, the Lord*

Jeſus takes much notice of what is done and ſaid among his Miniſters when they are together; come, let us pray before we part! And hence alſo, his whole *Breath* ſeemed in a ſort made up of *Ejaculatory Prayers*, many ſcores of which winged Meſſengers he diſpatched away to Heaven, upon pious Errands every Day. By *them* he beſpoke Bleſſings upon almoſt every Perſon or Affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with ſome pertinent *Hoſannah's* or *Hallelujah's* over it. He was a *mighty* and an *happy* Man, that had his *Quiver* full of theſe Heavenly *Arrows!* And when he was never ſo ſtraitly beſieged by Humane Occurrences, yet he faſtned the Wiſhes of his devout Soul unto them, and very dexterouſly ſhot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he took thus delight in ſpeaking to the Almighty God, no leſs did he in ſpeaking of him; but in ſerious and ſavoury Diſcourſes, he ſtill had his *Tongue like the Pen of a ready Writer*. The *Jeſuits* once at *Nola* made a no leſs profane than ſevere Order, *That no Man ſhould ſpeak of God at all*; but this Excellent Perſon almoſt made it an Order wherever he came, *to ſpeak of nothing but God*. He was indeed ſufficiently pleaſant and witty in Company, and he was affable and facetious rather than moroſe in Converſation; but he had a Remarkable Gravity mixed with it, and a ſingular Skill of raiſing ſome *Holy Obſervation* out of whatever matter of Diſcourſe lay before him; nor would he ordinarily diſmiſs any *Theme* without ſome Gracious, Divine, pithy Sentence thereupon. Doubtleſs, he impoſed it as a *Law* upon himſelf, that he would leave ſomething of *God* and *Heaven*, and *Religion*, with all that ſhould come a near him; ſo that in all places, his Company was attended with Majeſty and Reverence; and it was no ſooner proper for him to ſpeak, but like *Mary*'s opened Box of *Ointment*, he fill'd the whole Room with the Perfumes of the *Graces* in his Lips, and the Chriſtian Hearers taſted a greater ſweetneſs in his *well-ſeaſoned* Speeches, than the Illuſtrious *Homer* aſcrib'd unto the Orations of his *Neſtor*,

Whoſe Lip drop'd Language than ſweet Honey, ſweeter abundance.

His Conferences were like thoſe which *Tertullian* affirms to have been common among the Saints in his Days, *Ut qui ſciret Dominum audire*, as knowing that the *Ear of God* was open to them all; and he managed his *Rudder* ſo as to manifeſt that he was bound Heaven-ward, in his whole Communication. He had a particular Art at *Spiritualizing* of Earthly Objects, and raiſing of *high Thoughts* from very *mean things*. As, once going with ſome Feebleneſs and Wearineſs up the Hill on which his Meeting-Houſe now ſtands, he ſaid unto the Perſon that led him, *This is very like the way to Heaven, 'tis up Hill! The Lord by his Grace fetch us up!* And inſtantly ſpying a Buſh near him, he as nimbly added, *And truly there are Thorns and Briars in the way too!* Which Inſtance I would not have ſingled out from the many Thouſands of his *Occaſional Reflections*, but only that I might ſuggeſt unto the good People of *Roxbury*, ſomething for them to think upon, when they are *going up to the Houſe of the Lord*. It is enough, that as the Friend of the famous *Urſin* could profeſs that he never went unto him without coming away, *aut doctior aut melior*, either the *wiſer* or the *better* from him; ſo, 'tis an acknowledgment which more than one Friend of our *Eliot*'s has made concerning him, *I was never with him but I got, or might have got ſome good from him.*

And hearing *from* the great God, was an Exerciſe of like Satiſfaction unto the Soul of this good Man, with ſpeaking either to him, or of him. He was a mighty Student of the Sacred Bible; and it was unto him as his *neceſſary food*. He made the Bible his Companion, and his Counſellor, and the Holy Lines of *Scripture* more Enamoured him than the profane ones of *Tully*, ever did the famous *Italian* Cardinal. He would not upon eaſy Terms, have gone one Day together, without uſing a Portion of the Bible as an Antidote againſt the *Infection of Temptation*. And he would preſcribe it unto others, with his *probatum eſt* upon it; as once particularly a pious Woman, vexed with a wicked Husband, complaining to him, That *bad Company* was all the day ſtill infeſting of her Houſe, *and what ſhould ſhe do?* He adviſed her, *Take the Holy Bible into your Hand, when the bad Company comes, and you'll ſoon drive them out of the Houſe*; the Woman made the Experiment, and thereby cleared her *Houſe* from the Haunts that had moleſted it. By the like way 'twas that he cleared his *Heart* of what he was loth to have Neſting there. Moreover, if ever any Man could, he might pretend unto that Evidence of Uprightneſs, *Lord, I have loved the Habitation of thine Houſe*; for he not only gave ſomething more than his Preſence there twice on the *Lord*'s *Days*, and once a Fortnight beſides on the *Lectures*, in his own Congregation, but he made his weekly Viſits unto the Lectures in the Neighbouring Towns; how often was he ſeen at *Boſton*, *Charlſtown*, *Cambridge*, *Dorcheſter*, waiting upon the Word of God, in Recurring Opportunities, and counting a *Day in the Courts of the Lord better than a Thouſand?* It is hardly conceivable, how in the midſt of ſo many *Studies* and *Labours* as he was at home engaged in, he could poſſibly repair to ſo many *Lectures* abroad; and herein he aimed, not only at his own *Edification*, but at the *Countenancing* and *Encouraging* of the *Lectures* which he went unto.

Thus he took heed, *that* he might *Hear*, and he took as much heed *how* he *Heard*; he ſet himſelf as in the Preſence of the Eternal God, as the great *Conſtantine* uſed of old, in the Aſſemblies where he came, and ſaid, *I will hear what God the Lord will ſpeak*; he expreſſed a diligent *Attention*, by a watchful and wakeful Poſture, and by

by turning to the Texts quoted by the Preacher; he expreſſed a ſuitable *Affection* by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with Hands and Eyes devoutly elevated; and they whoſe good hap 'twas to go home with him, were ſure of having another Sermon by the way, until their very *Hearts burned in them. Lactantius* truly ſaid, *Non eſt vera Religio, quæ cum Templo relinquitur*; but our *Eliot* always carried much of *Religion* with him, from the Houſe of God.

In a word, he was one who *Liv'd in Heaven* while he *was on Earth*; and there is no more than pure Juſtice in our Endeavours that he ſhould *Live on Earth* after he *is in Heaven.* We cannot ſay that we ever ſaw him *walking* any whither but he was therein *walking with God*; wherever he *ſat*, he had God by him, and it was in the Everlaſting Arms of God that he *Slept* at Night. Methoughts he a little diſcovered his Heavenly way of living, when walking one day in his Garden, he pluck'd up a *Weed* that he ſaw now and then growing there, at which a Friend pleaſantly ſaid unto him, *Sir, you tell us, we muſt be Heavenly-minded*; but he immediately reply'd, *It is true; and this is no Impediment unto that, for were I ſure to go to Heaven to morrow, I would do what I do to Day.* From ſuch a Frame of Spirit it was that once in a Viſit, finding a Merchant in his Counting Houſe, where he ſaw Books of *Buſineſs* only on his Table, but all his Books of *Devotion* on the Shelf, he gave this Advice unto him, *Sir, Here's Earth on the Table, and Heaven on the Shelf; pray don't ſit ſo much at the Table as altogether to forget the Shelf; let not Earth by any means thruſt Heaven out of your mind.*

Indeed I cannot give a fuller Deſcription of him, than what was in a Paraphraſe that I have heard himſelf to make upon that Scripture, *our Converſation is in Heaven.* I writ from him as he uttered it.

'Behold, *ſaid he*, the Ancient and Excellent 'Character of a true Chriſtian; 'tis that which '*Peter* calls *Holineſs in all manner of Converſation*; you ſhall not find a Chriſtian out of the 'way of Godly Converſation. For, firſt, a '*Seventh part of our time* is all ſpent in Heaven, when we are duly zealous for, and zealous on *the Sabbath of God.* Beſides, God 'has written on the Head of the Sabbath *Remember*; which looks both forwards and 'backwards; and thus a good part of the 'Week will be ſpent in *Sabbatizing.* Well, 'but for the reſt of our Time? Why, we ſhall 'have that ſpent in Heaven, e'er we have done. 'For, Secondly, we have many Days for both '*Faſting* and *Thankſgiving*, in our Pilgrimage; 'and here are ſo many *Sabbaths* more. Moreover, Thirdly, we have our *Lectures* every 'Week; and pious People won't miſs *them*, if 'they can help it. Furthermore, Fourthly, We 'have our *private Meetings* wherein we pray, 'and ſing, and repeat Sermons, and confer together about the things of God; and being 'now come thus far, we are in Heaven almoſt 'every Day. But a little farther, Fifthly, We 'perform *Family-Duties* every Day; we have 'our Morning and Evening Sacrifices, wherein 'having read the Scriptures to our Families, 'we call upon the Name of God, and ever 'now and then carefully *Catechize* thoſe that 'are under our Charge. Sixthly, We ſhall 'alſo have our daily Devotions in our *Cloſets*; 'wherein unto *Supplication* before the Lord, we 'ſhall add ſome ſerious *Meditation* upon his 'Word; a *David* will be at this Work no leſs 'than thrice a Day. Seventhly, We have 'likewiſe many ſcores of *Ejaculations* in a day; 'and theſe we have, like *Nehemiah*, in whatever place we come into. Eighthly, We have 'our Occaſional *Thoughts*, and our Occaſional '*Talks*, upon Spiritual Matters; and we have 'our Occaſional *Acts* of *Charity*, wherein we 'do like the Inhabitants of Heaven every day. 'Ninthly, In our Callings, in our *Civil* Callings, we keep up Heavenly Frames; we buy 'and ſell, and toil; yea, we eat and drink, 'with ſome Eye both to the *Command* and the '*Honour* of God in all. Behold, I have not 'now left an Inch of Time to be *Carnal*; it is 'all Engroſſed for *Heaven.* And yet, leſt here 'ſhould not be enough, Laſtly, We have our '*Spiritual Warfare.* We are always encountring the Enemies of our Souls, which continually raiſes our Hearts unto our *Helper* and '*Leader* in the *Heavens.* Let no Man ſay, *'Tis impoſſible to live at this rate*; for we have 'known ſome *live* thus; and others that have '*written* of ſuch a Life, have but ſpun a Web 'out of their own bleſſed Experiences. *New-England* has Example of this Life; tho' alas, ''tis to be lamented, that the Diſtractions of 'the World, in too many Profeſſors, do becloud the Beauty of an Heavenly Converſation. 'In fine, our Employment lies in *Heaven.* In 'the Morning, if we ask, *Where am I to be to Day?* Our Souls muſt anſwer, *In Heaven.* In 'the Evening, if we ask, *Where have I been to Day?* Our Souls may anſwer, *In Heaven.* If 'thou art a Believer, thou art no Stranger to '*Heaven* while thou *liveſt*; and when thou 'dieſt, *Heaven* will be no ſtrange Place to 'thee; no, thou haſt been there a Thouſand 'times before.

In this Language have I heard him expreſs himſelf; and he did what he ſaid; he was a *Boniface* as well as *Benedict*; and he was one of thoſe.

Qui faciendo docent, quæ facienda docent.

It might be ſaid of him, as that Writer characteriſes *Origen*, *Quemadmodum docuit, ſic vixit, & quemadmodum vixit ſic docuit.*

ARTICLE II.

His Particular Care and Zeal about the Lord's Day.

THIS was the *Piety*, this the *Holineſs* of our *Eliot*; but among the many Inſtances in which his *Holineſs* was remarkable, I muſt not omit his exact *Remembrance of the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy.*

It has been truly and juſtly obſerved, That our whole Religion fares according to our *Sabbaths*, that poor *Sabbaths* make poor *Chriſtians*, and that a Strictneſs in our *Sabbaths* inſpires a Vigour into all our other *Duties*. Our *Eliot* knew this, and it was a moſt Exemplary *Zeal* that he acknowledged the *Sabbath* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt withal. Had he been asked, *Servaſti Dominicum?* He could have made a right Chriſtian primitive Anſwer thereunto. The *Sun* did not ſet, the Evening before the *Sabbath*, till he had begun his *Preparation* for it; and when the *Lord's Day* came, you might have ſeen *John in the Spirit*, every Week. *Every* Day was a ſort of *Sabbath* to him, but the *Sabbath-day* was a Kind, a Type, a Taſt of *Heaven* with him. He laboured, that he might on this *High Day*, have no *Words* or *Thoughts* but ſuch as were agreeable thereunto; he then allow'd in himſelf no Actions, but thoſe of a *Raiſed Soul*. One ſhould hear nothing dropping from his Lips on this Day, but the *Milk* and *Honey* of the Countrey, in which there yet *remains a Reſt for the People of God*; and if he beheld in any Perſon whatſoever, whether old or young, any *Profanation* of this Day, he would be ſure to beſtow lively Rebukes upon it. And hence alſo unto the general Engagements of a Covenant with God, which 'twas his Deſire to bring the *Indians* into, he added a particular *Article*, wherein they bind themſelves, *mehquontamunat Sabbath, pahketeaunat tohſohke pomantamog*; i.e. *To Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy, as long as we live.*

The mention of this, gives me an Opportunity, not only to *Recommend* our Departed *Eliot*, but alſo to *Vindicate* another great Man, unto the Churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. The Reverend and Renowned *Owen* in his Elaborate Exercitations on the *Lord's Day*, had let fall ſuch a Paſſage as this:

I judge, That the Obſervation of the Lord's Day is to be Commenſurate unto the uſe of our natural Strength, on any other Day; from Morning to Night. The Lord's Day is to be ſet apart unto the ends of an holy Reſt unto God, by every one according as his natural Strength will enable him to employ himſelf in his lawful Occaſions any other Day of the Week.

This Paſſage gave ſome ſcandal unto ſeveral very Learned and Pious Men; among whom, our *Eliot* was one; whereupon with his uſual Zeal, Gravity and Sanctity, he wrote unto the Doctor, his Opinion thereabout; who returned unto him an Anſwer full of Reſpect, ſome part whereof I ſhall here tranſcribe.

‘As to what concerns the *Natural Strength of Man* (ſaith he) Either I was under ſome Miſtake in my *Expreſſion*, or you ſeem to be ſo, in your *Apprehenſion*. I never thought, and I hope, I have not ſaid, for I cannot find it, that the Continuance of the *Sabbath* is to be commenſurate unto the *Natural Strength* of Man, but only that it is an *Allowable Mean* of Mens Continuance in Sabbath Duties; which I ſuppoſe you will not deny, leſt you ſhould caſt the Conſciences of Profeſſors into inextricable Difficulties.

‘When firſt I engaged in that Work, I intended not to have ſpoken one word about the *Practical Obſervation* of the Day; but only to have endeavoured the *Revival* of a Truth, which at preſent is deſpiſed and contemned among *us*, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by ſundry Divines of the *United Provinces*, who call the Doctrine of the Sabbath, *Figmentum Anglicanum*. Upon the Deſire of ſome Learned Men in theſe Parts, it was, that I undertook the Vindication of it. Having now diſcharged the Debt, which in this matter I owed unto the *Truth* and *Church* of God, tho' not as I ought, yet with ſuch a Compoſition as I hope, thro' the Interpoſition of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt might find Acceptance with God and his Saints, I ſuppoſe I ſhall not again engage on that Subject.

‘I ſuppoſe there is ſcarce any one alive in the World, who hath more *Reproaches* caſt upon him than I have; tho' hitherto God has been pleaſed in ſome meaſure to ſupport my ſpirit under them. I ſtill relieved my ſelf by this, That my poor Endeavours have found Acceptance with the *Churches* of Chriſt: But my holy, wiſe, and gracious Father, ſees it needful to try me in this matter alſo; and what I have received from you (which it may be contains not *your ſenſe alone*) hath printed deeper, and left a greater Impreſſion upon my Mind, than all the virulent Revilings, and falſe Accuſations I have met withal, from my profeſſed Adverſaries. I do acknowledge unto you, that I have a dry and barren Spirit, and I do heartily beg your Prayers, that the Holy One would, notwithſtanding all my ſinful Provocations, water me from above; but that I ſhould now be apprehended to have given a Wound unto *Holineſs* in the Churches, *'tis one of the ſaddeſt frowns in the cloudy Brows of Divine Providence.*

‘The

'The Doctrine of the *Sabbath*, I have aſſerted, tho' not as it ſhould be done, yet as well as I could; the *Obſervation* of it in Holy Duties unto the utmoſt of the ſtrength for them, which God ſhall be pleaſed to give us, I have pleaded for; the neceſſity alſo of a ſerious *Preparation* for it in ſundry previous Duties, I have declared. But now to meet with ſevere *Expreſſions*—It may be 'tis the Will of God, that Vigour ſhould hereby be given to my former Diſcouragements, and that there is a Call in it, to ſurceaſe from theſe kinds of Labours.

I have tranſcribed the more of this Letter, becauſe it not only diſcovers the concern which our *Eliot* had for the *Sabbath* of God, but alſo it may contribute unto the Worlds good Reception and Peruſal of a *Golden Book* on that Subject, written by one of the moſt Eminent Perſons which the *Engliſh* Nation has been adorned with.

ARTICLE III.

His Exemplary Mortification.

THUS *did* Eliot *endeavour to* live *unto God; but how much at the ſame time did he* die *unto all the World?*

'Twere impoſſible to finiſh the lively Picture of this Pious and Holy *Eliot*, without ſome Touches upon that *Mortification*, which accompanied him all his Days; for never did I ſee a Perſon more *mortify'd* unto all the Pleaſures of this Life, or more unwilling to *moult* the Wings of an Heaven-born Soul, in the dirty Puddles of carnal and ſenſual Delights. We are all of us compounded of thoſe two things, *the Man*, and *the Beaſt*; but ſo powerful was *the Man*, in this Holy Perſon, that it kept *the Beaſt* ever ty'd with a ſhort Tedder, and ſuppreſſed the irregular *Calcitrations* of it. He became ſo nailed unto the *Croſs* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that the Grandeurs of this World were unto him juſt what they would be to a *dying Man*; and he maintained an almoſt unparallel'd *Indifferency* towards all the *Pomps*, which Mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The *Luſt of the Fleſh* he could not reconcile himſelf to the leaſt pampering or indulging of: But he perſecuted it with a continual *Antipathy*, being upon higher Principles than *Tully* was acquainted withal, of his Mind, *Non eſt dignus nomine hominis, qui unum diem totum velit eſſe in iſto genere voluptatis.* The Sleep that he allow'd himſelf, cheated him not of his *Morning Hours*; but he reckoned the *Morning* no leſs a Friend unto the *Graces*, than the *Muſes*. He would call upon Students, *I pray look to it that you be Morning Birds?* And for many more than a ſcore of Years before he died, he removed his Lodging into his Study, on purpoſe that being there *alone*, he might enjoy his early *Mornings*, without giving the Diſturbance of the leaſt noiſe to any of his Friends, whoſe Affections to him elſe might have been ready to have called, *Maſter, ſpare thy ſelf.* The *Meat* upon which he lived was a *Cibus Simplex*, an homely but an wholeſome Diet. Rich Varieties, coſtly Viands, and poinant Sauces, came not upon his *own Table*, and when he found them on *other Mens*, he rarely taſted of them. One Diſh, and a *plain* one, was his *Dinner*; and when invited unto a *Feaſt*, I have ſeen him ſit Magnifying of God, for the Plenty which his People in this Wilderneſs were within a few Years ariſen to; but not more than a Bit or two of all the Dainties taken into his own Mouth all the while. And for a *Supper*, he had learn'd of his loved and bleſſed Patron, old Mr. *Cotton*, either wholly to omit it, or to make a ſmall *ſup* or two the utmoſt of it. The *Drink* which he ſtill uſed was very *ſmall*; he cared not for *Wines* or *Drams*, and I believe he never once in all his Life, knew what it was to feel ſo much as a noxious Fume in his Head, from any of them; good, clear *Water* was more *precious*, as well as more *uſual* with him, than any of thoſe Liquors with which Men do ſo frequently *ſpoil* their own *Healths*, while perhaps they *drink* thoſe of other Men. When at a Strangers Houſe in the Summer time, he has been entertained with a *Glaſs*, which they told him was, *Of Water and Wine*, he has with a complaiſant Gravity reply'd unto this purpoſe, *Wine, 'tis a noble generous Liquor, and we ſhould be humbly thankful for it; but as I remember, Water was made before it!* So abſtemious was he; and he found, that *Carere ſuavitatibus iſtis*, his Abſtinence had more *Sweetneſs* in it, than any of the *Sweets* which he abſtained from; and ſo willing he was to have others partake with him in that *Sweetneſs*, that when he has thought the Countenance of a Miniſter has look'd, as if he had made much of himſelf, he has gone to him with that Speech, *Study Mortification Brother, Study Mortification!* And he made all his Addreſſes with a becoming Majeſty.

The *Luſt of the Eye*, he was put out by him in ſuch a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be *Rich* or *Poor*. It could not be ſaid of him, That *he ſought great things for himſelf*; but what Eſtate he became Owner of, was from the Bleſſing of God upon the Husbandry and Induſtry of ſome in his Family, rather

rather than from any Endeavours of his own. Once when there ſtood ſeveral Kine of his own before his Door, his Wife, to try him, asked him, *Whoſe they were?* And ſhe found that he knew nothing of them. He could not endure to plunge himſelf into ſecular Deſigns and Affairs, but accounted *Sacerdos in foro* as worthy of Caſtigation as *Mercator in Templo*; he thought that *Miniſter* and *Market man*, were not *Uniſons*, and that the *Earth* was no Place for *Aaron*'s Holy Mitre to be laid upon. It was the Uſage of moſt Pariſhes in the Country, to have an annual *Rate* for the *Maintenance* of the Miniſtry, adjuſted commonly by the Select Men of the Towns; which tho' it raiſed not any exuberant Salaries for the Miniſters, who alſo ſeldom received all *that* the People had contracted for, nevertheleſs in many places it prevented ſore Temptations from befalling thoſe that were *labouring in the Word and Doctrine*; who muſt elſe often have experienced the Truth of *Luther*'s Obſervation, *Duriter profecto & miſere viverent Evangelii Miniſtri, ſi ex Libera populi contributione eſſent ſuſtentandi.* However, for *his part*, he propounded that what Stipend he had, ſhould be raiſed by *Contribution*; and from the ſame Temper it was, that a few Years before his Diſſolution, being left without an Aſſiſtant in his Miniſtry, he preſſed his Congregation to furniſh themſelves with another *Paſtor*; and in his Application to them, he told them, *'Tis poſſible, you may think the burden of maintaining two Miniſters may be too heavy for you; but I deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my Salary to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and now, Brethren, you may fix that upon any Man that God ſhall make a Paſtor for you.* But his Church with an handſome Reply, aſſured him, That they would count his very *Preſence* worth a Salary, when he ſhould be ſo ſuperannuated as to do no further Service for them.

And as for the *Pride of Life*, the *Life* of it was moſt exemplarily extinguiſh'd in him. The *Humility* of his *Heart* made him *Higher by the Head than the reſt of the People.* His *Habit* and *Spirit* were both ſuch as declared him to be among the *Lowly*, whom God has moſt *Reſpect* unto. His *Apparel* was without any *Ornament*, except that of *Humility*, which the Apoſtle Elegantly compares to a Knot of Comely *Ribbons*, in the Text where he bids us to be *cloathed* with it; any other flanting *Ribbons* on thoſe that came in his way he would ingeniouſly animadvert upon; and ſeeing ſome Scholars once, he thought a little too gaudy in their Cloaths, *Humiliamini, Juvenes, Humiliamini*, was his immediate Complement unto them. Had you ſeen him with his *Leathern Girdle* (for ſuch an one he wore) *about his Loins*, you would almoſt have thought what *Herod* fear'd, *That John Baptiſt was come to Life again.* In ſhort, he was in all Regards *A Nazarite indeed*; unleſs in this one, that *long Hair* was always very *loathſome* to him; he was an acute *Ramiſt*, but yet he profeſſed himſelf a Lover of a *Trichotomy.* Doubtleſs, it may be lawful for us to accommodate the *length* of our *Hair* unto the modeſt *Cuſtoms* which vary in the *Churches of God*; and it may be lawful for them that have not enough of their own *Hair* for their own *Health*, to ſupply themſelves according to the ſober Modes of the Places they live. But the Apoſtle tells us, *Nature teaches us, that if a Man have long Hair, 'tis a Shame to him*; where, by *Nature* can be meant, no other than *The difference of Sex*; as the Word elſewhere is uſed.

Thus Mr. *Eliot* thought that for *Men* to wear their *Hair* with a Luxurious, Delicate, Fœminine Prolixity; or for them to preſerve no plain Diſtinction of their Sex, by the *Hair* of their Head and Face; and much more for Men *thus* to disfigure themſelves with *Hair* that is *None of their own*; and moſt of all, for *Miniſters* of the Goſpel to ruffle it in Exceſſes of this kind; may prove more than we are well aware, diſpleaſing to the *Holy Spirit* of God. The *Hair* of them that profeſſed Religion, long before his Death, grew too *long* for him to ſwallow; and he would expreſs himſelf continually with a *boiling Zeal* concerning it, until at laſt he gave over, with ſome Regret complaining, *The Luſt is become Inſuperable!* I know not whether that horrible Diſtemper prevailing in ſome *European* Countries known by the Name of *Plica Polonica*, wherein the Hair of People matted into ugly and filthy Forms, like *Snakes* upon their Heads, which whoſoever cut off, preſently fell *blind* or *mad*; I ſay, I know not whether this Diſeaſe was more odious in it ſelf, than the ſweeter, neater, but prolix Locks of many People were to our *Eliot.* He was indeed one *priſcis moribus*, as well as *Antiqua fide*; and he might be allow'd ſomewhat even of *Severity* in this matter, on that account.

ARTICLE IV.

His Exquiſite Charity.

HE that will write of *Eliot*, muſt write of *Charity*, or ſay nothing. His *Charity* was a Star of the *Firſt Magnitude* in the bright Conſtellation of his Vertues; and the Rays of it were wonderfully various and extenſive.

His *Liberality* to pious Uſes whether publick or private, went much beyond the Proportions of his little Eſtate in the World. Many Hundreds of Pounds did he freely beſtow upon the *Poor*; and he would, with a very forcible importunity, preſs his Neighbours to join with him in ſuch Beneficences. 'Twas a marvellous *Alacrity* with which he imbraced all Opportunities of relieving any that were miſerable; and the good People of *Roxbury* doubtleſs, cannot remember (but the *Righteous* God *will!*) how often, and with what *Ardors*, with what *Arguments*, he became a Beggar to them for Collections in their Aſſemblies, to ſupport ſuch needy Objects, as had fallen under his Obſervation. The poor counted him their *Father*, and repaired ſtill unto him, with a filial Confidence in their Neceſſities; and they were more than *ſeven* or *eight*, or indeed than ſo many *ſcores*, who received their *Portions* of his Bounty. Like that worthy and famous *Engliſh* General, he could not perſwade himſelf, *That he had any thing but what he gave away*; but he drove a mighty Trade at ſuch Exerciſes as he thought would furniſh him with *Bills of Exchange*, which he hoped *after many days* to find the Comfort of; and yet after all, he would ſay like one of the moſt charitable Souls that ever lived in the World, *That looking over his Accounts, he could no where find the God of Heaven charged a Debtor there.* He did not put off his *Charity*, to be put in his *laſt Will*, as many who therein ſhew that their *Charity* is *againſt their Will*; but he was his own *Adminiſtrator*; he made his own Hands his Executors, and his own Eyes his Overſeers. It has been remark'd, That liberal Men are often *long-liv'd* Men; ſo do they *after many days* find the *Bread* with which they have been willing to keep other Men alive. The great Age of our *Eliot* was but agreeable to this Remark; and when his Age had unfitted him for almoſt all Employments, and bereaved him of thoſe Gifts and Parts which once he had been accompliſhed with, being asked, *How he did?* He would ſometimes anſwer, *Alas, I have loſt every thing; my Underſtanding leaves me, my Memory fails me, my Utterance fails me; but I thank God, my Charity holds out ſtill; I find that rather grows than fails!* And I make no queſtion That at his Death, his happy Soul was received, and welcomed into the *everlaſting Habitations*, by many ſcores got thither before him, of ſuch as his *Charity* had been liberal unto.

But beſides theſe more *Subſtantial Expreſſions* of his *Charity*, he made the Odours of that *Grace* yet more fragrant unto all that were about him, by that *Pittifulneſs* and that *Peaceableneſs*, which render'd him yet further Amiable. If any of his Neighbourhood were in diſtreſs, he was like a *Brother born for their Adverſity*; he would viſit them, and comfort them with a moſt Fraternal *Sympathy*; yea, 'tis not eaſy to recount how many whole Days of *Prayer and Faſting* he has got his Neighbours to keep with him, on the Behalf of thoſe whoſe Calamities he found himſelf touched withal. It was an extreme Satisfaction to him, that his Wife had attained unto a conſiderable Skill in *Phyſick* and *Chyrurgery*, which enabled her to diſpenſe many ſafe, good, and uſeful Medicines unto the *Poor* that had occaſion for them; and ſome Hundreds of Sick and Weak and Maimed People owed Praiſes to God, for the Benefit, which therein they freely received of her. The good Gentleman her Husband, would ſtill be caſting *Oyl* into the *Flame* of that Charity, wherein ſhe was of her own accord abundantly forward thus to be *doing of good unto all*; and he would urge her to be ſerviceable unto the worſt *Enemies* that he had in the World. Never had any Man fewer Enemies than he! But once having delivered ſomething in his Miniſtry, which diſpleaſed one of his Hearers, the Man did paſſionately abuſe him for it, and this both with *Speeches* and with *Writings*, that reviled him. Yet it happening not long after, that this Man gave himſelf a very dangerous *Wound*, Mr. *Eliot* immediately ſends his Wife to cure him; who did accordingly. When the Man was well he came to thank her; but ſhe took no Rewards; and this *good Man* made him ſtay and eat with him, taking no notice of all the Calumnies with which he had loaded him; but by this Carriage he mollified and conquered the *Stomach* of his Reviler.

He was alſo a great Enemy to all *Contention*, and would ring aloud *Courfeu-Bell*, wherever he ſaw the *Fires* of Animoſity. When he heard any Miniſters complain, that ſuch and ſuch in their Flocks were too difficult for them, the ſtrain of his Anſwer ſtill was, *Brother*, *Compaſs them!* And *Brother*, *Learn the meaning of thoſe three little Words*, *Bear*, *Forbear*, *Forgive*. Yea, his Inclinations for *Peace*, indeed ſometimes almoſt made him to ſacrifice *Right* it ſelf. When there was laid before an Aſſembly of Miniſters a bundle of Papers, which contained certain Matters of Difference and Contention, between

ſome

ſome People which our *Eliot* thought ſhould rather unite, with an *Amneſty* upon all their former Quarrels, he (with ſome Imitation of what *Conſtantine* did upon the like occaſion) haſtily threw the Papers into the Fire before them all, and with a Zeal for Peace as hot as that Fire, ſaid immediately, *Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my knees this Morning, before I came among you.* Such an Exceſs (if it were one) flowed from his Charitable Inclinations to be found among thoſe *Peace makers*, which by following the Example of that Man who is *our Peace*, come to be called, *The Children of God.* Very worthily might he be called an *Irenæus*, as being all for *Peace*; and the Commendation which *Epiphanius* gives unto the Ancient of that *Name*, did belong unto our *Eliot*, he was a *moſt Bleſſed and a moſt Holy Man.* He diſliked all ſorts of *Bravery*; but yet with an ingenious Note upon the Greek Word in *Col.* 3. 15. he propounded, *That Peace might brave it among us.* In ſhort, wherever he came, it was like another old *John*, with ſolemn and earneſt Perſwaſives to *love*, and when he could ſay little elſe, he would give that Charge, *My Children, love one another!*

Finally, 'Twas his *Charity* which diſpoſed him to continual *Apprecations* for, and *Benedictions* on thoſe that he met withal; he had an *Heart* full of good *Wiſhes*, and a *Mouth* full of kind *Bleſſings* for them. And he often made his *Expreſſions* very wittily agreeable to the Circumſtances which he ſaw the Perſons in. Sometimes when he came into a *Family*, he would call for all the Young People in it, that ſo he might very *Diſtinctly* lay his Holy Hands upon every one of them, and beſpeak the Mercies of Heaven for them all.

ARTICLE V.

Some Special Attainments, that were the Effects of his Piety *and* Charity.

BUT what was the Effect of this Exemplary *Piety* and *Charity* in our *Eliot?* It will be no wonder to my Reader, if I tell him, That this good Man *walked in the Light of God's Countenance all the day long.* I believe he had a continual Aſſurance of the Divine Love, marvellouſly Sealing, Strengthening, and Refreſhing of him, for many Luſtres of Years before he died; and for this Cauſe, the *Fear of Death* was extirpated out of his Heavenly Soul, more than out of moſt Men alive. Had our Bleſſed *Jeſus* at any time ſent his Waggons to fetch this old *Jacob* away, he would have gone without the leaſt Reluctancies. Labouring once under a *Fever* and *Ague*, a Viſitant asked him, *How he did?* And he reply'd, *Very well, but anon I expect a Paroxiſm.* Said the Viſitant, Sir, *fear not*; but unto that he anſwered, *Fear! No, no; I been't afraid, I thank God, I been't afraid to die! Dying* would not have been any more to him, than Sleeping to a weary Man.

And another Excellency, which accompained this Courage and Comfort in him was, *A wonderful Reſignation to the Will of God in all events.* There were ſore *Afflictions* that ſometimes befel him; eſpecially when he follow'd ſome of his hopeful and worthy Sons two or three deſirable Preachers of the Goſpel, to their Graves. But he ſacrificed them, like another *Abraham*; with ſuch a ſacred Indifferency, as made all the Spectators to ſay, *This could not be done without the Fear of God.* Yea, he bore all his Trials with an admirable Patience, and ſeemed loth to have any *Will* of his own, that ſhould not be wholly melted and moulded into the *Will* of his *Heavenly Father.* Once being in a Boat at Sea, a larger Veſſel unhappily over run, and overſet that little one which had no ſmall Concerns, becauſe *Eliot*'s in the Bottom of it; he immediately ſunk without any Expectation of ever *going to Heaven any other way*; and when he imagined that he had but one Breath more to draw in the World, it was this, *The Will of the Lord be done!* But it was *the Will of the Lord*, that he ſhould ſurvive the danger; for he was reſcued by the help that was then at hand, and he that had long been like *Moſes* in every thing elſe, was now *drawn out of the Waters.* Which gives me opportunity to mention one Remarkable that had ſome Relation hereunto. This Accident happened in the time of our *Indian Wars*, when ſome furious *Engliſh* People that clamoured for the Extirpation of the *Praying Indians*, which were in Subjection unto us, as well as the *Pagan Indians* that were in Hoſtility againſt us, vented a very wicked Rage at our Holy *Eliot*, becauſe of his Concernment for the *Indians*, and one profane Monſter hearing how narrowly Mr. *Eliot* eſcap'd from Drowning, 'tis ſaid, he wiſh'd this Man of God had then been Drowned. But withing a few Days, that woful Man by a ſtrange Diſaſter, was Drowned in that very place where Mr. *Eliot* had received his Deliverance.

There was indeed a certain *Health of Soul* which he arriv'd unto; and he kept in a bleſſed meaſure clear of thoſe *Diſtempers* which too often diſorder the moſt of Men. But the God of Heaven favoured him with ſomething that was yet more *Extraordinary!* By getting and

and keeping near to God, and by dwelling under the Shadow of the Almighty, be contracted a more *exquiſite ſenſe* of Mind, than what is uſual among other Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; he ſometimes felt a *lively touch* of God upon his refined and exalted Spirit, which were not in any paper of ours *lawful* or *eaſy* to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a ſingular *Familiarity* with the *Holy One of Iſrael.* Hence 'twas, that as Bodies of a rare and fine Conſtitution, will *forebode* the Changes of the Weather, ſo the ſublimed Soul of our *Eliot* often had ſtrange *Forebodings* of things that were to come. I have been aſtoniſhed at ſome of his *Predictions*, that were both of a more *Perſonal*, and of a more general Application, and were follow'd with exact Accompliſhments. If he ſaid of any Affair, *I cannot bleſs it!* it was a worſe Omen to it, than the moſt inauſpicious Preſages in the World; but ſometimes after he had been with God in Prayer about a thing, he was able ſucceſsfully to foretel, *I have ſet a mark upon it, it will do well?* I ſhall never forget, That when *England* and *Holland* were plunged into the *unhappy War*, which the more ſenſible Proteſtants every where had but ſorrowful Apprehenſions of, our *Eliot* being in the height and heat of the War, privately asked, *What News we might look for next?* Anſwered unto the Suprize of the Enquirer, *Our next News will be, a Peace between the two Proteſtant Nations; God knows, I pray for it every Day; and I am verily perſwaded, we ſhall hear of it ſpeedily!* And it came to paſs accordingly.

It is to be confeſſed, That the written Word of God, is to be regarded as the perfect and only Rule of our Lives; that in all Articles of Religion, if Men *ſpeak not according to this Word, there is no light in them*; and that it is no warrantable or convenient thing for Chriſtians ordinarily to look for ſuch Inſpirations as directed the *Prophets* that were the Pen-men of the Scriptures. Neverthelefs, there are ſome uncommon *Inſtances* of Communion and Fruition, which in our Days the Soveraign God here and there favours a good Man withal; and they are very *Heavenly* Perſons, Perſons well purify'd from the *Feculencies* of Senſuality, and Perſons better purged from the *Leaven* of Envy and Malice, and intolerable Pride, than uſually thoſe vain Pretenders to Revelations, the *Quakers* are, that are made Partakers of theſe Divine Dainties. Now ſuch an one was our *Eliot*; and for this, *worthy to be had in Everlaſting Remembrance.*

It would not be improper, under this File to lodge the ſingular and ſurprizing Succeſſes of his *Prayers!* For they were ſuch, that in our Diſtreſſes we ſtill repair'd unto him, under that Encouragement, *He is a Prophet, and he ſhall pray for thee, and thou ſhalt live.* I ſhall ſingle out but one, from the many that might be mentioned.

There was a Godly Gentleman of *Charlſtown*, one Mr. *Foſter*, who with his Son, was taken Captive by *Turkiſh* Enemies. Much Prayer was employed, both privately and publickly, by the good People here, for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at laſt informed, that the Bloody Prince, in whoſe Dominions he was now a Slave, was reſolved that in his Life-time no Priſoner ſhould be relaſed; and ſo the Diſtreſſed Friends of this Priſoner now concluded, *Our Hope is loſt!* Well, upon this, Mr. *Eliot*, in ſome of his next Prayers, before a very ſolemn Congregation, very broadly beg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant* Foſter; *and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they ſay, diſmiſs him as long himſelf lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that Cruel Prince; kill him, and glorify thy ſelf upon him.* And now behold the Anſwer: The poor Captiv'd Gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a loſt Man, and brings us News, that the Prince which had hitherto held him, was come to an *Untimely Death*, by which means he was now ſet at Liberty.

PART II.

Or, ELIOT *as a* MINISTER.

ARTICLE I.

His Miniſterial Accompliſhments.

THE *Grace* of God, which we have ſeen ſo Illuſtriouſly Endowing and Adorning of our *Eliot*, as well qualify'd him for, as diſpos'd him to the Employment wherein he ſpent about *Six Decads* of his Years; which was, *The Service of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel.* This was the Work to which he apply'd himſelf; and he undertook it, I believe, with as *Right Thoughts* of it, and as *Good Ends* in it, as ever any Man in our Days was acted with. He look'd upon the Conduct of a Church, as a thing no leſs *Dangerous* than *Im-*

portant, and attended with ſo many Difficulties, Temptations, and Humiliations, as that nothing but a Call from the Son of God, could have encouraged him unto the Suſception of it. He ſaw that *Fleſh* and *Blood* would find it no very pleaſant thing, to be oblig'd unto the Overſight of a Number, that by a ſolemn Covenant ſhould be liſted among the *Voluntiers* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that it was no eaſy thing to feed the Souls of ſuch a People, and of the Children and the Neighbours, which were to be brought into the ſame *Sheepſold* with them; to bear their manners with all Patience, not being by any of their Infirmities diſcouraged from *Teaching* of them, and from *Watching* and *Praying* over them; to value them highly as *the Flock which God has purchaſed with his own Blood*, notwithſtanding all their Miſcarriages; and in all to examine the *Rule of Scripture* for the Warrant of whatever *ſhall* be done; and to remember the *Day of Judgment*, wherein an account muſt be given of all that *has* been done; having in the mean time no Expectation of the Riches and Grandeurs which accompany a *worldly Domination*. It was herewithal his Opinion, *That* (as the great *Owen* expreſſes it) *notwithſtanding all the countenance that is given to any Church by the publick Magiſtracy, yet whilſt we are in this World, thoſe who will faithfully diſcharge their Duty, as Miniſters of the Goſpel, ſhall have need to be prepared for Sufferings*; and it was in a ſenſe of theſe things that he gave himſelf up to the ſacred *Miniſtry*. A Stranger to *Regeneration* can be but poorly accompliſhed, for ſuch a Miniſtry; very truly ſays the Incomparable *Alſted*, *Impii quidam Homines egregie videntur callere* τὰ θεολογȣμενα, *revera tamen illa Cognitio Rerum Theologicarum eſt* ἀθεόλογος, *quia fieri non poteſt ut Cognitio vere Theologica, habitet in Corde non Theologo*: And however God may proſper the Sermons of ſuch a Man for the Advantage of his Church: However the Building of the Ark may be help'd on by ſuch Carpenters as periſh in the *Flood*; and the *Tyrians* may do ſome *Work* about the Temple, who arrive to no *Worſhip* in the Inner-Courts thereof, and as *Auſtin* expreſſed it, a *Stone-Cutter* may convey Water into a Garden, without having himſelf any advantage of it; Neverthelеſs, the Unſanctify'd Miniſter, how Gifted, how Able ſoever he may be, muſt have it ſtill ſaid unto him, *Thou lackeſt one thing!* And that *One Thing* our *Eliot* had. But the *One Thing* was not *All!* As indeed, it would not have been enough. God furniſhed him with a good meaſure of *Learning* too, which made him capable to *divide the Word aright*. He was a moſt Acute *Grammarian*; and underſtood very well, the Languages which God firſt wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a good Inſight into all the other *Liberal Arts*, and made little *Syſtems* of them, for the uſe of certain *Indians*, whoſe exacter Education he was deſirous of. But, above all, he had a moſt eminent Skill in *Theology*; and that which profane Scoffers reproached, as the *Diſgrace* of the Bleſſed *Alting*, all of whoſe Works always weigh down the pureſt *Gold*, was the *Honour* of our *Eliot*, namely to be *Scripturarius Theologus*, or *One mighty in the Word*; which enabled him to *convince Gainſayers*, and on many occaſions to ſhow himſelf, *A Workman that needed not be aſhamed*.

In ſhort, He came in ſome Degree, like another *Bezaleel*, or *Aholiab*, unto the Service of the *Tabernacle*. And from one Particularity in that part of his *Learning*, which lay in the Affairs of the *Tabernacle*, it was, that in a little Book of his we have thoſe Lines, which for a certain Cauſe I now tranſcribe; *Oh that the Lord would put it* (ſays he) *into the Heart of ſome of his Religious and Learned Servants, to take ſuch pains about the Hebrew Language, as to fit it for univerſal Uſe! Conſidering, that above all Languages ſpoken by the Lip of Man it is moſt capable to be enlarged, and fitted to expreſs all things, and Motions, and Notions, that our Humane Intellect is capable of in this mortal Life; conſidering alſo, that it is the Invention of God himſelf; and what one is fitter to be the univerſal Language, than that which it pleaſed our Lord Jeſus to make uſe of, when he ſpake from Heaven unto* Paul!

In fine, Tho' we have had *Greater Scholars* than he, yet *he* hath often made me think of Mr. *Samuel Ward*'s Obſervation. *In obſerving I have obſerved and found, that divers Great Clerks have had but little Fruit of their Miniſtry, but hardly any truly zealous Man of God (tho' of Leſſer Gifts) but have had much Comfort of their Labours in their own, and bordering Pariſhes; being in this likened by* Gregory, *to the Iron on the Smiths Anvil, ſparkling round about*.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE II.

His Family-Government.

THE Apoſtle *Paul*, reciting and requiring Qualifications of a *Goſpel Miniſter*, gives Order, that he be *The Husband of one Wife, and one that ruleth well his own Houſe, having his Children in ſubjection with all gravity.* It ſeems, that a Man's Carriage in his *own Houſe* is a *part*, or at leaſt a *ſign*, of his due Deportment in the *Houſe of God*; and then, I am ſure, our *Eliot*'s was very Exemplary. That *one Wife* which was given to him truly *from the Lord*, he loved, prized, cheriſhed, with a *Kindneſs* that notably repreſented the Compaſſion which he (thereby) taught his Church to expect from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and after he had lived with her for more than half an Hundred Years, he followed her to the Grave with *Lamentations* beyond thoſe, which the Jews from the figure of a Letter in the Text, affirm, that *Abraham* deplored his aged *Sarah* with; her Departure made a deeper Impreſſion upon him than what any common Affliction could. His whole Converſation with her, had that *Sweetneſs*, and that *Gravity* and *Modeſty* beautifying of it, that every one called them *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*. His Family was a little *Bethel*, for the Worſhip of God conſtantly and exactly maintained in it; and unto the daily Prayers of the Family, his manner was to prefix the *Reading* of the *Scripture*; which being done, 'twas alſo his manner to make his young People to chuſe a certain Paſſage in the Chapter, and give him ſome *Obſervation* of their own upon it. By this Method he did mightily *ſharpen* and *improve*, as well as *try*, their Underſtandings, and endeavour to make them *wiſe unto Salvation*. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in the Education of his Children, and more careful to mend any *error* in their Hearts and Lives, than he could have been to cure a *Blemiſh* in their Bodies. No *Exorbitancies* or *Extravagancies* could find a Room under his Roof, nor was his Houſe any other than a *School of Piety*; one might have there ſeen a perpetual mixture of a *Spartan* and a *Chriſtian* Diſciple. Whatever Decay there might be upon *Family-Religion* among us, as for our *Eliot*, we *knew him, that he would command his Children, and his Houſhold after him, that they ſhould keep the Way of the Lord.*

ARTICLE III.

His Way of Preaching.

SUch was he in his *leſſer Family!* And in his *greater Family*, he manifeſted ſtill more of his Regards to the Rule of a *Goſpel-Miniſtry*. To his Congregation, he was a *Preacher* that made it his Care, to *give every one their Meat in due Seaſon*. It was *Food* and not *Froth*; which in his publick Sermons, he entertained the Souls of his People with, he did not *ſtarve* them with empty and windy Speculations, or with ſuch things as *Animum non dant, quia non habent*; much leſs did he *kill* them with ſuch *Poyſon* as is too commonly expoſed by the *Arminian* and *Socinian* Doctors that have too often ſat in *Moſes*'s Chair. His way of *Preaching* was very *plain*; ſo that the very *Lambs* might wade, into his Diſcourſes on thoſe Texts and Themes, wherein *Elephants* might *ſwim*; and herewithal, it was very *powerful*, his Delivery was always very graceful and grateful; but when he was to uſe reproofs and warnings againſt any *Sin*, his Voice would riſe into a *Warmth* which had in it very much of *Energy* as well as *Decency*; he would ſound the *Trumpets* of God againſt all *Vice*, with a moſt penetrating Livelineſs, and make his Pulpit another Mount *Sinai*, for the Flaſhes of Lightning therein diſplay'd againſt the Breaches of the *Law* given upon that *Burning Mountain*. And I obſerved, that there was uſually a ſpecial Fervour in the Rebukes which he beſtow'd upon *Carnality*, a carnal Frame and Life in Profeſſors of Religion; when he was to brand the Earthly-mindedneſs of *Church-Members*, and the Allowance and the Indulgence which they often gave unto themſelves in ſenſual Delights, here he was a right *Boanerges*; he then ſpoke, as 'twas ſaid one of the Ancients did, *Quot verba tot Fulmina*, as many *Thunderbolts* as *Words*.

It was another Property of his *Preaching*, that there was evermore much of CHRIST in it; and with *Paul*, he could ſay, *I determined to know nothing but Jeſus Chriſt*; having that Bleſſed Name in his Diſcourſes, with a Frequency like that, with which *Paul* mentions it in his *Epiſtles*. As 'twas noted of Dr. *Bodly*, that whatever Subject he were upon, in the Ap-

Aaaa 2 plication

plication ſtill his Uſe of it would be, *to drive Men unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; in like manner, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt was the Loadſtone which gave a touch to all the Sermons of our *Eliot*; a Glorious, Precious, Lovely *Chriſt* was the Point of Heaven which they ſtill verged unto. From this *Inclination* it was, that altho' he Printed ſeveral *Engliſh* Books before he dy'd, yet his Heart ſeemed not ſo much in any of them, as in that ſerious and ſavoury Book of his, Entituled, *The Harmony of the Goſpels, in the Holy Hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt.* From hence alſo 'twas, that he would give that Advice to young Preachers, *Pray let there be much of Chriſt in your Miniſtry*; and when he had heard a Sermon, which had any ſpecial Reliſh of a Bleſſed Jeſus in it, he would ſay thereupon, *O bleſſed be God, that we have Chriſt ſo much and ſo well preached in poor* New-England!

Moreover, he lik'd no *Preaching*, but what had been *well ſtudied* for; and he would very much commend a Sermon which he could perceive had required ſome good *Thinking* and *Reading* in the Author of it. I have been preſent, when he has unto a Preacher then juſt come home from the Aſſembly with him, thus expreſſed himſelf, *Brother, there was Oyl required for the Service of the Sanctuary; but it muſt be beaten Oyl; I praiſe God, that I ſaw your Oyl ſo well beaten to day; the Lord help us always by good Study to beat our Oyl, that there may be no knots in our Sermons left undiſſolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the Houſe of God!* And yet he likewiſe look'd for ſomething in a Sermon beſide and beyond the meer *Study* of *Man*; he was for having the *Spirit* of *God*, breathing in it and with it; and he was for ſpeaking *thoſe* things, from *thoſe* Impreſſions and with *thoſe* Affections, which might compel the Hearer to ſay, *The Spirit of God was here!* I have heard him complain, *It is a ſad thing, when a Sermon ſhall have that one thing*, The Spirit of God *wanting in it.*

ARTICLE IV.

His Cares about the Children *of his People.*

BUT he remembred, that he had *Lambs* in his *Flock*, and like another *David* he could not endure to ſee the Lion ſeize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern upon his Mind for *little Children*; 'twas an Affectionate Stroke in of the *little Papers* which he publiſhed for them, *Sure Chriſt is not willing to loſe his Lambs*; and I have cauſe to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous Application, he addreſs'd himſelf, when in the Name of the Neighbour Paſtors and Churches he gave me, *The Right Hand of their Fellowſhip*, at my *Ordination*, and ſaid, *Brother, Art thou a Lover of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt? Then, I pray Feed his Lambs.*

One thing whereof he was very deſirous for poor *Children*, was the *Covenanting* of them; he was very ſollicitous that the *Lambs* might paſs under the Lord's *Tything Rod*, and be brought under *the Bond of the Covenant*. He very openly and earneſtly maintained the cauſe of *Infant-Baptiſm*, againſt a ſort of Perſons riſen ſince the *Reformation*, (among which indeed there are many godly Men, that were dear to the Soul of our *Eliot*) who forget that in the Goſpel Church-ſtate as well as in the *Jewiſh*, *The Promiſe is to Believers and their Children*: And are unwilling to reckon *Children* among the *Diſciples* of Jeſus Chriſt: Or to grant, *That of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven*: Or to know, That the moſt undoubted Records of Antiquity affirm *Infant-Baptiſm* to have been an Uſage in all the Primitive Churches; That even before the early Days of *Nazianzen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Baſil*, *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius*, in the Greek, and *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, *Auſtin*, in the Latin Church, all of which give Glorious Teſtimonies for *Infant-Baptiſm*, even *Cyprian*, before theſe aſſures us, that in his Days there was no doubt of it; and *Origen* before him could ſay, *'Twas from the Apoſtles that the Church took up the Baptiſm of Infants*; and *Clemens Romanus* before him could ſay, *That Children ſhould be Recipients of the Diſcipline of Chriſt*; beſides what plain Evidence we have in *Irenæus* and *Juſtin Martyr*; and that the very Arguments with which ſome of the Ancients did ſuperſtitiouſly adviſe the Delay of *Baptiſm*, do at the ſame time confeſs the *Divine Right* of *Infants* in it. Our *Eliot* could by no means look upon the *Infants* of Godly Men, as *Unholy*, and *Unbelievers*, and unfit Subjects to have upon them a *Mark* of Dedication to the Lord.

Wherefore, when there was brought among us a Book of Pious Mr. *Norcot's*, whereby ſome became diſpoſed to, or confirmed in, a Prejudice againſt *Pædo Baptiſm*, it was not long before Mr. *Eliot* publiſhed a little Anſwer thereunto, the firſt Lines whereof preſently diſcover what a Temper he writ it with; ſays he, *The Book ſpeaks with the Voice of a Lamb, and I think the Author is a Godly, though Erring Brother; but he acts the Cauſe of a Roaring Lion,* who

who by all crafty ways, ſeeketh to devour the poor Lambs of the Flock of Chriſt. And ſo he goes on to plead the Cauſe of them that *cannot ſpeak for themſelves.* No Man could entertain a Perſon of a different Perſwaſion from himſelf, with more Sweetneſs and Kindneſs than he, when he ſaw, *Aliquid Chriſti*, or the Fear of God prevailing in them; he could uphold a moſt intimate Correſpondence with ſuch a Man, as Mr. *Jeſſey*, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an *Hammer* upon their unhappy Errors.

But having once *Baptized* the Children of his Neighbours, he did not as too many Miniſters do, think, that he had now done with them. No, another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor *Children* was, the *Catechiſing* of them; he kept up the great Ordinance of *Catechiſing*, both publickly and privately, and ſpent in it a World of time. About the end of the *Second Century*, before there had in the leaſt begun to ſtart up *New Officers* in the Church of God, we find there were Perſons called unto the Office of *Publick Teaching*, who were not Paſtors, not Rulers, not called unto the Adminiſtration of other Ordinances; *thoſe* in the Church of *Alexandria*, were of a ſpecial Remark and Renown for their Abilities this way; and their Employment was to *Explain* and *Defend* the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, unto all with whom they could be concerned. Here was the *Catechiſt*, with reference unto whom the Apoſtle ſays, *Let the Catechiſed communicate unto him in all good things*, Now tho' ſome think, a *Teacher* purely as ſuch, hath no Right unto further Church Adminiſtrations, any more than the *Rabbi's* or *Doctors* among the *Jews*, had to *Offer Sacrifices in the Temple*; yet he who is called to be a *Teacher*, may at the ſame time alſo be called to be an *Elder*, and being now a *Teaching Elder*, he becomes intereſted in the whole Government of the Church, he has the Power of all Sacred Adminiſtrations. 'Tis the latter and more compleat and perfect Character, which the Churches of *New-England* have ſtill acknowledged in their *Teachers*; and ſuch a *Teaching Elder* did our *Eliot* remember himſelf to be. He thought himſelf under a particular Obligation to be that *Officer*, which the Apoſtle calls in 1 Cor. 4. 15. *An Inſtructor of the Young*; nor was he aſhamed, any more than ſome of the Worthieſt Men among the Ancients were, to be called, *A Catechiſt.* He would obſerve upon Joh. 21. 15. That *the care of the Lambs, is one third part of the charge over the Church of God.* It would be incredible if I ſhould relate what pains he took to keep up the Bleſſed *Echo's* of Truth, between himſelf and the young People of his Congregation; and what Prudence he uſed, in ſuiting of his *Catechiſms* to the Age and Strength of his little *Catechumens.* But one thing I muſt obſerve, which is, That altho' there may be (as one has computed) no leſs than five Hundred *Catechiſms* extant, yet Mr. *Eliot* gave himſelf the Travail of adding to their Number, by compoſing of ſome further *Catechiſms*, which were more particularly deſigned as an Antidote for his own People, againſt the Contagion of ſuch *Errors* as might threaten any peculiar Danger to them. And the *Effect* and *Succeſs* of this *Catechiſing*, bore Proportion to the indefatigable Induſtry with which he proſecuted it; it is a *well principled People* that he has left behind him. As when certain *Jeſuits* were ſent among the *Waldenſes* to corrupt their Children, they returned with much Diſappointment and Confuſion, becauſe the Children of ſeven Years old were well-principled enough to encounter the moſt Learned of them all; ſo, if any *Seducers* were let looſe to *wolve* it among the good People of *Roxbury*, I am confident, they would find as little *Prey* in that well-inſtructed Place, as in any part of all the Country; no *Civil Penalties* would ſignify ſo much to ſave *any* People from the Snares of *buſy Hereticks*, as the unwearied Catechiſing of one *Eliot* has done to preſerve his People from the Gangren of ill Opinions.

There is a Third Inſtance of his Regards to the Welfare of the poor *Children* under his Charge; and that is, his perpetual Reſolution and Activity to ſupport a good *School* in the Town that belong'd unto him. A Grammar-*School* he would always have, upon the Place, whatever it coſt him; and he importun'd all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the *Ardour* with which I once heard him pray, in a *Synod* of theſe Churches, which met at *Boſton* to conſider, *How the Miſcarriages which were among us might be prevented*; I ſay, with what Fervour he uttered an Expreſſion to this purpoſe, *Lord, for Schools every where among us! That our Schools may flouriſh! That every Member of this Aſſembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives! That before we die, we may be ſo happy as to ſee a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country.* God ſo bleſſed his Endeavours, that *Roxbury* could not live quietly without a *Free School* in the Town; and the Iſſue of it has been one thing, which has made me almoſt put the Title of *Schola Illuſtris* upon that little Nurſery; that is, that *Roxbury* has afforded more *Scholars*, firſt for the *College*, and then for the *Publick*, than any Town of its Bigneſs, or if I miſtake not, of twice its Bigneſs in all *New-England.* From the *Spring* of the School at *Roxbury*, there have run a large Number of the *Streams, which have made glad this whole City of God.* I perſwade my ſelf, that the good People of *Roxbury*, will for ever ſcorn to begrutch the *Coſt*, or to permit the *Death* of a *School* which God has made ſuch an Honour to them; and this the rather, becauſe their Deceaſed *Eliot* has left them a fair part of his own Eſtate, for the maintaining of the School in *Roxbury*; and I hope, or at leaſt, I wiſh, that the Miniſters of *New-England* may be as ungainſayably importunate

tunate

tunate with their People, as Mr. *Eliot* was with his, for *Schools* which may ſeaſonably tinge the Young Souls of the *Riſing Generation*. A Want of Education for them, is the blackeſt and ſaddeſt of all the bad *Omens* that are upon us.

ARTICLE V.

His Church-Diſcipline.

IT yet more endears unto us the Memory of our *Eliot*, that he was not only an *Evangelical* Miniſter, but alſo a true *New-Engliſh* one; he was a *Proteſtant*, and a *Puritan*, and one very full of that Spirit which acted the firſt Planters of this Country, in their *peaceable Seceſſion* from the unwarrantable things elſewhere impos'd upon their Conſciences. The *Judgment* and *Practice* of one that readily underwent all the Miſery attending the Infancy of this Plantation, for the ſake of a true *Church Order*, is a thing which we young People ſhould count worthy to be enquired after; and ſince we ſaw him ſo well *behaving himſelf in the Houſe of God*, it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the Frame and Form, and Conſtitution of that Bleſſed *Houſe*.

He was a modeſt, humble, but very reaſonable *Nonconformiſt* unto the *Ceremonies*, which have been ſuch unhappy Apples of Strife in the Church of *England*; otherwiſe the diſmal Thickets of *America*, had never ſeen ſuch a Perſon in them.

It afflicted him to ſee theſe, and more ſuch as theſe, things continued in the Church of *England*, by the Artifice of certain Perſons who were loth to have the Reformation carried on unto thoſe further Degrees which the moſt Eminent of the *firſt Reformers* had in their Holy Deſigns.

We ſee what *was not* his Opinion! But let us hear what it was. It was his as well as his Maſter, the great *Ramus*'s Principle, *that in the Reformation of Churches, to be now endeavoured, things ought to be reduced unto the Order wherein we find them at their Primitive, Original, Apoſtolical Inſtitution.* And in purſuance of this Principle, he juſtly eſpouſed that way of *Church-Government*, which we call *the Congregational*; he was fully perſwaded, that the *Church-ſtate* which our Lord Chriſt hath inſtituted in the New-Teſtament, is, *In a Congregation or Society of Profeſſed Believers, Agreeing and Aſſembling together among themſelves, with Officers, of Divine Appointment, for the Celebration of Evangelical Ordinances, and their own mutual Edification*; for he ſaw it muſt be a *cruel Hardſhip* uſed upon the Scriptures, to make them ſo much as liſp the leaſt Intimation of any other *Church-ſtate* preſcribed unto us; and he could aſſert, *That no Approved Writers, for the Space of two Hundred Years after Chriſt, make any mention of any other Organical, Viſible, Profeſſing Church, but that onely which is Congregational.* He look'd upon the *Congregational way* as a Largeſs of Divine Bounty beſtow'd by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt on his People, that followed him into this Wilderneſs, with a peculiar Zeal for Communion with him, in his pure Worſhip here. He perceived in it, a ſweet ſort of *Temperament*, between *Rigid Presbyterianiſm*, and *Levelling Browniſm*; ſo that on the one ſide, the *Liberties* of the People are not oppreſſed and overlaid; on the other ſide, the Authority of the Elders is not rendred inſignificant, but a due Ballance is herein kept upon them both; and hence he cloſed with our *Platform of Church-Diſcipline*, as being the neareſt of what he had yet ſeen, to the Directions of Heaven.

He could not comprehend, that this *Church-ſtate* can ariſe from any other *Formal Cauſe*, but the Conſent, Concurrence, Confederation of thoſe concerned in it; he looked upon a Relation unto a Church, as not a *Natural*, or a *Violent*, but a *Voluntary* thing, and ſo that it is to be entred no otherwiſe than by an Holy *Covenant*, or as the Scripture ſpeaks, by *giving our ſelves firſt unto the Lord, and then one unto another.* He could not think, that *Baptiſm* alone was to be accounted the *Cauſe*, but rather the *Effect*, of Church Member-ſhip; inaſmuch as upon the Diſſolution of the Church to which a Man belongs, his *Baptiſm* would not become a Nullity: Nor that meer *Profeſſion* would render Men *Members* of this or that *Church*; for then it would be impoſſible to cut off a corrupt Member from that Body Politic: Nor that meer *Cohabitation* would make *Church-Members*; for then the vileſt Infidels would be actually incorporated with us. And a *Covenant*, was all that he now ſaw remaining in the *Inventory*.

But for the *Subjects* to be admitted by *Churches* unto all the Privileges of this Fellowſhip with them he thought, they ought to be ſuch as a *trying Charity*, or a *charitable Tryal*, ſhould pronounce *Regenerate*. He found the *firſt Churches* of the Goſpel mentioned in the Scripture, to be *Churches of Saints*; and that the Apoſtles writing to them, ſtill acknowledge them to be *Holy Brethren*, and ſuch as were made *meet for to be partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*; and that a main end of *Church fellowſhip*,

lowſhip, is to repreſent unto the World, the Qualifications of thoſe that ſhall *Aſcend into the Hill of the Lord, and ſtand in his Holy Place for ever.* He would therefore have *Bona Mens*, and *Purum pectus*, and *Vita Innocens*, required, as *Lactantius* tells us, they were in his Days, of all Communicants at the Table of the Lord: And with Holy *Chryſoſtom*, he would ſooner have given his *Heart-blood*, than the *Cup of the Lord*, unto ſuch as had not the hopeful Marks of our Lord's Diſciples on them. The Churches of *New England* ſtill retain a Cuſtom which the Great *Juſtin Martyr*, in the Second Century, aſſures us to have been in the Primitive Churches of his Time; namely, *To Examine thoſe they Receive, not only about their Perſwaſion, but alſo whether they have attained unto a Work of Grace upon their Souls.* In the Proſecution hereof, beſides the Enquiries of the *Elders* into the *Knowledge*, and *Belief*, and *Converſation* of them that offer themſelves unto Church-fellowſhip, it is expected, tho' I hope not with any Severity of Impoſition, that in the Addreſſes which they make to the Churches, they give *Written*, if not *Oral* Account, of what Impreſſions the Regenerating Word of God has had upon their Souls. This was a *Cuſtom* which this Holy Man had a marvellous Eſteem and Value for; and I have taken from his Mouth ſuch as theſe Expreſſions very publickly delivered thereabouts.

‘It is matter (ſaid he) of great Thankfulneſs, that we have *Chriſt Confeſſed* in our Churches, by ſuch as we receive to full Communion there. They open the Works of *Chriſt* in their Hearts, and the *Relation* thereof is an eminent *Confeſſion* of our Lord; experienced Saints can gather more than a little from it. It is indeed an Ordinance of wonderful Benefit; the Lord planted many *Vineyards* in the firſt Settlement of this Country, and there were many *Noble Vines* in them; it was their *Heavenly mindedneſs* which diſpos'd them to this Exerciſe, and by the upholding of it, the Churches are ſtill filled with *Noble Vines*; it mightily maintains Purity of Churches. 'Tis the Duty of every Chriſtian, *With the Mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation.* As among the *Jews*, uſually moſt Men did *once* in their Life, celebrate a *Jubilee*; thus, this Confeſſion of Chriſt, is methinks, a ſort of *Jubilee*; and every good Man among us, is at leaſt *once* in his Life call'd unto it. It is a thing that gives great *Glory* to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and *younger Converts* are thereby exceedingly edify'd; and the Souls of *Devout Chriſtians* are hereby very much ingratiated one unto another. The *Devil* knows what he does, when he thruſt ſo hard to get this Cuſtom out of our Churches. For my part, I would ſay in this Caſe, *Get thee behind me Satan*; *thou giveſt an horrible Offence unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Let us keep up this Ordinance with all *Gentleneſs*; and where we ſee the leaſt ſpark of *Grace* held forth, let us prize it more than all the *Wit* in the World.

There were eſpecially two things, which he was loth to *ſee*, and yet fear'd he *ſaw*, falling in the Churches of *New-England*. One was, A thorough Eſtabliſhment of *Ruling Elders* in our Churches; which he thought ſufficiently warranted by the Apoſtles mention of, *Elders that rule well, who yet labour not in Word and Doctrine.* He was very deſirous to have prudent and gracious Men ſet over our Churches, for the Aſſiſtance of their *Paſtors*, in the Church acts that concern the *Admiſſion* and *Excluſion* of Members, and the *Inſpection* of the Converſation led by the Communicant, and the *Inſtruction* of their ſeveral Families, and the *Viſitation* of the Afflicted in their Flock, over which they ſhould preſide. Such *Helps in Governments* had he himſelf been bleſſed withal; the laſt of which was the well-deſerving Elder *Bowles*; and of him, did this good Man, in a Speech to a *Synod* of all the Churches in this Colony, take occaſion to ſay, *There is my Brother* Bowles, *the godly Elder of our Church at* Roxbury, *God helps him to do great things among us!* Had all our *Paſtors* been ſo well accommodated, it is poſſible there would be more Encouragement given to ſuch an Office as that of *Ruling Elders*.

But the mention of a *Synod* brings to mind another thing, which he was concerned, that we might never want; and that is, a frequent Repetition of *Needful Synods* in our Churches. For tho' he had a deep and a due Care to preſerve the *Rights of particular Churches*, yet he thought all the Churches of the Lord Jeſus by their *Union* in what they *profeſs*, in what they *intend*, and in what they *enjoy*, ſo compacted into one *Body Myſtical*, as that all the ſeveral *particular Churches* every where ſhould *act* with a regard unto the good of the whole, and unto the common *Advice* and *Council* of the Neighbourhood; which cannot be done always by *Letters miſſive*, like thoſe that paſſed between *Corinth* and *Rome* in the early days of Chriſtianity; but it requires a Convention of the Churches in *Synods*, by their *Delegates* and *Meſſengers*. He did not count Churches to be ſo *Independent*, as that they can always diſcharge their whole Duty, and yet not act in a Conjunction with Neighbour-Churches; nor would he be of any Church that will not acknowledge it ſelf *accountable* to rightly compoſed *Synods*, which may have occaſion to enquire into the Circumſtances of it; he ſaw the main *Intereſt* and *Buſineſs* of Churches might quickly come to be utterly loſt, if *Synods* were not often called for the Repairing of Inconveniences, and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of ſuch Aſſemblies.

He wiſh'd for *Councils* to ſuppreſs all damnable Hereſies, or pernicious Opinions, that might ever ariſe among us; for *Councils* to extinguiſh all dangerous Diviſions, and ſcandalous Contentions which might ever begin to flame in our Borders; for *Councils* to rectify all Male-Adminiſtrations in the midſt of us, or to Recover any particular Churches out of any Diſorders which they may be plung'd into:

For

For *Councils* to enquire into the Love, the Peace, the Holineſs maintained by the ſeveral Churches; in fine, for *Councils* to ſend forth fit *Labourers* into thoſe Parts of our Lord's *Harveſt*, which are without the Goſpel of God. He beheld an Apoſtolical Precept and Pattern for ſuch *Councils*; and when ſuch *Councils* convened in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the conſent of ſeveral Churches concerned in mutual Communion, have Declared, Explained, Recommended the Mind of God from his word unto us, he reckoned a Truth ſo delivered, challenged an Obſervation from the particular Churches, with a very great *Authority*.

He therefore Printed a little Book wearing this Title, *The Divine Management of Goſpel-Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, conſtituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting thoſe two holy and eminent Parties, the* Presbyterians *and the* Congregational. It is a Remarkable Conceſſion made by the Incomparable *Jurieu* who is not reckoned a *Congregational* Man, in his *Traite de L'Unite de L'Egliſe*, That the *Apoſtolical Churches lived not in any Confederation for mutual Dependence. The grand Equipage of Metropolitans, of Primates, of Exarchs, of Patriarchs, was yet unknown; nor does it any more appear to us, that the Churches then had their Provincial, National, and Oecumenical Synods; every Church was its own Miſtreſs, and independent on any other*. But on the other ſide, our *Eliot*, who was no *Presbyterian*, conceived *Synods* to be the Inſtitutions of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the *Apoſtolical Churches themſelves* acknowledging a Stamp of *Divine Right* upon them.

Such as theſe were the Sentiments of our *Eliot*; and his deſerved Reputation in the Churches of *New-England*, is that which has cauſed me to foreſee ſome Advantage and Benefit ariſing unto the Concerns of the Goſpel, by ſo large a Recitation as I have now made thereof.

The Reader has now ſeen, *An Able Miniſter of the New-Teſtament*.

PART III.

Or, ELIOT *as an* EVANGELIST.

THE Titles of a *Chriſtian* and of a *Miniſter*, have rendred our *Eliot* conſiderable; but there is one memorable Title more, by which he has been ſignalized unto us. An Honourable Perſon did once in Print put the Name of an *Evangeliſt* upon him; whereupon in a Letter of his to that Perſon afterwards Printed, his Expreſſions were, 'There is a *Redundancy*, 'where you put the Title of *Evangeliſt* upon 'me; I beſeech you to ſuppreſs all ſuch things; 'let us do and ſpeak and carry all things with 'Humility; it is the Lord who hath done what 'is done; and it is moſt becoming the Spirit 'of Jeſus Chriſt to lift up him, and lay our 'ſelves low; I wiſh that Word could be obli'terated. My Reader ſees what a Caution Mr. *Eliot* long ſince entred againſt our giving him the Title of an *Evangeliſt*; but his *Death* has now made it ſafe, and his *Life* had long made it juſt, for us to acknowledge him with ſuch a Title. I know not whether that of an *Evangeliſt*, or one ſeparated for the Employment of Preaching the Goſpel in ſuch Places whereunto Churches have hitherto been gathered, be not an *Office* that ſhould be continued in our Days; but this I know, that our *Eliot* very notably did the *Service* and *Buſineſs* of ſuch an Officer.

Cambden could not reach the Heighth of his Conceit, who bore in his *Shield* a Salvage of *America*, with his Hand pointing to the *Sun*, and this Motto, *Mihi Acceſſu, Tibi Receſſu*. Reader, Prepare to behold this *Device* Illuſtrated!

¶ The Natives of the Country now Poſſeſſed by the *New-Englanders*, had been forlorn and wretched *Heathen* ever ſince their firſt herding here; and tho' we know not *When* or *How* thoſe *Indians* firſt became Inhabitants of this mighty Continent, yet we may gueſs that probably the Devil decoy'd thoſe miſerable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Goſpel of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt would never come here to deſtroy or diſturb his *Abſolute Empire* over them. But our *Eliot* was in ſuch ill Terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with ſounding the *Silver Trumpets* of Heaven in his Territories, and make ſome Noble and Zealous Attempts towards outing him of his Ancient Poſſeſſions here. There were, I think, Twenty ſeveral *Nations* (if I may call them ſo) of *Indians* upon that ſpot of Ground, which fell under the Influence of our *Three United Colonies*; and our *Eliot* was willing to reſcue as many of them as he could, from that old uſurping *Landlord* of *America*, who is *by the Wrath of God, the Prince of this World*.

I cannot find that any beſides the Holy Spirit of God, firſt moved him to the bleſſed Work of

of *Evangelizing* theſe periſhing *Indians*; 'twas that Holy Spirit which laid before his Mind the Idea of that which was on the *Seal* of the Maſſachuſet Colony; *A poor Indian having a Label going from his Mouth, with a*, COME OVER AND HELP US. It was the Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which enkindled in him a *Pitty* for the dark Souls of theſe Natives, whom the *God of this World had blinded*, through all the By-paſt Ages. He was none of thoſe that make, *The Salvation of the Heathen*, an Article of their *Creed*; but (ſetting aſide the unrevealed and extraordinary Steps which the *Holy one of Iſrael* may take out of his *uſual Paths*) he thought men to be *loſt* if our *Goſpel* be hidden from them; and he was of the ſame Opinion with one of the Ancients, who ſaid, *Some have endeavoured to prove* Plato *a Chriſtian, till they prove themſelves little better than Heathens*. It is indeed a Principle in the Turkiſh *Alcoran*, That *Let a Man's Religion be what it will, he ſhall be ſaved, if he conſcientiouſly live up to the Rules of it*: But our *Eliot* was no *Mahometan*. He could moſt heartily ſubſcribe to that Paſſage in the Articles of the Church of *England*. 'They are to 'be held accurſed, who preſume to ſay, that 'every Man ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect 'which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to 'frame his Life according to that Law, and 'Light of Nature; for Holy Scripture doth ſet 'out unto us, only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, 'whereby Men muſt be ſaved. And it aſtoniſhed him to ſee many diſſembling Subſcribers of thoſe Articles, while they have grown up to ſuch a *Phrenſy*, as to deny peremptorily all *Church ſtate*, and all *Salvation* to all that are not under *Dioceſan Biſhops*, yet at the ſame time to grant that the *Heathen* might be ſaved without the Knowledge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

But when this Charitable Pitty had once begun to flame, there was a Concurrence of many things to caſt *Oyl* into it. All the good Men in the Country were glad of his Engagement in ſuch an Undertaking; the *Miniſters* eſpecially encouraged him, and thoſe in the Neighbourhood kindly ſupply'd his place, and perform'd his Work in part, for him at *Roxbury*, while he was *Abroad* labouring among them that were *without*. Hereunto, he was further awakened by thoſe Expreſſions in the *Royal Charter*, in the Aſſurance and Protection whereof this Wilderneſs was firſt Peopled; namely, *To win and incite the* Natives *of that Country to the Knowledge and Obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind, and the Chriſtian Faith, in our Royal Intention, and the Adventurers free Profeſſion is the principal end of the Plantation*. And the Remarkable Zeal of the Romiſh Miſſionaries *compaſſing Sea and Land, that they might make Proſelytes*, made his Devout Soul think of it with a further Diſdain, that we ſhould come any whit behind in our Care to Evangelize the *Indians*, whom we dwelt among. Laſtly, when he had well begun this *Evangelical Buſineſs*, the good God, in an Anſwer to his Prayers, mercifully ſtirred up a liberal Contribution among the Godly People in *England* for the promoting of it; by means whereof, a conſiderable *Eſtate* and *Income* was at length entruſted in the hands of an Honourable *Corporation*, by whom 'tis to this Day very carefully employ'd in the Chriſtian Service, which it was deſigned for. And then, in ſhort, inaſmuch as our Lord Jeſus had beſtow'd on us, our *Eliot* was gratefully and generouſly deſirous to obtain for him, *The Heathen for an Inheritance, and the utmoſt parts of the Earth for a Poſſeſſion.*

The exemplary *Charity* of this excellent Perſon in this important Affair, will not be ſeen in its due Luſtres, unleſs we make ſome Reflections upon ſeveral Circumſtances which he beheld theſe forlorn *Indians* in. Know then, that theſe doleful Creatures are the verieſt *Ruines of Mankind*, which are to be found any where upon the Face of the Earth. No ſuch *Eſtates* are to be expected among them, as have been the *Baits* which the pretended *Converters* in other Countries have ſnapped at. One might ſee among them, what an *hard Maſter* the Devil is, to the moſt devoted of his *Vaſſals!* Theſe abject Creatures, live in a Country full of *Mines*; we have already made entrance upon our *Iron*; and in the very Surface of the Ground among us, 'tis thought there lies *Copper* enough to ſupply all this World; beſides other Mines hereafter to be expoſed; but our ſhiftleſs *Indians* were never Owners of ſo much as a *Knife*, till we come among them; their Name for an *Engliſh-man* was a *Knife-man*; Stone was inſtead of Metal for their *Tools*; and for their *Coins*, they have only little *Beads* with Holes in them to ſtring them upon a *Bracelet*, whereof ſome are *white*; and of theſe there go ſix for a Penny; ſome are *black* or *blew*; and of theſe, go *three* for a Penny; this *Wampam*, as they call it, is made of the *Shell-fiſh*, which lies upon the Sea Coaſt continually.

The live in a Country, where *we* now have all the Conveniencies of human Life: But as for *them*, their *houſing* is nothing but a few *Mats* ty'd about *Poles* faſtened in the Earth, where a good *Fire* is their *Bed-Clothes* in the coldeſt Seaſons; their *Clothing* is but a Skin of a Beaſt, covering their *Hind-parts*, their *Fore-parts* having but a little Apron, where Nature calls for Secrecy; their *Diet* has not a greater Dainty than their *Nokehick*, that is a ſpoonful of their *parch'd meal*, with a ſpoonful of *Water*, which will ſtrengthen them to travel a Day together; except we ſhould mention the Fleſh of *Deers*, *Bears*, *Moſe*, *Rackoons*, and the like, which they have when they can *catch* them; as alſo a little *Fiſh*, which if they would preſerve, 'twas by *drying*, not by *ſalting*; for they had not a grain of *Salt* in the World, I think, till we beſtow'd it on them. Their *Phyſick* is, excepting a few odd *Specificks*, which ſome of them Encounter certain Caſes with, nothing hardly, but an *Hot-Houſe*, or a

Powaw; their *Hot-Houſe* is a little *Cave* about eight foot over, where after they have terribly heated it, a Crew of them go ſit and ſweat and ſmoke for an Hour together, and then immediately run into ſome very cold adjacent Brook, without the leaſt Miſchief to them; 'tis this way they recover themſelves from ſome Diſeaſes, particularly from the *French*; but in moſt of their dangerous Diſtempers, 'tis a *Powaw* that muſt be ſent for; that is, a *Prieſt*, who has more Familiarity with Satan than his Neighbours; this Conjurer comes and Roars, and Howls, and uſes Magical Ceremonies over the Sick Man, and will be well paid for it, when he has done; if this don't effect the Cure, the *Man's Time is come, and there's an end.*

They live in a Country full of the beſt *Ship-Timber* under Heaven: But never ſaw a *Ship*, till ſome came from *Europe* hither; and then they were ſcar'd out of their Wits, to ſee the *Monſter* come ſailing in, and ſpitting Fire with a mighty noiſe, out of her floating ſide; they croſs the Water in *Canoo's*, made ſometimes of *Trees*, which they burn and hew, till they have hollow'd them; and ſometimes of *Barks*, which they ſtitch into a light ſort of a Veſſel, to be eaſily carried over Land; if they over-ſet, it is but a little paddling like a Dog, and they are ſoon where they were.

Their way of living, is infinitely Barbarous: The Men are moſt abominably *ſlothful*; making their poor *Squaws*, or Wives, to plant and dreſs, and barn, and beat their Corn, and build their *Wigwams* for them; which perhaps may be the reaſon of their extraordinary Eaſe in Childbirth. In the mean time, their chief Employment, when they'll *condeſcend* unto any, is that of *Hunting*; wherein they'll go out ſome ſcores, if not Hundreds of them in a Company, driving all before them.

They continue in a Place, till they have burnt up all the *Wood* thereabouts, and then they pluck up Stakes; to follow the *Wood*, which they cannot fetch home unto themſelves; hence when they enquire about the *Engliſh*, *Why come they hither!* They have themſelves very Learnedly determined the Caſe, *'Twas becauſe we wanted Firing.* No *Arts* are underſtood among them, unleſs juſt ſo far as to maintain their Brutiſh Converſation, which is little more than is to be found among the very *Bevers* upon our Streams.

Their Diviſion of Time is by *Sleeps*, and *Moons*, and *Winters*; and by lodging abroad, they have ſomewhat obſerved the Motions of the *Stars*; among which it has been ſurpriſing unto me to find, that they have always call'd *Charles's Wain* by the Name of *Paukunnawaw*, or *The Bear*, which is the Name whereby *Europeans* alſo have diſtinguiſhed it. Moreover, they have little, if any *Traditions* among them worthy of our Notice; and *Reading* and *Writing* is altogether unknown to them, tho' there is a Rock or two in the Country that has unaccountable Characters Engrav'd upon it. All the *Religion* they have amounts unto thus much; they believe, that there are many *Gods*, who made and own the ſeveral Nations of the World; of which a certain *Great God* in the South-Weſt Regions of Heaven bears the greateſt Figure. They believe, that every remarkable Creature has a peculiar *God* within it, or about it: There is with them, a *Sun God*, a *Moon God*, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the Fire muſt be a kind of a *God*, inaſmuch as a *Spark* of it will ſoon produce very ſtrange effects. They believe that when any Good or Ill happens to them, there is the Favour or the Anger of a *God* expreſſed in it; and hence as in a Time of Calamity, they keep a *Dance*, or a Day of extravagant ridiculous Devotions to their God, ſo in a Time of Proſperity they likewiſe have a *Feaſt*, wherein they alſo make Preſents one unto another. Finally, they believe, that their chief God *Kautantowit*, made a Man and Woman of a *Stone*; which, upon Diſlike, he broke to pieces, and made another Man and Woman of a *Tree*, which were the Fountains of all Mankind; and that we all have in us Immortal *Souls*, which if we were godly, ſhall go to a ſplendid Entertainment with *Kautantowit*, but otherwiſe muſt wander about in a reſtleſs Horror for ever. But if you ſay to them any thing of a *Reſurrection*, they will reply upon you, *I ſhall never believe it!* And when they have any weighty Undertaking before them, 'tis an uſual thing for them to have their Aſſemblies, wherein after the uſage of ſome Diabolical *Rites*, a *Devil* appears unto them, to inform them and adviſe them about their Circumſtances; and ſometimes there are odd Events of their making theſe Applications to the *Devil.* For inſtance, 'tis particularly affirmed, That the *Indians* in their Wars with us, finding a ſore Inconvenience by our *Dogs*, which would make a ſad yelling if in the Night they ſcented the Approaches of them, they ſacrificed a *Dog* to the Devil; after which no *Engliſh* Dog would bark at an *Indian* for divers Months enſuing. This was the miſerable People, which our *Eliot* propounded unto himſelf, to teach and ſave! And he had a double Work incumbent on him; he was to make Men of them, e'er he could hope to ſee them *Saints*; they muſt be *civilized* e'er they could be *Chriſtianized*; he could not, as *Gregory* once of our Nation, ſee any thing *Angelical* to beſpeak his Labours for their Eternal Welfare, all among them was *Diabolical.* To think on raiſing a Number of theſe hideous Creatures, unto the *Elevations* of our Holy Religion, muſt argue more than common or little Sentiments in the Undertaker; but the Faith of an *Eliot* could encounter it!

I confeſs, that was one, I cannot call it ſo much *gueſs* as *wiſh*, wherein he was willing a little to indulge himſelf; and that was, *That our* Indians *are the Poſterity of the diſperſed and rejected* Iſraelites, *concerning* whom our God has promiſed that they ſhall yet *be ſaved, by the Deliverer coming to turn away Ungodlineſs from them.* He ſaw the *Indians* uſing many *Parables* in their Diſcourſes; much given to anointing of their *Heads*; much delighted in *Dancing*, eſpecially after

after Victories, computing their Times by *Nights* and *Months*; giving *Dowries* for Wives, and cauſing their Women to *dwell by themſelves*, at certain Seaſons, for ſecret Cauſes; and accuſtoming themſelves to grievous *Mournings* and *Yellings* for the Dead; all which were uſual things among the *Iſraelites*. They have too a great unkindneſs for our *Swine*; but I ſuppoſe that is becauſe our *Hogs* devour the *Clams* which are a Dainty with them. He alſo ſaw ſome learned Men, looking for the loſt *Iſraelites* among the *Indians* in *America*, and counting that they had *thorow good* Reaſons for doing ſo. And a few ſmall *Arguments*, or indeed but *Conjectures*, meeting with a favourable Diſpoſition in the Hearer, will carry ſome Conviction with them; eſpecially, if a Report of a *Menaſſeh ben Iſrael* be to back them. He ſaw likewiſe the *Judgments* threatned unto the *Iſraelites* of old, ſtrangely fulfilled upon our *Indians*; particularly that *Ye ſhall eat the fleſh of your ſons*, which is done with exquite Cruelties upon the Priſoners that they take from one another in their Battels. Moreover, 'tis a Propheſy in Deut. 28. 68. *The Lord ſhall bring thee into Egypt again with Ships, by the way whereof I ſpake unto thee, Thou ſhalt ſee it no more again; and there ſhall ye be ſold unto your Enemies, and no Man ſhall buy you.* This did our *Eliot* imagine accompliſhed, when the Captives taken by us in our late *Wars* upon them, were ſent to be ſold, in the Coaſts lying not very remote from *Egypt* on the *Mediterranean* Sea, and ſcarce any Chapmen would offer to take them off. Being upon ſuch as theſe accounts not unwilling, if it were poſſible, to have the *Indians* found *Iſraelites*, they were, you may be ſure, not a whit the leſs *Beloved for their* (ſuppoſed) *Father's ſake*; and the Fatigues of his Travails went on the more *chearfully*, or at leaſt, the more *hopefully*, becauſe of ſuch Poſſibilities.

The *Firſt Step* which he judg'd neceſſary now to be taken by him, was to learn the *Indian* Language; for he ſaw them ſo ſtupid and ſenſeleſs, that they would never do ſo much as enquire after the Religion of the Strangers now come into their Country, much leſs would they ſo far imitate us, as to leave off their beaſtly way of living, that they might be Partakers of any Spiritual Advantage by us: Unleſs we could firſt addreſs them in a *Language* of their own. Behold, new Difficulties to be ſurmounted by our indefatigable *Eliot!* He hires a Native to teach him this exotick Language, and with a laborious Care and Skill, reduces it into a *Grammar* which afterwards he publiſhed. There is a Letter or two of our Alphabet, which the *Indians* never had in *theirs*; tho' there were enough of the *Dog* in their *Temper*, there can ſcarce be found an R in their *Language*; (any more than in the Language of the *Chineſe*, or of the *Greenlanders*) ſave that the *Indians* to the Northward, who have a peculiar *Dialect*, pronounce an R where an N is pronounced by our *Indians*; but if their *Alphabat* be *ſhort*, I am ſure the *Words* compoſed of it are long enough to tire the Patience of any Scholar in the World; they are *Seſquipedalia Verba*, of which their *Linguo* is compoſed; one would think, they had been growing ever ſince *Babel*, unto the Dimenſions to which they are now extended. For inſtance, if my Reader will count how many Letters there are in this one Word, *Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonaſh*, when he has done, for his Reward I'll tell him, it ſignifies no more in *Engliſh*, than *our Luſts*, and if I were to tranſlate, *our Loves*; it muſt be nothing ſhorter than *Noowomantammooonkanunonnaſh*. Or, to give my Reader a longer Word than either of theſe, *Kummogkodonattoottummooetiteaongannunnonaſh*, is in Engliſh, *Our Queſtion*: But I pray, Sir, count the Letters! Nor do we find in all this Language the leaſt Affinity to, or Derivation from any *European* Speech that we are acquainted with. I know not what Thoughts it will produce in my Reader, when I inform him, that once finding that the *Dæmons* in a poſſeſſed young Woman, underſtood the *Latin* and *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages, my Curioſity led me to make Trial of this *Indian* Language, and the *Dæmons* did ſeem as if they did not underſtand it. This tedious Language our *Eliot* (the Anagram of whoſe Name was *TOILE*) quickly became a Maſter of; he employ'd a pregnant and witty *Indian*, who alſo ſpoke *Engliſh* well, for his Aſſiſtance in it; and compiling ſome Diſcourſes by his Help, he would ſingle out a *Word*, a *Noun*, a *Verb*, and purſue it through all its Variations: Having finiſhed his Grammar, at the cloſe he writes, *Prayers and Pains thro' Faith in Chriſt Jeſus will do any thing!* And being by his *Prayers* and *Pains* thus furniſhed, he ſet himſelf in the Year 1646. to preach the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, among theſe Deſolate Outcaſts.

¶ It remains, That I lay before the World, the Remarkable Conduct and Succeſs of this Famous Man, in his great Affair; and I ſhall endeavour to do it, by Engliſhing and Reprinting a Letter, ſent a while ſince by my Father, unto his Learned and Renowned correſpondent, the Venerable Dr. *Leuſden* at *Utrecht*: Which Letter has already been publiſhed, if I miſtake not, in Four or Five divers Languages. I find it particularly publiſhed by the moſt Excellent *Jurieu*, at the end of a *Paſtoral Letter*; and this Reflection then worthily made upon it, *Cette Lettre doit opporter une tres grande Conſolation, a toutes les bonnes ames, qui ſont alterees de Juſtice, & qui ſont enflammees du zele de la gloire de Dieu.* I therefore perſwade my ſelf that the Republication of it will not be ungrateful unto many *good Souls* in our Nation, who have a due *Thirſt* and *Zeal* for ſuch things as are mention'd in it; and when that is done, I ſhall preſume to make ſome *Annotations* for the Illuſtration of ſundry memorable things therein Pointed at.

A Letter concerning the Succeſs of the Goſpel, amongſt the *Indians* in *New-England.*

Written by Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, Miniſter of the Word of God at *Boſton*, and Rector of the College at *Cambridge* in *New-England*, to Dr. *John Leuſden*, Hebrew Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Utrecht*.

Tranſlated out of Latin *into* Engliſh.

Worthy and much Honoured Sir,

Y*OUR Letters were very Grateful to me,* (a) *by which I underſtand that you and others in your Famous Univerſity of* Utrecht *deſire to be informed concerning the converted* Indians *in* America: *Take therefore a true Account of them in a few Words.*

It is above Forty Years ſince that truly Godly Man, Mr. John Eliot, *Paſtor of the Church at* Rocksborough, *(about a Mile from* Boſton *in* New-England*) being warmed with a Holy Zeal of Converting the* Americans, *ſet himſelf to learn the* Indian *Tongue, that he might more eaſily and ſucceſsfully* (b) *open to them the Myſteries of the Goſpel, upon account of which he has been (and not undeſervedly) called,* The Apoſtle of the American Indians. *This Reverend Perſon, not without very great Labour, Tranſlated the whole Bible into the* Indian *Tongue;* (c) *he Tranſlated alſo ſeveral* Engliſh *Treatiſes of Practical Divinity and Catechiſms into their Language. Above* 26 *Years ago he gathered a Church of Converted* Indians *in a Town called* (d) Natick; *theſe* Indians *confeſſed their Sins with Tears, and profeſſed their Faith in Chriſt, and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized, and they were ſolemnly joined together in a Church-Covenant; the ſaid Mr.* Eliot *was the firſt that Adminiſtred the Lord's Supper to them. The Paſtor of that Church now is an* Indian, *his Name is* Daniel. *Beſides this Church at* Natick, *among our Inhabitants in the* Maſſachuſets *Colony there are Four* Indian *Aſſemblies,* (e) *where the Name of the true God and Jeſus Chriſt is ſolemnly called upon; theſe Aſſemblies have ſome* American *Preachers, Mr.* Eliot *formerly uſed to Preach to them once every Fortnight, but now he is weakned with Labours and Old-Age, being in the Eighty Fourth Year of his Age, and Preacheth not to the* Indians *oftner than once in two Months.*

There is another Church, conſiſting only of Converted Indians, *about fifty Miles from hence in an* Indian *Town called* Maſhippaug: *The firſt Paſtor of that Church was an* Engliſh *Man, who being skilful in the* American *Language, Preached the Goſpel to them in their own Tongue.* (f) *This* Engliſh *Paſtor is Dead, and inſtead of him, that Church has an* Indian *Preacher.*

There are beſides that, five Aſſemblies of Indians *profeſſing the Name of Chriſt, not far diſtant from* Maſhippaug, *which have* Indian *Preachers:* (g) John Cotton, *Paſtor of the Church at* Plymouth *(Son of my Venerable Father-in-Law* John Cotton, *formerly the Famous Teacher of the Church at* Boſton*) both made very great Progreſs in Learning the* Indian *Tongue, and is very skilful in it; he Preaches in their own Language to the laſt five mentioned Congregations every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of* Saconet *in* Plymouth *Colony, there is a great Congregation of thoſe who for Diſtinction ſake are called* Praying Indians, *becauſe they pray to God in Chriſt.*

Not far from a Promontory called Cape Cod, *there are ſix Aſſemblies of Heathens who are to be reckoned as* Catechumens, *amongſt whom there are ſix* Indian *Preachers:* Samuel Treat, *Paſtor of a Church at* Eaſtham, *Preacheth to thoſe Congregations in their own Language. There are likewiſe amongſt the Iſlanders of* Nantacket *a Church, with a Paſtor who was lately a Heathen, and ſeveral Meetings of* Catechumens, *who are inſtructed by the Converted* Indians. *There is alſo another Iſland about ſeven Leagues long (called* Martha's Vineyard*) where are two* American *Churches planted, which are more Famous than the reſt, over one of which there preſides an ancient* Indian *as Paſtor, called* Hiacooms: John Hiacooms, *Son of the* Indian *Paſtor, alſo Preacheth the Goſpel to his Countrymen. In another Church in that Place,* John Tockinoſh, *a Converted* Indian, *teaches. In theſe Churches* Ruling Elders *of the* Indians *are joined to the Paſtors: The Paſtors were choſen by the People, and when they had faſted and prayed, Mr.* Eliot *and Mr.* Cotton *laid their Hands on them, ſo that they were ſolemnly ordained. All the Congregations* (h) *of the Converted* Indians *(both the* Catechumens *and thoſe in Church Order) every Lord's Day meet together; the Paſtor or Preacher always begins with Prayer, and* without a Form, because from the Heart; *when the Ruler of the Aſſembly has ended*

Prayer

Prayer, the whole Congragation of Indians *praiſe God with ſinging; ſome of them are excellent Singers: After the Pſalm, he that preaches reads a Place of Scripture (one or more Verſes as he will) and expounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them by Scriptures and Reaſons, and infers Uſes from them after the manner of the* Engliſh, *of whom they have been taught; then another Prayer to God in the Name of Chriſt concludes the whole Service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's Day. They obſerve no* Holy-days *but the* Lord's Day, *except upon ſome extraordinary Occaſion; and then they ſolemnly ſet apart whole Days, either in giving Thanks or Faſting and Praying with great Fervour of Mind.*

Before the Engliſh *came into theſe Coaſts theſe Barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the true God; hence it is that in their Prayers and Sermons they uſe* Engliſh *Words and Terms; he that calls upon the moſt Holy Name of God, ſays,* Jehovah, *or* God, *or* Lord, *and alſo they have learned and borrowed many other Theological Phraſes from us.*

In ſhort, '*There are ſix Churches of Baptized* Indians *in* New-England, *and Eighteen Aſſemblies of* Catechumens, *profeſſing the Name of Chriſt: Of the* Indians *there are four and Twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God, and beſides theſe there are four* Engliſh *Miniſters, who preach the Goſpel in the* Indian *Tongue.* (i) *I am now my ſelf weary with writing, and I fear leſt if I ſhould add more, I ſhould alſo be tedious to you; yet one thing I muſt add (which I had almoſt forgot) that there are many of the* Indians *Children, who have learned by Heart the Catechiſm, either of that Famous Divine* William Perkins, *or that put forth by the Aſſembly of Divines at* Weſtminſter, *and in their own Mother Tongue can anſwer to all the Queſtions in it.*

But I muſt end, I ſalute the Famous Profeſſors in your Univerſity, to whom I deſire you to communicate this Letter, as written to them alſo.

Farewel, Worthy Sir; *the Lord preſerve your Health for the Benefit of your Country, his Church, and of Learning.*

Boſton *in* New-England, *July* 12. 1687.

Yours ever,

INCREASE MATHER.

(a) *The Succeſs of the Goſpel in the* Eaſt-Indies.

AFter the Writing of this Letter, there came one to my Hands from the Famous Dr. *Leuſden*, together with a New and Fair Edidition of his *Hebrew Pſalter*, Dedicated unto the Name of my Abſent Parent. He therein informs me, That our Example had awakened the *Dutch* to make ſome Noble Attempts for the Furtherance of the Goſpel in the *Eaſt-Indies*; beſides what memorable things were done by the Excellent *Robert Junius*, in *Formoſa* fifty Years ago.

He alſo informs me, That in and near the Iſland of *Ceylon*, the *Dutch* Paſtors have Baptized about Three Hundred Thouſand of the *Eaſtern Indians*; for altho' the Miniſters are utterly ignorant of their Language, yet there are *School-Maſters* who teach them, The *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Ten Commandments*, a *Morning Prayer*, an *Evening Prayer*, a *Bleſſing* before *Meat*, and *another* after; and the Miniſter in his Viſits being aſſured by the Maſter, who of them has learned all of them *ſeven* things, he thereupon counts they have ſuch a *perfect Number* of Attainments that he preſently *Baptizes* them.

The Pious Reader will doubtleſs, bleſs God for this; but he will eaſily ſee that one of our Converted *Indians* has coſt more Pains than *many* of thoſe; more *thorough Work* has been made with them.

(b) *Mr.*

(b) *Mr.* Eliot*'s Way of Opening the Myſteries of the Goſpel, to our* Indians.

'TWas in the Year 1646, that Mr. *Eliot*, accompany'd by three more, gave a Viſit unto an Aſſembly of *Indians*, of whom he deſired a Meeting at ſuch a Time and Place, that he might lay before them the Things of their Eternal Peace. After a ſerious *Prayer*, he gave them a *Sermon* which continued about a Quarter above an Hour, and contained the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Religion, applying all to the Condition of the *Indians* preſent. Having done, he asked of them, Whether *they underſtood?* And with a General Reply they anſwered, *They underſtood all.* He then began what was his uſual Method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he cauſed them to propound ſuch *Queſtions* as they pleas'd unto himſelf; and he gave wiſe and good *Anſwers* to them all. Their *Queſtions* would often, tho' not always, refer to what he had newly preached; and he this way not only made a *Proof* of their profiting by his Miniſtry, but alſo gave an Edge to what he delivered unto them. Some of their *Queſtions* would be a little *Philoſophical*, and required a good Meaſure of Learning in the Miniſter concerned with them; but for this our *Eliot* wanted not. He would alſo put proper *Queſtions* unto them, and at one of his firſt Exerciſes with them, he made the Young Ones capable of regarding thoſe three Queſtions,

Q. 1. *Who made you and all the World?*

Q. 2. *Who do you look ſhould ſave you from Sin and Hell?*

Q. 3. *How many Commandments has the Lord given you to keep?*

It was his Wiſdom that he began with them upon ſuch Principles as they themſelves had already ſome Notions of; ſuch as that of an *Heaven* for good, and *Hell* for bad People, when they dy'd. It broke his gracious Heart within him to ſee, what Floods of Tears fell from the Eyes of ſeveral among thoſe degenerate Salvages, at the firſt Addreſſes which he made unto them; yea, from the very worſt of them all. He was very inquiſitive to learn who were the *Powawes*, that is, the *Sorcerers*, and *Seducers*, that maintained the Worſhip of the Devil in any of their Societies; and having in one of his firſt Journeys to them, found out one of thoſe Wretches, he made the *Indian* come unto him, and ſaid, *Whether do you ſuppoſe* God, *or* Chepian (*i. e. the Devil*) *to be the Author of all Good?* The Conjurer anſwered, *God.* Upon this he added with a ſtern Countenance, *Why do you pray to* Chepian *then?* And the poor Man was not able to ſtand or ſpeak before him; but at laſt made Promiſes of Reformation.

The Text which he firſt preach'd upon, was that in *Ezek.* 37. 9, 10. *That by Propheſying to the Wind, the Wind came, and the dry Bones lived:* And it was an Obſervation made by one, who then juſtly confeſſed, there was *not much weight* in it; that the Word which the *Indians* uſe for *Wind* is *Wauban*, and an *Indian* of that Name was one of the firſt that here zealouſly promoted the Converſion of his Neighbours. But having thus entred upon the *Teaching* of theſe poor Creatures, 'tis incredible how much Time, Toil, and Hardſhip, he underwent in the Proſecution of this Undertaking; how many weary Days and Nights rolled over him; how many tireſome Journeys he endured; and how many terrible Dangers he had experience of. If you briefly would know *what* he felt, and *what* carried him through all, take it in his own words in a Letter to the Honourable Mr. *Winſlow*, ſays he, *I have not been dry Night nor Day, from the third Day of the Week unto the ſixth, but ſo travelled, and at Night pull off my Boots, wring my Stockings, and on with them again, and ſo continue. But God ſteps in and helps. I have conſidered the Word of God in* 2 Tim. 2. 3. Endure Hardſhip as a good Soldier of Chriſt.

(c) *His Tranſlating the Bible, and other Books of Piety, into the* Indian *Tongue.*

ONE of his remarkable Cares for theſe illiterate *Indians*, was to bring them into the uſe of *Schools* and *Books*. He quickly procured the benefit of *Schools* for them; wherein they profited ſo much, that not only very many of them quickly came to *Read* and *Write*; but alſo ſeveral arrived unto a Liberal Education in our Colledge, and one or two of them took their Degree with the reſt of our *Graduates*. And for *Books*, 'twas his chief Deſire that the Sacred Scriptures might not in an *unknown Tongue* be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and helliſh did the *Policy* of *Popery* appear to him on this Account: Our *Eliot* was very unlike to that *Franciſcan*, who writing into *Europe*, gloried much how many Thouſands of *Indians* he had converted; but added, *That he deſired his Friends would ſend him the Book called the Bible; for he had heard of there being ſuch a Book in* Europe, *which might be of ſome uſe to him.* No,

our

our *Eliot* found he could not live without a Bible himſelf; he would have parted with all his Eſtate, ſooner than have loſt a Leaf of it; and he knew it would be of more than *ſome uſe* unto the *Indians* too; he therefore with a vaſt Labour tranſlated the Holy Bible into the *Indian Language*. Behold, ye *Americans*, the greateſt Honour that ever you were Partakers of! This Bible was Printed here at our *Cambridge*; and it is the only Bible that ever was Printed in all *America*, from the very Foundation of the World. The whole Tranſlation he writ with but *one Pen*; which Pen, had it not been loſt, would have certainly deſerved a richer Caſe than was beſtow'd upon that Pen, with which *Holland* writ his Tranſlation of *Plutarch*. The Bible being juſtly made the Leader of all the reſt, a little *Indian Library* quickly followed: For beſides *Primers*, and *Grammars*, and ſome other ſuch Compoſures, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the *Indian* Tongue, and the Reverend *Richard Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.* He alſo tranſlated ſome of Mr. *Shepherd's* Compoſures; and ſuch *Catechiſms* likewiſe as there was occaſion for. It cannot but be hoped that ſome *Fiſh* were to be made *alive*, ſince the *Waters of the Sanctuary* thus came unto them.

(d) *His Gathering of a Church at* Natick.

THE *Indians* that had felt the Impreſſions of his Miniſtry, were quickly diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Praying Indians*; and theſe *Praying Indians* as quickly were for a more Decent and *Engliſh-way* of Living, and they deſired a more fixed *Cohabitation.* At ſeveral Places did they now combine and ſettle; but the Place of greateſt Name among their Towns, is that of *Natick.*

Here 'twas, that in the Year 1651. thoſe that had heretofore lived like the *wild Beaſts* in the Wilderneſs, now compacted themſelves into a Town; and they firſt apply'd themſelves to the forming of their *Civil Government.* Our *General Court*, notwithſtanding their exact Study to keep theſe *Indians* very ſenſible of their being ſubject unto the *Engliſh* Empire, yet had allowed them their ſmaller Courts, wherein they might govern their own ſmaller Caſes and Concerns, after their own particular Modes, and might have their Town-Orders, if I may call them ſo, peculiar to themſelves. With reſpect hereunto, Mr. *Eliot* on a Solemn Faſt, made a Publick Vow, *That ſeeing theſe* Indians *were not prepoſſeſſed with any Formr of Government, he would inſtruct them into ſuch a Form, as we had written in the Word of God, that ſo they might be a People in all things ruled by the Lord.* Accordingly he Expounded unto them the Eighteenth Chapter of *Exodus*; and then they choſe Rulers of *Hundreds*, of *Fifties*, of *Tens*; and therewithal entred into this Covenant.

'We are the Sons of *Adam*; We and our 'Forefathers have a long time been loſt in our 'Sins; but now the Mercy of the Lord beginneth to find us out again; therefore the Grace 'of Chriſt helping us, we do give our ſelves, 'and our Children unto God, to be his People. 'He ſhall Rule us in all our Affairs; the Lord 'is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the 'Lord is our King; he will ſave us; and the 'Wiſdom which God has taught us in his Book 'ſhall guide us. Oh *Jehovvh*, teach us Wiſdom; ſend thy Spirit into our Hearts; take 'us to be thy People, and let us take thee to be 'our God.

Such an Opinion about the Perfection of the Scripture had he, that he thus expreſſed himſelf upon this occaſion, *God will bring Nations into Diſtreſs and Perplexity, that ſo they may be forced unto the Scriptures; all Governments will be ſhaken, that Men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm Foundation*, The Word of God.

The little Towns of theſe *Indians* being pitched upon this Foundation, they utterly abandon'd that *Poligamy* which had heretofore been common among them; they made ſevere Laws againſt *Fornication*, *Drunkenneſs*, and *Sabbath-breaking*, and other Immoralities; and they next began to *Lament* after the Eſtabliſhment of a *Church-Order* among them, and after the ſeveral Ordinances and Priviledges of a *Church-Communion*. The Churches of *New-England* have uſually been very ſtrict in their Admiſſions to *Church-Fellowſhip*, and required very ſignal Demonſtrations of a *Repenting* and a *Believing* Soul, before they thought Men fit Subjects to be entruſted with *the Rights of the Kingdom of Heaven*. But they ſeem'd rather to augment than abate their uſual *Strictneſs*, when the Examination of the *Indians* was to be performed. A Day was therefore ſet apart, which they called, *Natootomahteackeſuk*, or a *Day of Asking Queſtions*, when the Miniſters of the adjacent Churches, aſſiſted with all the beſt Interpreters that could be had, publickly examined a good Number of theſe *Indians*, about their Attainments both in *Knowledge* and in *Vertue*. And notwithſtanding the great Satisfaction then received, our Churches being willing to proceed ſurely, and therefore ſlowly, in raiſing them up to a *Church-State*, which might be comprehended in our *Conſociations*, the *Indians* were afterwards called in conſiderable Aſſemblies convened for that purpoſe, to make open *Confeſſions* of their *Faith* in God and Chriſt, and of the Efficacy which his *Word* had upon them for their *Converſion* to

him; which Confeſſions being taken in writing from their Mouths by able Interpreters, were ſcanned by the People of God, and found much Acceptance with them.

I need paſs no further Cenſure upon them, than what is given by my Grand-father, the well-known *Richard Mather*, in an Epiſtle of his Publiſhed on this occaſion; ſays he, 'There is 'ſo much of God's Work among them, as that I 'cannot but count it a great Evil, yea a great 'Injury to God and his Goodneſs, for any to 'make light of it. To ſee and hear *Indians* o-'pening their Mouths, and lifting up their hands 'and eyes, in Prayer to the Living God, calling 'on him by his Name *Jehovah*, in the Mediation 'of Jeſus Chriſt, and this for a good while to-'gether; to ſee and hear them Exhorting one 'another from the Word of God; to ſee and 'and hear them confeſſing the Name of Chriſt 'Jeſus, and their own ſinfulneſs; ſure this is 'more than uſual! And tho' they ſpoke in a 'Language, of which many of us underſtood 'but little, yet we that were preſent that Day, 'we ſaw and heard them perform the Duties 'mentioned with ſuch grave and ſober Counte-'nances, with ſuch comely Reverence in their 'Geſture, and their whole Carriage, and with 'ſuch plenty of tears trickling down the Cheeks 'of ſome of them, as did argue to us that they 'ſpake with the Holy Fear of God, and it 'much affected our Hearts.

At length was a *Church-ſtate* ſettled among them: They entred, as our Churches do, into an holy Covenant, wherein they *gave themſelves, firſt unto the Lord, and then unto one another*, to attend the Rules, and Helps, and expect the Bleſſing of the *Everlaſting Goſpel*; and Mr. *Eliot*, having a Miſſion from the Church of *Roxbury*, unto the Work of the Lord Chriſt among the *Indians*, conceived himſelf ſufficiently Authorized unto the performing of all *Church-work* about them; grounding it on *Act.* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. and he accordingly Adminiſtred, firſt the *Baptiſm*, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.

(e) *The Hindrances and Obſtructions that the* Devil *gave unto him.*

WE find four Aſſemblies of *Praying Indians* beſides that of *Natick*, in our Neighbourhood. But why no more? Truly, not becauſe our *Eliot* was wanting in his *Offers* and *Labours* for their good; but becauſe many of the obdurate Infidels would not receive the *Goſpel of Salvation*. In one of his Letters, I find him giving this *ill Report*, with ſuch a *good Reaſon* for it; Lyn-*Indians are all naught, ſave one, who ſometimes comes to hear the Word; and the Reaſon why they are bad, is principally becauſe their* Sachim *is naught, and careth not to pray unto God.* Indeed the *Sachims*, or the *Princes*, of the *Indians* generally did all they could that their Subjects might not entertain the Goſpel; the *Devils* having the *Sachims* on their ſide, thereby kept their Poſſeſſion of the People too. Their *Pauwaws* or Clergy-men, did much to maintain the Intereſt of the *Devils* in this Wilderneſs; thoſe *Children of the Devil, and Enemies of all Righteouſneſs*, did not *ceaſe to pervert the Right ways of the Lord*, but their *Sachims* or Magiſtrates did more towards it; for they would preſently raiſe a Storm of *Perſecution* upon any of their Vaſſals that ſhould *Pray* unto the Eternal God.

The ground of this Conduct in them, was an odd Fear, that Religion would abridge them of the *Tyranny* which they had been uſed unto; they always like the Devil held their People in a moſt abſolute Servitude, and rul'd by no *Law* but their Will, which left the poor Slaves nothing that they could call their own. They now ſuſpected that Religion would put a Bridle upon ſuch Uſurpations, and oblige them to a more Equal and Humane Way of Government; they therefore ſome of them, had the Impudence to Addreſs the Engliſh, that no Motions about the *Chriſtian Religion* might ever be made unto them; and Mr. *Eliot* ſometimes in the Wilderneſs, without the Company or Aſſiſtance of any other *Engliſh-man*, has been treated in a very Threatening and Barbarous manner by ſome of theſe Tyrants; but God inſpir'd him with ſo much Reſolution as to tell them, *I am about the Work of the Great God, and my God is with me; ſo that I fear neither you, nor all the* Sachims *in the Country; I'll go on, and do you touch me, if you dare!* Upon which the ſtouteſt of them have ſhrunk and fell before him. And one of them, he at length conquered by Preaching unto him a Sermon upon the *Temptations* of our Lord; particularly, the *Temptation* fetch'd from the *Kingdoms* and *Glories* of the World.

The little *Kingdoms* and *Glories* of the Great Men among the *Indians*, was a Powerful Obſtacle to the Succeſs of Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry; and it is obſervable, that ſeveral of thoſe Nations which thus refuſed the Goſpel, quickly afterwards were ſo *Devil-driven* as to begin an unjuſt and bloody War upon the *Engliſh*, which iſſued in their ſpeedy and utter Extirpation from the Face of God's Earth. It was particularly Remark'd in *Philip* the Ring-Leader of the moſt Calamitous War that ever they made

upon

upon us; our *Eliot* made a Tender of the *Everlaſting Salvation* to that King; but the Monſter entertain'd it with Contempt and Anger, and after the *Indian* Mode of joining *Signs* with *Words*, he took a *Button* upon the *Coat* of the Reverend Man, adding, *That he cared for his Goſpel, juſt as much as he cared for that Button.* The World has heard what a Terrible Ruine ſoon came upon that Monarch, and upon all his People. It was not long before the Hand which now writes, upon a certain occaſion took off the Jaw from the expoſed *Skull* of that Blaſpemous *Leviathan*; and the Renowned *Samuel Lee* hath ſince been a Paſtor to an *Engliſh* Congregation, ſounding and ſhowing the Praiſes of Heaven, upon that very ſpot of Ground, where *Philip* and his *Indians* were lately worſhipping of the Devil.

Sometimes the more immediate Hand of God, by cutting off the Principal Oppoſers of the Goſpel among the *Indians* made way for Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry. As I remember, he relates that an Aſſociation of profane *Indians* near our *Weymouth*, ſet themſelves to deter and ſeduce the Neighbour *Indians* from the *Right Ways of the Lord.* But God quickly ſent the *Small-Pox* among them, which like a *great Plague* ſoon ſwept them away, and thereby engaged the reſt unto himſelf. I need only to add, That one Attempt made by the Devil, to prejudice the Pagans againſt the Goſpel, had ſomething in it extraordinary. While Mr. *Eliot* was Preaching of *Chriſt* unto the other *Indians*, a *Dæmon* appeared unto a Prince of the *Eaſtern-Indians*, in a ſhape that had ſome Reſemblance of Mr. *Eliot* or of an *Engliſh* Miniſter, pretending to be, *The Engliſh-man's God.* The Spectre commanded him, *To forbear the drinking of Rum*, and *To obſerve the Sabbath Day*, and *To deal juſtly with his Neighbours*, all which things had been inculcated in Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry; promiſing therewithal unto him, That if he did ſo, at his Death his Soul ſhould *Aſcend* unto an happy place; otherwiſe *Deſcend* unto miſeries; but the Apparition all the while, never ſaid one word about *Chriſt*, which was the main ſubject of Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry. The *Sachim* received ſuch an Impreſſion from the Apparition, that he *dealt juſtly* with all Men, except in the Bloody Tragedies and Cruelties he afterwards committed on the *Engliſh* in our Wars; he kept the *Sabbath-Day* like a *Faſt*, frequently attending in our Congregations; he would not meddle with any *Rum*, tho' uſually his Country-men, had rather die than undergo ſuch a piece of Self-denial; that Liquor has meerly *Enchanted* them. At laſt, and not long ſince this *Dæmon* appear'd again unto this *Pagan*, requiring him to kill himſelf, and aſſuring him that he ſhould revive in a Day or two, never to die any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his Friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found a *fair* Opportunity, for this *foul* Buſineſs, and hanged himſelf; you may be ſure, without he expected *Reſurrection.* But it is eaſy to ſee what a ſtumbling Block was here laid before the miſerable *Indians.*

(f) *The* Indian-*Churches at* Maſhippaug, *and elſewhere.*

THE ſame Spirit which acted Mr. *Eliot*, quickly inſpired others elſewhere to proſecute the Work of reſcuing the poor *Indians* out of their worſe than *Egyptian*-Darkneſs, in which *Evil Angels* had been ſo long preying upon them. One of theſe was the Godly and Gracious *Richard Bourn*, who ſoon ſaw a great effect of his holy Labours. In the Year 1666. Mr. *Eliot* accompany'd by the Honourable Governour, and ſeveral Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Plymouth* Colony, procured a vaſt Aſſembly at *Maſhippaug*; and there a good Number of *Indians*, made Confeſſions touching the *Knowledge* and *Belief*, and *Regeneration* of their Souls, with ſuch Underſtanding and Affection as was extreamly grateful to the Pious Auditory. Yet ſuch was the Strictneſs of the good People in this Affair, that before they would countenance the Advancement of *theſe Indians* unto *Church-Fellowſhip*, they ordered their Confeſſions to be written and ſent unto all the Churches in the Colony, for their Approbation; but ſo approv'd they were, that afterwards the Meſſengers of all the Churches giving their *Preſence* and *Conſent*, they became a Church, and choſe Mr. *Bourn* to be their Paſtor; who was then by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* ordain'd unto that Office over them. From hence Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* went over to an Iſland called *Martha*'s *Vineyard*, where God had ſo ſucceeded the honeſt Labours of ſome, and particularly of the *Mayhew*'s as that a Church was gathered.

This Church, after *Faſting and Prayer*, choſe one *Hiacoomes* to be their Paſtor, *John Tockinoſh*, an able and a diſcreet Chriſtian to be their Teacher; *Joſhua Mummeecheegs* and *John Nanaſo* to be Ruling Elders; and theſe were then ordained by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* thereunto. Diſtance of Habitation, cauſed this one Church by mutual Agreement afterwards to become *two*; the Paſtor and one Ruling Elder taking one part, and the Teacher and one Ruling Elder, another; and at *Nantucket* another adjacent Iſland, was another Church of *Indians* quickly gathered, who choſe an Indian, *John Gibs*, to be their Miniſter. Theſe *Churches* are ſo exact in their Admiſſion, and ſo ſolemn in their Diſcipline, and ſo ſerious in their Communion,

that ſome of the Chriſtian *Engliſh* in the Neighbourhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *civil* Relation, yet have gladly done it in a *Sacred* one.

'Tis needleſs for me to repeat what my Father has written about the other *Indian* Congregations; only there having been made mention of one *Hiacooms*, I am willing to annex a Paſſage or two concerning that memorable *Indian*. That *Indian* was a very great Inſtrument of bringing his Pagan and wretched Neighbours, to a ſaving Acquaintance with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and God gave him the Honour, not only of ſo doing much for ſome, but alſo of *ſuffering* much from others, of thoſe unhappy Salvages. Once particularly, this *Hiacoomes* received a cruel blow from an *Indian* Prince, which if ſome *Engliſh* had not been there, might have killed him, for his *Praying* unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his Trial in it; ſaid he, *I have two Hands; I had one Hand for Injuries, and the other for God; while I did receive Wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

Moreover, the *Powawes* did uſe to hector and abuſe the *Praying Indians* at ſuch a rate, as terrify'd others *from joining* with them; but once when thoſe *Witches* were bragging, that they could kill all the *Praying Indians*, if they would; *Hiacoomes* reply'd, *Let all the* Powawes *in the Iſland come together, I'll venture my ſelf in the midſt of them; let them uſe all their Witchcrafts; with the help of God, I'll tread upon them all.* By this Courage, he ſilenced the *Powawes:* But at the ſame time alſo he heartned the People at ſuch a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them ever harm this Eminent Confeſſor afterward; nor indeed any *Proſelyte* which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, 'twas obſerved after this, that they rather *kill'd* than *cur'd* all ſuch of the Heathen, as would yet make uſe of their *Enchantments* for help againſt their *Sickneſſes*.

(g) *Of Mr.* Eliot's *Fellow-Labourers in the* Indian-*Work*.

SO little was the Soul of our *Eliot* infected with any Envy, as that he long'd for nothing more than *Fellow-Labourers*, that might move and ſhine in the ſame *Orb* with himſelf; he made his Cries both to God and Man, for more *Labourers* to be *thruſt forth* into the *Indian* Harveſt; and indeed it was an *Harveſt* of ſo few ſecular Advantages and Encouragements, that it muſt be nothing leſs than a Divine *Thruſt*, which could make any to *Labour* in it. He ſaw the Anſwer of his Prayers, in the Generous and Vigorous Attempts made by ſeveral other moſt worthy Preachers of the Goſpel, to *Goſpelize* our periſhing *Indians*. At the Writing of my Father's Letter there were *Four*; but the Number of them increaſes apace among us. At *Martha's* Vineyard, the old Mr. *Mayhew*, and ſeveral of his Sons, or Grandſons have done very worthily for the Souls of the *Indians*; there were fifteen Years ago, by Computation, about fifteen Hundred Seals of their Miniſtry upon that one Iſland. In *Connecticut*, the holy and acute Mr. *Fitch*, has made noble Eſſays towards the Converſion of the *Indians*; but, I think, the *Prince* he has to deal withal, being an obſtinate Infidel, gives unhappy Remora's to the Succeſſes of his Miniſtry. And godly Mr. *Pierſon*, has in that Colony deſerved well, if I miſtake not, upon the ſame account. In *Maſſachuſets* we ſee at this Day, the Pious Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, the Gracious Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, the well accompliſhed and induſtrious Mr. *Grindal Rawſon*, all of them hard at Work, to turn theſe Poor Creatures *from Darkneſs unto Light, and from Satan unto God.* In *Plymouth* we have the moſt Active Mr. *Samuel Treat* laying out himſelf to ſave this Generation; and there is one Mr. *Tupper*, who uſes his laudable Endeavours for the Inſtruction of them.

'Tis my Relation to him, that cauſes me to defer unto the laſt place, the mention of Mr. *John Cotton*, who hath addreſſed the *Indians* in their own Language with ſome Dexterity. He hired an *Indian*, after the rate of Twelvepence *per* Day for *Fifty* Days, to teach him the *Indian* Tongue; but his Knaviſh Tutor having received his whole Pay too ſoon, ran away before *Twenty Days* were out; however, in this time he had profited ſo far, that he could quickly Preach unto the Natives.

Having told my Reader, that the *Second Edition* of the *Indian* Bible was wholly of his Correction and Amendment; becauſe it is not proper for me to ſay much of him, I ſhall only add this Remarkable Story. An *Engliſh* Miniſter accompany'd by the Governour and Major-General, and ſundry Perſons of Quality, belonging to *Plymouth*, made a *Journey* to a Nation of *Indians* in the Neighbourhood, with a free *Offer* of the *Words whereby they might be ſaved.* The *Prince* took time to conſider of it, and according to the true *Engliſh* of *Taking Time* in ſuch caſes, at length he told them, *He did not accept the Tender which they made him.* They then took their Leaves of him, not without firſt giving him this plain and ſhort Admonition, *If God have any Mercy for your miſerable People, He will quickly find a way to take you out of the way.* 'Twas preſently after this, that this Prince going forth to a Battel againſt another

another Nation of *Indians*, was killed in the Fight; and the young Prince being in his *Minority*, the Government fell into the Hands of *Protectors*, which favoured the Intereſt of the Goſpel. The *Engliſh* being adviſed of it, ſpeedily and proſperouſly renewed the Tidings of an Eternal Saviour to the *Salvages*, who have ever ſince attended upon the Goſpel: And the young *Sachim*, after he came to Age, expreſſed his Approbation of the Chriſtian Religion; eſpecially when a while ſince, he lay a Dying of a tedious Diſtemper, and would keep Reading of Mr. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, with Floods of Tears in his Eyes, while he had any Strength to do it.

Such as theſe are the Perſons, whom our *Eliot* left engag'd in the *Indian-Work*, when he departed from his *Employment* unto his *Recompence*. And theſe Gentlemen are ſo indefatigable in their Labours among the *Indians*, as that the moſt *equal Judges* muſt acknowledge them worthy of much greater *Salaries* than they are generouſly contented with. But one may ſee then, who inſpired that clamorous (tho' contemptible) Perſecutor of this Country, who very zealouſly addreſſed the A. B. of *Canterbury*, that theſe Miniſters might be deprived of their little *Stipends*, and that the ſaid *Stipends* might go to maintain that Worſhip among us, which the Plantation was Erected on purpoſe for the peaceable Avoiding of.

(h) *The Sacred and Solemn Exerciſes performed in the* Indian Congregations.

MY Father's Account of the Exerciſes performed in the *Indian Congregations*, will tell us what a Bleſſed Fruit our *Eliot* ſaw of his *Labours*, before he went unto thoſe *Rewards* which God had reſerv'd in the Heavens for him. Some of the *Indians* quickly built for themſelves good and large Meeting Houſes after the *Engliſh Mode*, in which alſo after the *Engliſh Mode*, they attended the *Things of the Kingdom of Heaven*. And ſome of the *Engliſh* were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that Learned, Pious and Charitable Gentleman, the Worſhipful *Samuel Sewal*, Eſq; who at his own Charge built a Meeting Houſe for one of the *Indian* Congregations, and gave thoſe *Indians* cauſe to pray for him under that Character, *He loveth our Nation, for he hath built us a Synagogue*.

It only remains that I give a touch or two upon the Worſhip which is attended in the *Synagogues* of the *Indians*. And firſt, the very Name of *Praying Indians* will aſſure us that *Prayer* is one of their Devotions; be ſure, they could not be our *Eliot*'s Diſciples if it were not ſo. But how do they *Pray*? We are told, it is *Without a Form, becauſe from the Heart*; which is as I remember, *Tertullian*'s Expreſſion concerning the Prayers in the Aſſemblies of the Primitive Chriſtians; namely, *ſine monitore quia de pectore*. It is evident, that the Primitive Chriſtians had no ſtated *Liturgies* among them; that no *Forms of Prayers* were in their time impoſed upon the Miniſters of the Goſpel, that even about the Platform of Prayer given us by our Lord, it was the Opinion of *Auſtin* himſelf, notwithſtanding the Advances made in his Age towards what we count *Superſtitious*, that *our Lord therein Taught not what Words we ſhould uſe in Prayer, but what things we ſhould pray for*. And whatever Scoffs the Profanity of *our* Days, has abuſed that *Phraſe* and *Thing* withal, *Gregory Nazianzen* in his Days, counted it the Honour of his Fathers publick Prayers, *That he had them from, and made them by the Holy Spirit*. Our *Indians* accordingly find, that if they ſtudy the *Words* of God, and their own *Sins* and *Wants*, they ſhall ſoon come to that Attainment, *Behold they pray!* They can pray with much Pertinence and Enlargement; and would much wonder at it, if they ſhould hear of an *Engliſh* Clergy, that ſhould *Read their Prayers out of a Book*, when they ſhould *pour out their Souls* before the God of Heaven.

Their *Preaching* has much of *Eliot*, and therefore you may be ſure much of *Scripture*, but perhaps more of the *Chriſtian* than of the *Scholar* in it. I know not how to deſcribe it better than by reciting the Heads of a Sermon, uttered by an *Indian* on a *Day of Humiliation* kept by them, at a time when great *Rains* had given much Damage to their Fruits and Fields; 'twas on this wiſe.

A little I ſhall ſay, according to that little I know.

Gen. 8. 20, 21.

And Noah *built an Altar unto Jehovah; and he took of every clean Beaſt, and of every clean Fowl, and offered Burnt-Offerings on the Altar. And the Lord ſmelled a ſweet ſavour, and the Lord ſaid in his Heart, I will not again Curſe the Ground.*

'In that *Noah* ſacrificed, he ſhow'd himſelf '*Thankful*; in that *Noah* worſhipped, he ſhew'ed himſelf *Godly*. In that he offered *Clean* '*Beaſts*, he ſhow'd that God is an *Holy* God. 'And all that come to God, muſt be *pure* and '*clean*. Know, that we muſt by Repentance, 'purge

'purge our ſelves; which is the Work we are 'to do this Day.

'*Noah* ſacrificed, and ſo worſhipped. This 'was the manner of old time. But what *Sacrifices* have we now to offer? I ſhall anſwer 'by that in Pſal. 4. 5. *Offer to God the Sacrifice of Righteouſneſs, and put your Truſt in the Lord.* Theſe are the true Spiritual *Sacrifices* 'which God requireth at our hands, the *Sacrifices of Righteouſneſs*; that is, we muſt look 'to our Hearts and Ways that they be *Righteous*; and then we ſhall be acceptable to God 'when we Worſhip him. But if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we ſhall not be 'accepted, our *Sacrifices* will be ſtark naught. 'Again, We are *to put our Truſt in the Lord.* 'Who elſe is there for us to truſt in? We muſt 'believe in the Word of God; if we doubt of 'God, or doubt of his Word, our *Sacrifices* 'are little worth; but if we *truſt* ſtedfaſtly in 'God, our *Sacrifices* will be good.

'Once more, What *Sacrifices* muſt we offer? 'My Anſwer is, we muſt offer ſuch as *Abraham* 'offered. And what a *Sacrifice* was that? We 'are told in Gen. 22. 12. *Now I know that thou feareſt me, ſeeing thou haſt not witheld thy Son, thy only Son from me.* It ſeems he had but one 'dearly Beloved Son, and he offered that Son 'to God; and ſo God ſaid, *I know thou feareſt me!* Behold, a Sacrifice in Deed and in Truth! 'ſuch an one muſt we offer. Only, God requires not us to Sacrifice our *Sons*, but our '*Sins*, our deareſt *Sins*. God calls us this 'Day to part with all our Sins, tho' never ſo 'beloved; and we muſt not withold any of 'them from him. If we will not part with '*all*, the *Sacrifice* is not right. Let us part 'with ſuch Sins as we *love beſt*, and it will be 'a good *Sacrifice!*

'*God ſmelt a ſweet ſavour in* Noah'*s Sacrifice*; 'and ſo will God receive our Sacrifices, when 'we worſhip him aright. But how did God 'manifeſt his Acceptance of *Noah*'s Offering: ''twas by promiſing to *Drown* the World no 'more, but give us *Fruitful Seaſons.* God has 'chaſtiſed us of late, as if he would utterly '*Drown* us; and he has *Drowned* and Spoiled 'and Ruin'd a great deal of our Hay, and 'threatens to kill our Cattel. 'Tis for this that 'we *Faſt* and *Pray* this Day. Let us then offer 'a clean and pure Sacrifice, as *Noah* did; ſo 'God will ſmell a ſavour of Reſt, and he will 'withold the *Rain*, and bleſs us with ſuch '*Fruitful Seaſons* as we are deſiring of him.

Thus preached an *Indian* called *Niſhokon*, above Thirty Years ago; and ſince that I ſuppoſe, they have grown a little further into the *New-Engliſh* way of Preaching: You may have in their Sermons, a *Kukkootomwehteaonk*, that is, a *Doctrine*, *Nahtootomwehteaonk*, or *Queſtion*, a *Sampooaonk*, or an Anſwer, *Witcheayeuonk*, or a Reaſon, with an *Ouwoteank*, or an *Uſe* for the Cloſe of all.

As for *Holy-days*, you may take it for granted, our *Eliot* would not perſwade his *Indians* to any *Stated* ones. Even the *Chriſtian-Feſtival* it ſelf, he knew to be a Stranger unto the Apoſtolical Times; that the exquiſite *Voſſius* himſelf acknowledges, 'twas not celebrated in the firſt or ſecond Century: And that there is a Truth in the Words of the Great *Chemnitius*, *Anniverſarium Diem Natalis Chriſti, celebratum fuiſſe, apud vetuſtiſſimos nunquam legitur.* He knew that if the *Day of our Lord's Nativity* were to be obſerved, it ſhould not be in *December:* That many Churches for divers Ages kept it not in *December*, but in *January*; that *Chryſoſtom* himſelf, about four Hundred Years after our Saviour, excuſes the Novelty of the *December* Seaſon for it, and confeſſes it had not been kept above Ten Years at *Conſtantinople:* No, that it ſhould be rather in *September*, in which Month the *Jews* kept the Feaſt that was a *Type* of our Lord's Incarnation; and *Solomon* alſo brought the *Ark* into the Temple; for our Lord was *Thirty Years* old when he entred upon his Publick Miniſtry; and he continued in it *Three Years and an half:* Now his Death was in *March*, and it is eaſy then to calculate when his Birth ought to be. He knew, that indeed God had *hid* this Day as he did the Body of *Moſes*, to prevent *Idolatry*; but that *Antichriſt* had *choſe* this Day, to accommodate the Pagans in their Licentious and their Debauched *Saturnalia*; and that a *Tertullian* would not ſtick to ſay, *Shall we Chriſtians who have nothing to do with the* Feſtivals *of the* Jews, *which were once of Divine Inſtitution, embrace the* Saturnalia, *of the Heathen? How do the* Gentiles *ſhame us, who are more true to their Religion, than we are to ours? None of them will obſerve the Lord's-day, for fear leſt they ſhould be* Chriſtians; *and ſhall not we then by obſerving their Feſtivals, fear leſt we be made* Ethnicks? In fine, it was his Opinion, That for us to have ſtated Holy Days which are not appointed by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is a deep Reflection upon the Wiſdom of that glorious Lord; and he brought up his *Indians* in the Principles which the old *Waldenſes* had about ſuch unwarrantable *Holy Days.*

Nevertheleſs, he taught them to ſet apart their Days for both *Faſting* and *Prayer*, and for *Feaſting* and *Prayer*, when there ſhould be *Extraordinary Occaſions* for them; and they perform the Duties of theſe Days with a very laborious Piety. One Party of the *Indians* long ſince of their own accord, kept a *Day of Supplication* together, wherein one of them diſcourſed upon Pſal. 66. 7. *He rules by his Power for ever, his Eyes behold the Nations, let not the Rebellious exalt themſelves.* And when one asked them afterwards, what was the Reaſon of their keeping of ſuch a Day, they reply'd, *It was to obtain five Mercies of God.*

'Firſt, That God would ſlay the Rebellion 'of their Hearts. Next, That they might love 'God and one another. Thirdly, That they might

'might withſtand the Temptations of wicked 'Men, ſo that they might not be drawn back 'from God. Fourthly, That they might be 'Obedient unto the Councils and Commands 'of their Rulers. Fifthly, That they might 'have their Sins done away by the Redemption 'of Jeſus Chriſt: And laſtly, That they might 'walk in the good Ways of the Lord. I muſt here embrace my Opportunity to tell the World, that our Cautious *Eliot* was far from the Opinion of thoſe who have thought it not only warrantable, but alſo commendable to *Adopt* ſome Heatheniſh Uſages into the Worſhip of God, for the more eaſy and ſpeedy gaining of the Heathen to that Worſhip. The Policy of treating the *Pagan Rites* as the *Jews* were to do *Captives*, before they married them, to ſhave their *Hair*, and pare their *Nails*, our *Eliot* counted as *ridiculous* as *pernicious*. He knew that the Idolatries and Abominations of *Popery*, were founded in this way of *Proſelyting* the barbarous Nations, which made their Deſcent upon the *Roman Empire*; and he look'd upon the like Methods which the *Proteſtants* have uſed, that they might ingratiate themſelves with the *Papiſts*, and that our Separation from them ſhould become the leſs *dangerous* and *ſenſible*, to be the moſt *ſenſible* and *dangerous* Wound of the Reformation. Wherefore as no leſs a Man than Dr. *Henry Moor* ſays about our Compliances with the *Papiſts*, which are a ſort of *Pagans*, *Their Converſion and Salvation being not to be compaſſed by needleſs Symbolizing with them in any thing, I conceive our beſt Policy is ſtudiouſly to imitate them in nothing; but for all indifferent things, to think rather the worſe of them for their uſing of them. As no Perſon of Honour would willingly go in the known Garb of infamous Perſons. Whatſoever we court them in, they do but turn it to our Scorn and Contempt, and are the more hardened in their own Wickedneſs.* To act upon this Principle, is the Deſign and Glory of *New England!* And our *Eliot* was of this Perſwaſion, when he brought his *Indians* to a *pure, plain Scripture Worſhip*. He would not gratify them with a *Samaritan* ſort of blended, mixed Worſhip; and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apoſtle *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* had enough in it, for ever to deter us all from ſuch Unchriſtian and unhappy *Temporizing*.

(i) *A Compariſon between what the* New-Englanders *have done for the Converſion of the* Indians, *and what has been done elſewhere by the* Roman Catholicks.

IT is to be confeſſed, That the *Roman Catholicks* have a *Clergy* ſo very numerous, and ſo little encumbred, and are Maſters of ſuch prodigious Eccleſiaſtial *Revenues*, as renders it very eaſy for them to exceed the *Proteſtants* in their Endeavours to Chriſtianize the Pagan Salvages. Nor would I *Reproach*, but rather *Applaud* their *Induſtry* in this matter, wiſhing that we were all touched with an *Emulation* of it. Neverthele*ſ*s, while I commend their *Induſtry*, they do by their Clamours againſt the Reformed Churches upon this account, oblige me to tax divers very ſcandalous things in the *Miſſions* which they make *pro propaganda fide* throughout the World; and therewithal to compare what has been done by that little Handful of Reformed Churches in this Country, which has in divers Regards out done the furtheſt Efforts of Popery.

The *Attainments* which with God's help we have carried up our *Indians* unto, are the chief Honour and Glory of our Labours with them. The Reader will ſmile perhaps, when I tell him, that by an odd Accident there are lately fallen into my hands, the Manuſcripts of a *Jeſuite*, whom the *French* employ'd as a *Miſſionary* among the Weſtern *Indians*; in which Papers there are, both a *Catechiſm*, containing the Principles which thoſe Heathens are to be inſtructed in; and *Caſes of Conſcience*, referring to their Converſations. The *Catechiſm* which is in the *Iroquoiſe* Language (a Language remarkable for this, that there is not ſo much as one *Labial* in it) with a Tranſlation annexed, has one Chapter about *Heaven*, and another about *Hell*, wherein are ſuch *Thick ſkull'd* Paſſages as theſe.

'Q. *How is the Soyl made in Heaven?*

'*A.* 'Tis a very *fair Soyl*, they want neither 'for *Meats* nor *Cloths*: 'Tis but *Wiſhing* and 'we have them.

'Q. *Are they employ'd in Heaven?*

'*A.* No, they do nothing; the Fields yield '*Corn, Beans, Pumpkins*, and the like, without 'any Tillage.

'Q. *What ſort of Trees are there?*

'*A.* Always Green, Full, and Floriſhing.

'Q. *Have they in Heaven the ſame Sun, the 'ſame Wind, the ſame Thunder that we have 'here?*

'*A.* No, the *Sun* ever ſhines; 'tis always 'fair Weather.

'Q. *But how their Fruits?*

'*A.* In this one Quality they exceed ours; 'that they are *never waſted*; you have no ſoo-'ner

'ner pluckt one, but you ſee another preſently 'hanging in its Room. And after this rate goes 'on the *Catechiſm* concerning *Heaven*. Con-'cerning *Hell*, it thus diſcourſes.

'Q. *What ſort of a Soyl is that of Hell?*

'*A.* A very wretched *Soyl*; 'tis a *Fiery Pit*, 'in the Center of the Earth.

'Q. *Have they any Light in Hell?*

'*A.* No. 'Tis always dark; there's always '*Smoke* there; their Eyes are always in Pain 'with it; they can ſee nothing but the De-'vils.

'Q. *What ſhap'd things are the Devils?*

'*A.* Very ill ſhap'd things; they go about 'with *Vizards* on, and they terrify Men.

'Q. *What do they Eat in Hell?*

'*A.* They are always *Hungry*, but the Dam-'ned feed on hot *Aſhes* and *Serpents* there.

'Q. *What Water have they to drink?*

'*A.* Horrid Water, nothing but *melted Lead*.

'Q. *Don't they die in Hell?*

'*A.* No: Yet they eat one another, every 'Day; but anon, God reſtores and renews the 'Man that was eaten, as a cropt Plant in a lit-'tle time repullulates.

It ſeems, they have not thought this Divinity too *Groſs* for the Barbarians. But I ſhall make no Reflections on it; only add one or two *Caſes of Conſcience*, from their Directory.

''Tis one of their weighty Caſes, 'Whether 'a Chriſtian be bound to pay his Whore her 'Hire or no? To this Father *Brutas* anſwers, ***Tho' he be bound in Juſtice to do it, yet inaſmuch as the Barbarians*** [and you muſt ſuppoſe their ***Whores*** to be ſuch] ***Uſe to keep no Faith in ſuch matters, the Chriſtians may chuſe whether they will keep any too.*** But Father *Pierron*, with a moſt profound Learning anſwers, *He is not bound unto it all; inaſmuch as no Man thinks himſelf bound to pay a Witch, that has Enchanted him; and this buſineſs is pretty much a kin to that.* Another of their difficult Caſes is, 'Whe-'ther an *Indian* ſtealing an Hatchet from a '*Dutch-man*, be bound to make Reſtitution? 'And it is very conſcientiouſly determined, 'That if the *Dutch-man* be one that has uſed 'any Trade with other *Indians*, the Thief is 'not bound unto any Reſtitution; for 'tis cer-'tain, he gains more by ſuch a Trade than the 'Value of many Hatchets in a Year.

I'll tire my Reader with no more of this wretched ſtuff. But let him underſtand that the proſelyted *Indians* of *New-England* have been inſtructed at a more Noble Rate; we have helped them to the *ſincere Milk of the Word*; we have given them the *whole Bible* in their own Language; we have laid before them ſuch a *Creed* as the Primitive Believers had, with ſuch Explications as we embark our own Souls upon the Aſſurance of. And God has bleſſed our Education of theſe poor Creatures in ſuch a meaſure, that they can *Pray* and *Preach* to better Edification (give me leave to ſay it) than Multitudes of the *Romiſh Clergymen*. We could have Baptiſed many Troops of *Indians*, if we would have uſed no other meaſures with them, than the *Roman Catholicks* did upon theirs at *Maryland*, where they Baptiſed a great Crew of *Indians*, in ſome *New Shirts*, beſtow'd upon them to encourage them thereunto; but the *Indians* in a Week or two, not knowing how to waſh their Shirts when they were grown foul, came and made a Motion, that the Roman Catholicks would give *more Shirts* to them, or elſe they would renounce their *Baptiſm*. No, 'tis a *Thorough-paced Chriſtianity*, without which we have not imagined our *Indians* Chriſtianized.

Nor have we been acted with a Roman Catholick *Avarice*, and *Falſity*, and *Cruelty* in proſecuting of our Converſions; 'tis the Spirit of an ELIOT, that has all along directed us. 'Tis a *Specimen* of the Popiſh *Avarice* that their Miſſionaries are very rarely employ'd but where *Bever* and *Silver* and vaſt *Riches* are to be thereby gained; their Miniſtry is but a ſort of Engine, to enrich *Europeans* with the Treaſures of the *Indies*; thus one eſcaped from Captivity among the *Spaniards* told me, that the *Spaniſh* Friars had carried their Goſpel into the ſpacious Country of *California*, but finding the *Indians* there to be extremely *poor*, they quickly gave over the Work, becauſe forſooth *ſuch a poor Nation was not worth Converting*. Whereas the *New-Englanders* could expect nothing from their *Indians*. We are to Feed them and Cloath them, rather than receive any thing from them, when we bring them home to God. Again, the Popiſh *Falſity* diſpoſes them to ſo much *Legerdemain* in their Applications, as is very diſagreeable to the Spirit and Progreſs of the Goſpel. My Worthy Friend, Mynheer *Dellius*, who has been ſedulous and ſucceſsful in his Miniſtry among the *Maqua's*, aſſures me, that a *French* Predicator, having been attempting to bring over thoſe *Indians* unto the Intereſt (not of our Saviour ſo much as) of *Canada*, at laſt, for a Cure of their Infidelity, told them, he would give them a ſign of God's Diſpleaſure at them for it; *The Sun ſhould ſuch a Day be put out*. This terrify'd them at a ſad rate, and with great Admiration and Expectation they told the *Dutch* of what was to come to paſs; the *Dutch* reply'd, *This was no more than every Child among them could foretel; they all knew there would then be an Eclipſe of the Sun; but (ſaid they) ſpeak to* Monſieur, *that he would get the Sun extinguiſh'd a day before, or a day after what he ſpoke of, and if he can do that, believe him.* When the *Indians* thus underſtood what a Trick the *French-man* would have put upon them, they became irreconcileably prejudiced againſt all his Offers; nor have the *French* been ſince able to gain much upon that conſiderable People. The *New-Englanders* have uſed no ſuch *Stratagems* and *Knaveries*; 'tis the pure *Light of Truth*, which is all that has been uſed for the affecting of the rude People, whom 'twas eaſy to have *cheated* into our Profeſſion. Much leſs have we uſed that Popiſh

with *Cruelty*, which the Natives of *America*, have by ſome other People been treated with. Even a *Biſhop of their own*, hath publiſhed very Tragical Hiſtories of the *Spaniſh* Cruelties upon the *Indians* of this Weſtern World. Such were thoſe Cruelties, that the *Indians* at length declared, *They had rather go to Hell with their Anceſtors, than to the ſame Heaven which the* Spaniards *pretended unto*; 'tis indeed impoſſible to reckon up the various and exquiſite Barbarities, with which theſe execrable *Spaniards* murdered in leſs than fifty Years no leſs than fifty Millions of the *Indians*; it ſeems this was their way of bringing them into the *Sheepfold* of our Merciful Jeſus! But on the other ſide, the good People of *New-England* have carried it with ſo much Tenderneſs towards the tawny Creatures among whom we live, that they would not own ſo much as one *Foot of Land* in the Country, without a fair *Purchaſe* and *Conſent* from the Natives that laid claim unto it; albeit, we had a *Royal Charter* from the King of *Great Britain*, to Protect us in our Settlement upon this Continent. I ſuppoſe 'twas in revenge upon us for this *Conſcientiouſneſs*, that the late Oppreſſors of *New-England* acknowledged no Man to have any Title at all unto one *Foot of Land* in all our Colony. But we did and we do, think, notwithſtanding the Banters of thoſe *Tories*, that the *Indians* had not by their *Paganiſm* ſo forfeited all Right unto any of their *Poſſeſſions*, that the firſt pretended *Chriſtians* that could, might *Violently* and yet *Honeſtly* ſeize upon them. Inſtead of this, the People of *New-England*, knowing that ſome of the *Engliſh* were ſufficiently covetous and encroaching, and that the *Indians* in ſtreights are eaſily prevailed upon, to ſell their Lands, made a Law, *That none ſhould purchaſe, or ſo much as receive any Land of the* Indians, *without the Allowance of the Court.* Yea, and ſome Lands which were peculiarly convenient for the *Indians*, our People who were more careful of them than they were of themſelves, made a Law, *That they ſhould never be bought out of their hands.* I ſuppoſe after this it would ſuprize Mankind, if they ſhould hear ſuch wonderful Creatures as our late Secretary *Randolph* affirming, *This Barbarous People were never civilly treated by the late Government, who made it their Buſineſs to encroach upon their Lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all.* But, how many other Laws we made in Favour of the *Indians*, 'tis not eaſy to reckon up.

'Twas one of our Laws, 'That for the further 'Encouragement of the hopeful Work among 'them, for the Civilizing and Chriſtianizing of 'them, any *Indian* that ſhould be brought unto 'Civility, and come to live orderly in any *Engliſh* Plantation, ſhould have ſuch Allotments 'among the *Engliſh*, as the *Engliſh* had themſelves. And that if a competent number of 'them, ſhould ſo come on to Civility, as to be 'capable of a Townſhip, the General Court 'ſhould grant them Lands for a Plantation as 'they do unto the *Engliſh*. Altho' we had already brought up their Claims unto our Lands. We likewiſe had our Laws, *That if any of our Cattle did any damage to their Corn, we ſhould make them ample Satisfaction; and that we ſhould give them all manner of Aſſiſtance, in Fencing of their Fields.* And becauſe the *Indians* are exceſſively given unto the Vice of *Drunkenneſs*, which was a Vice unknown to them, until the *Engliſh* brought *Strong-drink* in their way, we have had a ſevere Law againſt all ſelling or giving any *Intoxicating Liquors* to them. It were well, if this Law were more ſeverely Executed.

By this time I hope, I have ſtop'd the Calumnious Exclamations of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting to Evangelize the Natives of the *Indies*. But let me take this occaſion to addreſs the *Chriſtian Indians* of my own Country, into ſome of whoſe Hands, 'tis likely, this little Book may come.

¶ 'Behold, *ye Indians*, what Love, what Care, 'what Coſt, has been uſed by the *Engliſh* here, 'for the Salvation of your precious and immortals *Souls*. It is not becauſe we have expected 'any *Temporal Advantage* from you, that we 'have been thus concerned for your good; No, ''tis God that has cauſed us to deſire his *Glory* 'in your Salvation; and our Hearts have bled 'with *Pity* over you, when we have ſeen how 'horribly the Devil *oppreſs'd* you in this, and '*deſtroy'd* you in another World. It is *much* that 'has been done for you; we have put you into a way to be happy both on *Earth* while you 'live, and in *Heaven* when you die. What can 'you think will become of you, if you ſlight all 'theſe Glorious Offers! Methinks you ſhould 'ſay to your ſelves, *Vttoh weh kittinne peh quoh humunan miſhanantamog ne mohſag wadchanittuonk!* You all believe that your Teacher *Eliot*, was a *Good* and a *Brave* Man, and 'you would count it your Bleſſedneſs to be for 'ever with him. Nevertheleſs, I am to tell 'you, that if you don't become Real, and 'Thorough, and Holy *Chriſtians*, you ſhall never have a comfortable Sight of him any 'more. You know how he has *Fed* you, and '*Cloath'd* you, as well as *Taught* you; you 'know how his *Bowels* yerned over you, even 'as tho' had you had been his *Children*, when 'he ſaw any Afflictions come upon you; but 'if he find you among the wicked, in the *Day of Judgment*, which he ſo often warn'd you 'of, he will then be a Dreadful Witneſs againſt you, and when the Lord Jeſus paſſes 'that Sentence on you, *Depart ye Curſed into Everlaſting Fire with the Devil and his Angels*, even your own *Eliot* will then ſay *Amen*, 'unto it all. Now to deal plainly with you, 'there are two *Vices*, which many of you are 'too prone unto, and which are utterly inconſiſtent with a *True Chriſtianity*. One of thoſe 'Vices, is that of *Idleneſs*. If you had a Diſpoſition to follow an *Honeſt Calling*, what 'ſhould hinder you from growing as Conſide-

'rable

'rable in your Eſtates, as many of your *English Neighbours:* Whereas, you are now 'poor, mean, ragged, ſtarved, contemptible 'and miſerable; and inſtead of being able, as 'your *Engliſh Neighbours* do, to ſupport the 'Ordinances of God, you are beholden to *them*, 'not only for maintaining of thoſe Bleſſed Ordinances among you, but for many other 'Kindneſſes. And have you indeed forgot the '*Commandment* of God, which has been ſo often 'laid before you, *Six Days ſhalt thou labour!* 'For ſhame, apply your ſelves to ſuch *Labour* 'as may bring you into more Handſome Circumſtances. But the other of theſe Vices, is 'that of *Drunkenneſs*. There are godly *Engliſh Neighbours*, of whom you ſhould learn 'to *Pray*; but there are ſome of you that 'learn to *Drink*, of other profane, debauch'd '*Engliſh Neighbours*. Poor Creatures, 'tis by 'this Iniquity that *Satan* ſtill keeps Poſſeſſion 'of many Souls among you, as much as if you 'were ſtill in all your woful *Heatheniſm*; and 'how often have you been told, *Drunkards ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God?* I beſeech you to be ſenſible of the Miſchiefs to 'which this thing expoſes you, and never 'dream of eſcaping the *Vengeance of Eternal Fire*, if you indulge your ſelves in this *Accurſed thing*.

'I have done, when I have wiſh'd, That the '*Goſpel* of the Lord Jeſus may always *Run and be Glorify'd among you!*

The CONCLUSION: *Or,* Eliot *Expiring.*

BY this time, I have doubtleſs made my Readers loth to have me tell what now remains of this little Hiſtory; doubtleſs they are wiſhing that this *John* might have *Tarried unto the Second Coming of our Lord*. But, alas, All-devouring *Death* at laſt ſnatch'd him from us, and ſlighted all thoſe Lamentations of ours, *My Father, My Father, the Chariots of Iſrael, and the Horſemen thereof!*

When he was become a ſort of *Miles Emeritus*, and began to draw near his *End*, he grew ſtill more Heavenly, more Savoury, more Divine, and ſcented more of the Spicy Country at which he was ready to put aſhore. As the Hiſtorian obſerves of *Tiberius*, That when his *Life* and *Strength* were going from him, his *Vice* yet remained with him; on the contrary, the *Grace* of this Excellent Man rather increaſed than abated, when every thing elſe was dying with him. 'Tis too uſual with *Old Men*, that when they are paſt *Work*, they are leaſt ſenſible of their Inabilities and Incapacities, and can ſcarce endure to ſee another ſucceeding them in any part of their Office. But our *Eliot* was of a Temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding many Months before his Expiration, That he had not Strength enough to Edify his Congregation with Publick *Prayers*, and *Sermons*, he importun'd his People with ſome Impatience to call another Miniſter; profeſſing himſelf unable to die with Comfort, until he could ſee a good Succeſſor ordained, ſettled, fixed among them. For this Cauſe, he alſo cry'd mightily unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt our *Aſcended Lord*, that he would give ſuch a *Gift* unto *Roxbury*, and he ſometimes call'd his whole Town together to join with him in a *Faſt* for ſuch a Bleſſing. As the Return of their Supplications, our Lord quickly beſtow'd upon them, a Perſon young in Years, but old in Diſcretion, Gravity, and Experience; and one whom the Church of *Roxbury* hopes to find, *A Paſtor after God's own Heart.*

It was Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, who being by the Unanimous Vote and Choice of the Church there, become the *Paſtor* of *Roxbury*, immediately found the Venerable *Eliot* Embracing and Cheriſhing of him, with the tender Affections of a Father. The good Old Man like Old *Aaron*, as it were diſrobed himſelf, with an unſpeakable Satisfaction, when he beheld his Garments put upon a Son ſo dear unto him. After this, he for a Year or two before his Tranſlation, could ſcarce be perſwaded unto any *Publick Service*, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have ſaid, *It would be a Wrong to the Souls of the People, for him to do any thing among them, when they were ſupply'd ſo much to their Advantage otherwiſe*. If I miſtake not, the laſt that ever he Preached was on a *Publick Faſt*; when he fed his People with a very diſtinct and uſeful *Expoſition* upon the Eighty Third *Pſalm*; and he concluded with an Apology, begging his Hearers to pardon the *Poorneſs*, and *Meanneſs*, and *Brokenneſs*, (as he called it) of his Meditations; but added he, *My dear Brother here, will by'nd by mend all.*

But altho' he thus diſmiſſed himſelf as one ſo near to the Age of *Ninety*, might well have done, from his Publick Labours; yet he would not give over his Endeavours, in a more private Sphere, to *Do good unto all*. He had always been an Enemy to *Idleneſs*; any one that ſhould look into the little *Diary* that he kept in his *Almanacks*, would ſee that there was with him, *No Day without a Line*; and he was troubled particularly, when he ſaw how much *Time* was devoured by that Slavery to *Tobacco*, which

which too many debaſe themſelves unto; and now he grew old, he was deſirous that his *Works* ſhould hold pace with his *Life*; the leſs *Time* he ſaw *left*, the leſs was he willing to have *loſt*. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpoſe in any Service for God; and ſometimes he would ſay with an Air peculiar to himſelf, *I wonder for what the Lord Jeſus Chriſt lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!* And yet he could not forbear Eſſaying to *Do ſomething* for his Lord; he conceived, that tho' the *Engliſh* could not be benefited by any Gifts which he now fancied himſelf to have only the *Ruines* of, yet who can tell but the *Negro*'s might! He had long lamented it with a Bleeding and a Burning Paſſion, that the *Engliſh* uſed their *Negro*'s but as their *Horſes* or their *Oxen*, and that ſo little Care was taken about their immortal Souls; he look'd upon it as a Prodigy, that any wearing the *Name* of *Chriſtians*, ſhould ſo much have the *Heart* of *Devils* in them, as to prevent and hinder the Inſtruction of the poor *Blackamores*, and confine the Souls of their miſerable Slaves to a *Deſtroying Ignorance*, meerly for fear of thereby loſing the Benefit of their Vaſſalage; but now he made a Motion to the *Engliſh* within two or three Miles of him, that at ſuch a time and Place they would ſend their *Negro's* once a Week unto him: For he would then *Catechiſe* them, and *Enlighten* them, to the utmoſt of his Power in the Things of their Everlaſting Peace; however, he did not live to make much Progreſs in this Undertaking.

At length, when he was able to do *Little* without Doors, he try'd then to do ſomething within; and one thing was this. A young Boy in the Neighbourhood, had in his Infancy fallen into a Fire, ſo as to burn himſelf into a perfect *Blindneſs*; but this Boy being now grown to ſome Bigneſs, the good old Man took him home to his Houſe, with ſome Intentions to make a *Scholar* of him. He firſt informed him of and from the *Scripture*, in which the Boy ſo profited, that in a little time he could even Repeat many whole *Chapters* Verbatim, and if any other in Reading miſſed a Word, he would mind them of it; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become eaſy to the Lad; but having his own Eyes cloſed by Death, he could no longer help the poor Child againſt the want of his.

Thus, As the Aged *Polycarp* could ſay, *Theſe Eighty Six Years have I ſerved my Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and he has been ſuch a good Maſter to me all this while, that I will not now forſake him.* Such a *Polycarp* was our *Eliot*; he had been ſo many Years engaged in the ſweet Service of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that he could not now give it over: 'Twas his Ambition, and his Privilege, *to bring forth Fruit in old Age*; and what Veneration the Church of *Smyrna* paid unto that *Angel* of theirs, we were upon the like Accounts willing to give unto this *Man of God*.

While he was thus making his Retreat out of this evil World, his Diſcourſes from time to time ran upon, *The Coming of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; it was the Theme which he ſtill had Recourſe unto, and we were ſure to have ſomething of this, whatever other Subject he were upon. On this he talk'd, of this he pray'd, for this he long'd, and eſpecially when any bad News arriv'd, his uſual Reflection thereupon would be, *Behold, ſome of the Clouds, in which we muſt look for the Coming of the Son of Man.* At laſt, his Lord, for whom he had been long wiſhing, *Lord, come! I have been a great while ready for thy Coming!* At laſt, I ſay, his Lord came and fetched him away into the *Joy of his Lord*.

He fell into ſome Languiſhments attended with a *Fever*, which in a few days brought him into the *Pangs* (may I ſay? or *Joys*) of Death; and while he lay in theſe, Mr. *Walter* coming to him, he ſaid unto him, *Brother, Thou art welcome to my very Soul. Pray retire to thy Study for me, and give me leave to be gone*; meaning that he ſhould not, by Petitions to Heaven for his Life, detain him here. It was in theſe Languiſhments, that ſpeaking about the Work of the Goſpel among the *Indians*, he did after this Heavenly manner expreſs himſelf, *There is a Cloud* (ſaid he) *a dark Cloud upon the Work of the Goſpel among the poor* Indians. *The Lord revive and proſper that Work, and grant it may live when I am Dead. It is a Work, which I have been doing much and long about. But what was the Word I ſpoke laſt? I recal that Word,* My Doings! *Alas, they have been poor and ſmall, and lean Doings, and I'll be the Man that ſhall throw the firſt Stone at them all.*

It has been obſerved, That they who have ſpoke many conſiderable things in their *Lives*, uſually ſpeak few at their *Deaths*. But it was otherwiſe with our *Eliot*, who after much Speech of and for God in his *Life-time*, uttered ſome things little ſhort of *Oracles* on his *Death-Bed*, which, 'tis a thouſand Pities, they were not more exactly regarded and recorded. Thoſe Authors that have taken the pains to Collect, *Apophthegmata Morientum*, have not therein been unſerviceable to the Living; but the *Apophthegms* of a Dying *Eliot* muſt have had in them a *Grace* and a *Strain* truly extraordinary; and indeed the *vulgar Error* of the ſignal ſweetneſs in the Song of a *Dying Swan*, was a very Truth in our Expiring *Eliot*; his laſt Breath ſmelt ſtrong of Heaven, and was Articled into none but very gracious Notes; one of the laſt whereof, was, *Welcome Joy!* and at laſt it went away calling upon the ſtanders-by, to *Pray, pray, pray!* Which was the thing in which ſo vaſt a Portion of it, had been before Employ'd.

This was the Peace in the End of this *Perfect and upright Man*; thus was there another *Star* fetched away to be placed among the reſt that

the third Heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleaſant Fear, that the Old Saints of his Acquaintance, eſpecially thoſe two deareſt Neighbours of his, *Cotton* of *Boſton*, and *Mather* of *Dorcheſter*, which were got ſafe to Heaven before him, would ſuſpect him to be gone the wrong way, becauſe he ſtaid ſo long behind them. But they are now together with a Bleſſed Jeſus, *beholding of his Glory*, and celebrating the High Praiſes of him that has *call'd them into his marvellous Light*. Whether *Heaven* was any more *Heaven* to him, becauſe of his finding there, ſo many *Saints*, with whom he once had his Deſireable Intimacies, yea, and ſo many *Saints* which had been the Seals of his own Miniſtry in this lower World, I cannot ſay; but it would be *Heaven* enough unto him, to go unto that *Jeſus*, whom he had lov'd, preach'd, ſerv'd, and in whom he had been long aſſured, there does *All Fulneſs dwell*. In that Heaven I now leave him: Not without *Grynæus*'s Pathetical Exclamations [*O beatum illum diem!*] 'Bleſſed will be the Day, O 'Bleſſed the Day of our Arrival to the Glorious 'Aſſembly of Spirits, which this great Saint is 'now rejoicing with!

Bereaved *New-England*, where are thy Tears, at this Ill-boding Funeral? We had a Tradition among us, 'That the Country could never 'periſh, as long as *Eliot* was alive. But into whoſe Hands muſt this *Hippo* fall, now the *Auſtin* of it is taken away? Our *Eliſha* is gone, and now who muſt *next Year invade the Land?* The *Jews* have a Saying, *Quando Luminaria patiuntur Eclipſin, malum ſignum eſt mundo*; But I am ſure, 'tis a diſmal *Eclipſe* that has now befallen our *New-Engliſh* World. I confeſs, many of the Ancients fell into the Vanity of eſteeming the Reliques of the *Dead Saints*, to be the *Towers* and *Ramparts* of the Places that enjoy'd them; and the *Dead Bodies* of two Apoſtles in the City, made the Poet cry out,

A Facie Hoſtili duo propugnacula præſunt.

If the Duſt of *dead Saints* could give us any Protection, we are not without it; here is a Spot of *American* Soyl that will afford a rich Crop of it, at the *Reſurrection of the Juſt*. Poor *New-England* has been as *Glaſtenbury* of Old was called, *A Burying-place of Saints*. But we cannot ſee a more terrible Prognoſtick, than Tombs filling apace with ſuch *Bones*, as thoſe of the Renowned *Eliot*'s; the whole Building of this Country trembles at the Fall of ſuch a Pillar.

For many Months before he dy'd, he would often chearfully tell us, 'That he was ſhortly 'going to Heaven, and that he would carry a 'deal of good News thither with him; he 'ſaid, he would carry Tidings to the Old 'Founders of *New-England*, which were now 'in Glory, that Church-Work was yet carried 'on among us: That the Number of our Churches was continually encreaſing: And that 'the Churches were ſtill kept as big as they 'were, by the Daily Additions of thoſe that 'ſhall be ſaved. But the going of ſuch as *he* from us, will apace diminiſh the Occaſions of ſuch happy Tidings.

What ſhall we now ſay? Our *Eliot* himſelf uſed moſt affectionately to bewail the Death of all Uſeful Men; yet if one brought him the notice of ſuch a thing, with any Deſpondencies, or ſaid, *O Sir, ſuch an one is Dead, what ſhall we do?* He would anſwer, *Well, but God lives, Chriſt lives, the Old Saviour of* New-England *yet lives, and he will Reign till all his Enemies are made his Footſtool.* This, and only this, Conſideration have we to relieve us; and let it be accompanied with our Addreſſes to the *God of the Spirits of all Fleſh*, that there may be *Timothies* raiſed up in the room of our Departed *Pauls*; and that when our *Moſes*'s are gone, the Spirit which was in thoſe Brave Men, may be put upon the ſurviving *Elders of our Iſrael*.

The laſt Thing that ever our *Eliot* put off, was, *The Care of all the Churches*, which with a moſt Apoſtolical and Evangelical Temper he was continually ſollicitous about. When the Churches of *New-England* were under a very uncomfortable Proſpect, by the advantage which Men that ſought the Ruine of thoſe Golden and Holy and Reformed Societies, had obtained againſt them. God put it into the Heart of one well-known in theſe Churches, to take a Voyage into *England*, that he might by his Mediations at *Whitehall*, divert the *Storms* that were impending over us. 'Tis not eaſy to expreſs what Affection our Aged *Eliot* proſecuted this Undertaking with; and what *Thankſgiving* he rendred unto God for any hopeful Succeſſes of it. But becauſe one of the laſt Times, and for ought I know, the laſt of his ever ſetting Pen to Paper in the World, was upon this occaſion; I ſhall tranſcribe a ſhort Letter, which was *written* by the ſhaking hand, that had heretofore by *Writing* deſerved ſo well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of *Writing* for ever. It was written to the Perſon that was Engaging for us, and thus it ran.

Reverend and Beloved Mr. Increaſe Mather,

'I Cannot *write*. Read *Neh.* 2. 10. When '*Sanballat* the Horonite, and *Tobijah* the 'Servant, the Ammonite, heard of it; it grieved them exceedingly, that there was come 'a Man to ſeek the Welfare of the Children 'of *Iſrael*.

'Let thy bleſſed Soul, feed full and fat upon 'this and other Scriptures. All other things I 'leave to other Men; and reſt,

Your Loving Brother,

JOHN ELIOT.

Theſe

Theſe Two or Three Lines manifeſt the *Care of the Churches* which breath'd in this great Old Man, as long as he had a Breath to draw in the World. And ſince he has left few like him for a Comprehenſive and Univerſal Regard unto the Proſperity of all the Flocks in this Wilderneſs, we have little now to comfort us in the Loſs of one ſo like a *Patriarch* among us, but only this, That our poor Churches, it may be hop'd, have ſtill ſome Intereſt in the Cares of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Who walks in the midſt of the Golden Candleſticks*. Lord! *make* our Churches and *keep* them, yet *Golden Candleſticks!* Amen.

BUT I have not obtained the *End* of this *Hiſtory*, nor may I let this *Hiſtory* come to an *End*, until I do with ſome Importunity beſpeak the Endeavours of good Men every where, to labour in that Harveſt which the Bleſſed *Eliot* juſtly counted worthy of his utmoſt Pains and Cares. It was the Confeſſion of *Themiſtocles*, that the Victory of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleep in Quietneſs; may thoſe of our *Eliot* raiſe a like Emulation in thoſe that have now ſeen the Life of this Evangelical *Hero!* One *Robert Baily* (a true Son of *Epiphanius*) many Years ago publiſhed a *Book*, wherein ſeveral *Groſs Lies*, by which the Name of that *John Cotton*, who was known to be one of the Holieſt Men then alive, was moſt injuriouſly made odious unto the Churches abroad, were accompanied with ſome Reflections upon poor *New-England*, whereof this was one, *The way of their Churches hath moſt exceedingly hindred the Converſion of the poor Pagans: Of all that ever croſſed the* American *Seas, they are noted as moſt neglectful of the Work of Converſion*. We have now ſeen thoſe Aſperſions and Calumnies abundantly wip'd away. But let that which has been the *Vindication* of *New-England*, be alſo the *Æmulation* of the World: Let not poor little *New-England*, be the only Proteſtant Country that ſhall do any Notable thing for *the Propagation of the* Faith, unto thoſe *Dark Corners of the Earth which are full of cruel Habitations*. But the *Addreſſes* of ſo mean a Perſon as my ſelf, are like to prevail but little abroad with Men of Learning and Figure in the World. However, I ſhall preſume to utter my *Wiſhes* in the ſight of my *Readers*; and it is poſſible that the Great God who *deſpiſes not the Prayer of the poor*, may by the Influences of his Holy Spirit, upon the *Hearts* of ſome whoſe Eyes are upon theſe Lines, give a Bleſſed Anſwer thereunto.

Wherefore, May the People of *New-England*, who have ſeen ſo ſenſible a Difference between the Eſtates of thoſe that ſell *Drink*, and of thoſe that preach *Truth*, unto the miſerable Salvages among them, as that even *this* alone might inſpire them, yet from a nobler Conſideration than that of their own *outward Proſperity* thereby advanced, be encouraged ſtill to proſecute, firſt the *Civilizing*, and then the *Chriſtianizing* of the *Barbarians*, in their Neighbourhood; and may the *New Englanders* be ſo far *Politick* as well as *Religious*, as particularly to make a *Miſſion* of the Goſpel unto the Mighty Nations of the *Weſtern Indians*, whom the *French* have been of late ſo ſtudiouſly, but ſo unſucceſsfully Tampering with; leſt thoſe horrid Pagans, who lately (as 'tis credibly affirmed) had ſuch a Meaſure of *Deviliſm* and *Inſolence* in them, as to ſhoot a Volley of great and ſmall *Shot* againſt the Heavens, in Revenge upon *The Man in the Heavens*, as they called our Lord, whom they counted the Author of the Heavy Calamities which newly have diſtreſſed them; be found ſpared by our Long-ſuffering Lord, [who *then* indeed preſently tore the Ground aſunder, with immediate and horrible Thunders from Heaven round about them, but kill'd them not*!*] for a Scourge to us, that have not uſed our Advantages to make a *vertuous People* of them. If a King of the *Weſt Saxons* long ſince aſcribed all the Diaſaſters on any of their Affairs, to Negligencies in this *Point*, methinks the *New-Englanders* may not count it unreaſonable in this *way* to ſeek their own Proſperity. Shall we do what we can that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt may beſtow upon *America*, (which may more juſtly be call'd *Columba*) that Salutation, *O my Dove!*

May the ſeveral Plantations, that live upon the Labours of their *Negro's*, no more be guilty of ſuch a prodigious Wickedneſs, as to deride, neglect, and oppoſe all due means of bringing their poor *Negro's* unto our Lord; but may the *Maſters* of whom God will one Day require the Souls of the *Slaves* committed unto them, ſee to it, that like *Abraham*, they have *Catechiſed Servants*; and not imagine that the Almighty God made ſo many Thouſands of Reaſonable Creatures for nothing, but only to ſerve the Luſts of *Epicures*, or the Gains of *Mammoniſts*; leſt the God of Heaven out of meer *Pity*, if not *Juſtice*, unto thoſe unhappy *Blacks*, be provoked unto a Vengeance which may not without Horrour, be thought upon. *Lord, when ſhall we ſee* Ethiopians *read thy Scriptures with Underſtanding!*

May the *Engliſh* Nation do what may be done, that the *Welch* may not be *deſtroy'd for the lack of Knowledge*, leſt our Indiſpoſition to do for their Souls, bring upon us all thoſe Judgments of Heaven, which *Gildas* their Country-man, once told them, that they ſuffered for their Diſregards unto *ours*; and may the nefandous Maſſacres of the *Engliſh* by the *Iriſh*, awaken the *Engliſh* to conſider, whether they have done enough to reclaim the *Iriſh*, from the Popiſh Bigottries and Abominations, with which they have been intoxicated.

May the ſeveral *Factories* and *Companies*, whoſe Concerns lie in *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *America*, be perſwaded, as *Jacob* once, and before him his

his Grandfather *Abraham* was, That they always owe unto God certain *Proportions* of their *Poſſeſſions*, by the honeſt *Payments* of which little *Quit-Rents*, they would certainly *ſecure* and *enlarge* their Enjoyment of the Principal; but that they are under a very particular Obligation to communicate of our *Spiritual Things*, unto thoſe Heathens, by whoſe *Carnal Things* they are Enriched: And may they therefore make it their Study, to employ ſome able and pious *Miniſters*, for the Inſtruction of thoſe *Infidels* with whom they have to deal, and honourably ſupport ſuch Miniſters in that Employment.

May the Poor *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Muſcovites*, and others, in the Eaſtern Countries, wearing the Name of *Chriſtians*, that have little *Preaching* and no *Printing*, and few Bibles or good Books, now at laſt be furniſhed with Bibles, Orthodox Catechiſms, and Practical Treatiſes by the Charity of *England*; and may our Preſſes provide good ſtore of good Books for them, in their own Tongues, to be ſcattered among them. Who knows what Convulſions might be haſtened upon the whole *Mahometan World* by ſuch an extenſive Charity!

May ſufficient Numbers of great, wiſe, rich, learned, and godly Men in the Three Kingdoms, procure well-compoſed *Societies*, by whoſe united Counſels, the Noble Deſign of *Evangelizing* the World, may be more effectually carried on; and if ſome generous Perſons will of their own Accord combine for ſuch Conſultations, who can tell, but like ſome other *Celebrated Societies* heretofore formed from ſuch ſmall Beginnings, they may ſoon have that Countenance of Authority, which may produce very Glorious Effects, and give Opportunity to gather vaſt *Contributions* from all well-diſpoſed People, to Aſſiſt and Advance this Progreſs of Chriſtianity. God forbid, that *Popery* ſhould expend upon *cheating*, more than ten times what we do upon *ſaving* the Immortal Souls of Men.

Laſtly, May many Worthy Men, who find their Circumſtances will allow of it, get the *Language* of ſome Nations that are not yet brought home to God; and wait upon the Divine Providence, for God's leading them to, and owning them in their *Apoſtolical Undertakings*. When they remember what *Ruffinus* relates concerning the Converſion of the *Iberians*, and what *Socrates*, with other Authors, relates concerning the Converſion wrought by occaſion of *Frumentius* and *Ædeſius*, in the *Inner India*, all as it were by *Accident*, ſurely 'twill make them try, what may be done by *Deſign* for ſuch things now in our Day! Thus, let them ſee, whether while we at home in the midſt of weariſome Temptations, are Angling with *Rods*, which now and then catch one Soul for our Lord, they ſhall not be Fiſhing with *Nets*, which will bring in many Thouſands of thoſe, concerning whom with *unſpeakable Joy* in the Day of the Lord, they may ſay, *Behold, I and the Children which God has given me!* Let them ſee, whether, ſuppoſing they ſhould proſper no farther than to *Preach the Goſpel of the Kingdom in all the World for a Witneſs unto all Nations*, yet the *End* which is then *to come*, will not bring to them the more happy *Lot*, wherein they ſhall ſtand, that are found ſo doing.

Let no Man be diſcouraged by the *Difficulties*, which the Devil will be ready to clog ſuch Attempts againſt his Kingdom with; for I will take leave ſo to Tranſlate the Words of the Wiſe Man, in *Prov.* 27. 4. *What is able to ſtand before Zeal?* I am well ſatisfy'd, that if Men had the Wiſdom, *To diſcern the Signs of the Times*, they would be all Hands at Work, to ſpread the Name of our Jeſus into all the Corners of the Earth. *Grant it, O my God, and Lord Jeſus, Come quickly.*

A Copy of a LETTER from the very Reverend Mr. *Richard Baxter*, to Mr. *Increaſe Mather* (then in *London*.)

Written upon the Sight of Mr. *Eliot*'s LIFE, in a Former Edition.

Dear Brother,

'I Thought I had been near Dying at 12 a 'Clock, in Bed; but your Book reviv'd 'me: I lay Reading it, until between One 'and Two. I knew much of Mr. *Eliot*'s Opi- 'nions, by many Letters, which I had from 'him. There was no Man on Earth, whom 'I Honour'd above him. It is his *Evangelical* '*Work*, that is the *Apoſtolical Succeſſion* that

I plead

‘ I plead for. I am now Dying, I hope, as ‘ he did. It pleaſed me to Read from him, ‘ my Caſe, [*My Underſtanding faileth, my Memory faileth, my Tongue faileth,* (and my ‘ Hand and Pen fail) *but my Charity faileth* ‘ *not.*] That Word much comforted me. I ‘ am as Zealous a Lover of the *New-England* ‘ Churches, as any Man, according to Mr. ‘ *Noyes*, Mr. *Nortons*, Mr. *Mitchels*, and the ‘ *Synods* Model.

‘ I loved your *Father*, upon the Letters I re‘ceived from him. I love *you* better for your ‘ Learning, Labours, and peaceable Modera‘tion. I love *your Son* better than either of ‘ you, for the Excellent Temper that appear‘eth in his Writings. O that Godlineſs and ‘ Wiſdom thus *Increaſe* in all Families! ‘ He hath Honoured himſelf *Half as much* as ‘ Mr. *Eliot*: I ſay, but *Half as much*; for ‘ *Deeds* excel *Words*. God preſerve you, and ‘ *New-England*! Pray for,

Auguſt 3. 1691.

Your Fainting,

Languiſhing Friend,

Ri. Baxter.

REMAINS

REMAINS:

OR,

Shorter Accounts of Sundry Divines,

Uſeful in the

Churches of New-England.

Gathered by COTTON MATHER.

The Fourth Part.

Whereto is more Largely Added,

The LIFE and DEATH of the Reverend Mr. *JOHN BAILY.*

INTRODUCTION.

READER,

P*Eruſe, I pray, and ponder theſe Words of the Incomparable* Turretine.

Singularem Dei Gratiam, non poſſumus, quin Æternis Laudibus, Celebremus, quod Noviſſimis hiſce ſæculis, reſtitutâ Evangelii Luce, tot tantoſq; Viros, Doctrinâ & Inſigni Pietate Præditos, ad Opus *Reformationis* Inchoandum & Promovendum Vocaverit; qui uberrimâ Rerum Sacrarum Scientiâ imbuti, & Heroico Spiritu donati, tanquam [אנשי מופת] *Viri Prodigis*, Tubæ Evangelicæ Sonitu, & Veritatis Divinæ Fulgore, Tenebras Erroris Craſſiſſimas fæliciſſime fugarunt, *Antichriſti Regnum* Concuſſerunt, & Eccleſiam a Multis ſæculis miſere Captivam, & Tyrannidis Jugo pluſquam ferreo tantum non oppreſſam, è Babylone Myſticâglorioſe Evocârunt.

Thou art prepared then to proceed, in what Remains *of our* Hiſtory.

Reader, *Thou knoweſt the way for a Man to become Wiſe, was thus declared by an Oracle,* ſi concolor fieret Mortuis.

And thou wilt not forget that Leſſon ſometimes given;

'*Since we have* lived *here, and ſince we are* '*to* die, *and yet* live *after* Death, *and* others '*will ſucceed us when we are* Dead, *We are* '*greatly concerned, to ſend* before us *a very* 'Good Treaſure, *to carry* with us *a very* Good 'Conſcience, *and to leave* behind us *a very* 'Good Example.

Behold

Behold ſome of them, who did ſo!

It hath been Remark'd, That when Sarah *call'd her Husband* Lord; *her Speech was all an heap of Sinful Infidelity; there was but one* Good Word *in it: Yet the Spirit of God, long after* takes notice *of that Word. And why ſhould not we then* take notice, *of many a* Good Work, *occurring in the* Lives *of thoſe, concerning whom yet we do not pretend or ſuppoſe, that they lived altogether free from* Infirmities? *Their* Infirmities *were but* Humanities.

CHAP. I.

REMAINS *of the* Firſt Claſſis.

THE ſurviving Friends of the *Reſt*, mentioned in the *Firſt Catalogue* of *Confeſſors*, by whom the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was brought into this Wilderneſs, having ſupplied me with ſo few and ſmall Informations concerning them, that I am of the Opinion, *Præſtat nulla quam Pauca dicere.* Let all their Vertues then be *Galaxied* into this one Indiſtinct Luſtre, they were Faithful Servants of Chriſt, and *Sufferers* for their being ſo.

Nor is it unlikely that there might be ſome among thoſe good Men, who yet might be, in ſo little *Extraordinary*, that there might be the ſame Account given of them, that there was of a certain Biſhop of *Rome*, in the Second Century, *Nihil præclari de Gubernatione & factis ejus commemorari poteſt*; and although we *New-Englanders* do dwell in ſo Cold, and ſo Clear an Air, that more of the *ſmaller Stars* may be ſeen by our *Conſiderers* than in many other Places, yea, and not only the *Nebuloſa* of *Cancer* it ſelf, but even the *Leſſer Stars* which compoſe that Cloud, are *Conſidered* among us; nevertheleſs, for us to attempt the Writing of their *Lives*, would carry too much *Fondneſs* in it: Nor do we forget, that *Suum eſt cuiq; ordi vulgus.*

Moreover, there were divers of theſe Worthy Men, who by removing back to *England* upon the *Turn of the Times*, have almoſt releaſed us from ſuch a *Large Account* of them, as otherwiſe might have been expected from us: And yet ſome *Good Account* of not a few among them, is to be reported. I remember, Dr. *Patin* in his Travels, tells us, That in a certain *Muſæum* at *Vienna*, he ſaw a *Cherry-ſtone*, on which were engraved above an *Hundred Portraitures*, with *different Ornaments* of the *Head* upon them. I muſt now endeavour a Tenth part of an *Hundred Pourtraitures*, with *different Ornaments* of the Mind upon each of them; nevertheleſs I am to take up almoſt as much as little room as a *Cherry-ſtone* for them all. Particularly,

Mr. RICHARD BLINMAN. After a Faithful Diſcharge of his Miniſtry, at *Gloceſter*, and at *New-London*, he returned into *England*; and living to a *good Old Age*, he, who wherever he came, did ſet himſelf to *Do Good*, concluded his Life at the City of *Briſtol*, where one of the laſt Things he did, was to defend in Print the Cauſe of *Infant Baptiſm*.

Mr. *SAMUEL EATON.* He was the Son of Mr. *Richard Eaton*, the Vicar of *Great Burdworth* in *Cheſhire*, and the Brother of Mr. *Theophilus Eaton*, the Renowned Governour of *New-Haven.* His Education was at the Univerſity of *Oxford:* And becauſe it will doubtleſs recommend him to find ſuch a Pen, as that which wrote the *Athenæ Oxonienſes* thus Characteriſing of him, Reader, thou ſhalt have the very Words of that Writer, concerning him: *After he had left the Univerſity, he entred into the Sacred Function, took Orders according to the Church of* England, *and was Beneficed in his Country: But having been puritanically Educated, he did diſſent in ſome Particulars thereof. Whereupon finding his Place too warm for him, he Revolted, and went into* New-England, *and Preached among the Brethren there.* But let us have no more of this *Wood!* Mr. *Eaton* was a very Holy Man, and a Perſon of great Learning and Judgment, and a moſt Incomparable Preacher. But upon his Diſſent from Mr. *Davenport*, about the Narrow Terms, and Forms of *Civil Government*, by Mr. *Davenport*, then forced upon that Infant-Colony, his Brother adviſed him to a Removal: And calling at *Boſton* by the way, when he was on his Removal, the Church there were ſo highly affected with his Labours, thus occaſionally enjoyed among them, that they would fain have engaged him unto a Settlement in that Place. But the Lord Jeſus Chriſt had more Service for him in *Old-England*, than he could have done in *New*; and therefore arriving in *England*, he became the Paſtor of a Church at *Duckenfield*, in the Pariſh of *Stockfort*, in *Cheſhire*, and afterwards at *Stockport*; and a Perſon of Eminent Note and Uſe, not only in that, but alſo in the Neighbour-County.

After the *Reſtoration* of K. *Charles* II. he underwent firſt *Silencing*, and then much other *Suffering*, from the *Perſecution*, which yet calls for a *National Repentance.* He was the Author of many *Books*, and eſpecially of ſome in Defence of the *Chriſtian Faith*, about the *God-Head of Chriſt*, againſt the Socinian Blaſphemies:

mies: And his Help was joined unto Mr. *Timothy Tailors*, in writing ſome Treatiſes entituled, *The Congregational Way Juſtified*. By theſe he Out-lives his *Death*, which fell out at *Denton*, in the Pariſh of *Mancheſter* in *Lancaſhire* (where ſays our Friend *Rabſhakeh Wood*, he *had ſheltered himſelf among the Brethren after his Ejection*) on the Ninth Day of *January*, 1664. and he was Buried in the Chapel there.

Mr. *WILLIAM HOOK*. This Learned, Holy, and Humble Man, was born about 1600. and was for ſome time a Collegue with Mr. *Davenport*, in the Paſtoral Charge of the Church at our *New-Haven*; on the Day of his Ordination, whereto he humbly choſe for his Text thoſe Words in *Judg*. 7. 10. *Go thou, with Pharah thy Servant*; and as humbly raiſ'd his Doctrine, *That in Great Services a little Help is better than none*; which he gave, as the Reaſon of his own being joined with ſo conſiderable a *Gideon* as Mr. *Davenport*. After this returning into *England*, he was for ſome while, Miniſter at *Axmouth* in *Devonſhire*, and then Maſter of the *Savoy* on the *Strand*, near *London*, and ſo Chaplain to the Greateſt Man, then in the Nation. He was the Author of divers Compoſures that ſaw the Light; whereof perhaps one of the moſt memorable is that about, *The Privileges of the Saints on Earth above thoſe in Heaven*. But there was one of his Compoſures, which did more nearly concern himſelf, than perhaps his Perſecutors did imagine; and that was about, *The Slaughter of the Witneſſes*: For he bore a part in that *Slaughter*, when his Teſtimony to the *Kingly Office* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in his Church, procured him the Condition of a ſilenced *Non-Conformiſt*, from *May* 24. 1662. to *March* 21. 1677. when he died in, or near *London*, and went from the *Priviledges* of *Labours* among the *Saints on Earth*, to thoſe of *Rewards* among the *Saints in Heaven*. He lies buried in the *Sleeping-Place* on the North-ſide of the *New Artillery Garden*.

Mr. *ROBERT PECK*. This Light having been by the Perſecuting Prelates, *put under a Buſhel*, was, by the good Providence of Heaven, fetch'd away unto *New-England*, about the Year 1638. where the Good People of our *Hingham* did *Rejoice in the Light for a Seaſon*. But within Two or Three Years, the Invitation of his Friends at *Hingham* in *England*, perſwaded him to a Return unto them; where, being though a Great Perſon for *Stature*, yet a Greater for *Spirit*, he was greatly ſerviceable for the Good of the Church.

Mr. *HUGH PETERS*. A Brief Narrative of his *Life*, both before and after his Abode, for about Seven Years, in the Charge of the Church at *Salem*, the Reader may find at the Concluſion of his *Advice to his Daughter*, publiſhed under the Title of, *A Dying Father's laſt Legacy to an only Child*: And indeed, I heartily Recommend it unto his Reading. The Narrative of his *Death* has alſo been long ſince publiſhed unto the World: And it reports thoſe to have been amongſt his Laſt Words. *Oh! This is a* Good Day! *He is come that I have long looked for, and I ſhall be with him in Glory!*

Mr. *THOMAS PETERS*. He came over unto *New-England*, in the Time of the *Civil War*; and ſtaying but about Three Years, he returned into *England*. A Worthy Man, and a Writer of certain Pieces, which will, I ſuppoſe, preſerve his Memory among thoſe that are Strangers, as I am thereunto.

Mr. SAXTON. He was a *Yorkſhire* Man; a Studious and a Learned Perſon, a great Hebrician. The unſettled Condition of the Colony, and ſome unhappy Contention in the Plantation, where he Lived, put him upon removing from *Scituate*, firſt unto *Boſton*, and ſo unto *England*, in his Reduced Age. I find in honeſt Mr. *Ryther*'s Devout Book, Entituled, *A Plat for Mariners*, this Paſſage related concerning him. ' An Old Puritan Miniſter, [Mr. ' *Saxton* of *Leeds*, in *Yorkſhire*,] in a Storm, ' coming from *New-England*, when they were ' all expecting the Veſſel to ſink, he ſaid, *Oh* ' *who is now for Heaven, who is bound for Hea-* ' *ven!*

I *ſay* nothing, becauſe I *know* nothing of Mr. *Brecy*; but this, he alſo returned into *England*. But the leſs of him, the more might be written of Mr. *GILES FIRMIN*, who viſited *New-England* in his younger Years, but afterwards became, in *England*, an Eminent Preacher of the *Goſpel*, and a *Writer*, as well as a *Preacher* of it. Among the reſt of his Books, that Golden one, which is Entituled, *The Real Chriſtian*, does *Really* prove the Title to be his own Character; and the reſt, as well as that, prove him to be an *Able Scholar*, as well as a *Real Chriſtian*. I ſuppoſe him to be yet living in a Fruitful Old Age, at *Ridgewel* in *Eſſex*: But ſuch Demonſtrations, he hath ſtill given of his Affections to *New-England*, on all occaſions, that he might have juſtly reſented it, as an Injury, if he had been wholly omitted in the Catalogue of them that have deſerved well of that Country.

Beſides theſe Perſons, there are ſome others, of whom a larger Account might be endeavoured.

Three ſhall be *All* that we will offer.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The LIFE of Mr. *THOMAS ALLEN.*

IT was a Computation made in that Year, when our Colony was juſt *Forty Years Old*, and our Land had *ſeen Reſt Forty Years*, that of Miniſters which had then come from *England* unto us, chiefly in the *Ten Firſt Years*, there were *Ninety Four:* Of which Number, Thirty One were then *Alive*; *Thirty Six* had retired unto *Heaven*; *Twenty Seven* had returned back to *Europe*.

Of thoſe *Firſt Comers*, who again left the Country, ſoon after their *Firſt Coming*, one was that Worthy Man Mr. *Thomas Allen*, who after he had for ſome time approved himſelf a Pious and Painful Miniſter of the Goſpel, in our *Charleſtown*, ſaw Cauſe to return back into *England*; where he lived unto a good Old Age, in the City of *Norwich*.

The Name of *Allen* being but our Pronunciation of the *Saxon* Word, *Alwine*, which is as much as to ſay *Beloved of All*, expreſſed the Fate of this our *Allen*, among the Generality of the well-diſpoſed. And being a *Man greatly Beloved*, he applied himſelf to enquire much into the *Times*, wherein his Predeceſſor *Daniel*, was an Hard Student, when the Angel came to call him *ſo*.

Though he ſtaid not very long in this Country, yet this Country lays claim eſpecially to Two of his Compoſures, which have been Serviceable unto the World. The former of theſe was printed here; namely, *An Invitation unto Thirty Sinners to come unto their Saviour*; prefaced and aſſiſted into the Light by our Worthy *Higginſon*. But the latter was Printed beyond Sea; and Entituled, *A Chain of Scripture Chronology:* Wherein the Author was diſpoſed like the Illuſtrious *Bucholtzer*, who being weary of *Controverſy*, betook himſelf to *Chronology*, ſaying, *Malle ſe Computare quam Diſputare*. This is a moſt Learned and uſeful Piece; and all my further Account of the Author ſhall be in the Words of the Famous *Greenhil*, in his Epiſtle before it. Says he,

'This Work having had its Conception in a Remote Quarter of the World, it was latent in his Cloſet, the greateſt part of Seven Years; as *Joaſh* ſometimes was kept ſecret in a Chamber of the Temple, before he was brought to publick View, by the Means of *Jehojadah*, that good Old High Prieſt: And it had ſtill been *ſuppreſſed* had not the Author been *preſſed*, and charged with hiding of a *Talent* in a Napkin, by ſuch another as *Jehojadah* was [Mr. *John Cotton*] whoſe *Soul* is now amongſt the Saints in Heaven, reſting from its manifold *Labours*, and whoſe *Name* both is, and ever will be *precious* in all the *Gates* of the *Daughters of Sion*, through all Ages. When *Moſes*, *Daniel*, and *John* were in ſuffering Conditions, they had much *Light* from *God*, and gave forth much *Truth* concerning the *Church* and the *Times:* And many of our Reverend, Learned, and Godly Brethren, being through the Iniquity of the Times driven into *America*, by looking up unto *God*, and by *ſearching* of the *Scriptures*, received and found much *Light* concerning the *Church* and the *Times*; and have made *us*, and *Ages* to come, beholden to them, by communicating the ſame; amongſt whom *now*, is this Learned and Judicious Author.

From the *Epitaph* of *Helvicus*, the Great *Chronologiſt*, we will preſume to borrow a *Tetraſtick*, for this great Student in *Chronology*.

Epitaphium.

Angelicos inter cœtus, Animaſq; Beatas,
Spiritus ALLENI *Gaudia Mille Capit:*
Ad Litui Sonitum dum Corpus & Oſſa reſurgant,
Totus ut ALLENUS *Vivificatus ovet.*

CHAP III.

The LIFE of Mr. *JOHN KNOWLES.*

OUR *Bleſſed* Saviour has denounced that Righteous and Fearful Curſe, upon thoſe, who deſpiſe the Offers of his Glorious Goſpel, *Whoſoever ſhall not receive you, nor hear your Words, it ſhall be more tolerable for* Sodom *and* Gomorrah, *in the Day of Judgment, than for that City.* And the Excellent *Knowles*, was an Eminent Perſon among thoſe *Embaſſadors of Heaven*, in the Quarrel of whoſe Entertainment, the *King of Heaven*, wonderfully accompliſhed that Prediction. If *New-England* hath been in ſome Reſpects *Immanuel*'s *Land*, it is well; but this I am ſure of, *Immanuel-College* contributed more than a little to make it ſo, a Fellow whereof once was our Mr. *John Knowles*.

He was among the *Firſt Comers* into *New-England*, joined as a Colleague with Mr. *Philips* at *Watertown*. But as he began, ſo he ended his pious Days in *England*; between which there occurred one very *Remarkable Providence*, now to be Related.

In the Year 1641. One Mr. *Bennet*, a Gentleman from *Virginia*, arrived at *Boſton*, with Letters from well-diſpoſed People there, unto the Miniſters of *New-England*, bewailing their ſad Condition, for the want of the Glorious Goſpel, and entreating that they might hence be ſupplied with Miniſters of that Goſpel. Theſe Letters were openly Read at *Boſton* upon a *Lecture-Day*; Whereupon the Miniſters agreed upon ſetting apart a Day for *Faſting* and *Prayer*, to implore the Direction of God about this Buſineſs; and then the Churches of *Watertown*, *Braintree*, and *Rowly*, having each of them two Miniſters apiece, Mr. *Philips* of *Watertown*, Mr. *Thompſon* of *Braintree*, and Mr. *Miller* of *Rowly*, were pitched upon for the intended Service; whereof the General Court ſo approved, that it was ordered, the Governour ſhould Recommend theſe Perſons by his Letters to the Governour and Council at *Virginia*.

Mr. *Philips* being Indiſpoſed for the Voyage, Mr. *Knowles* went in his Room; and Mr. *Miller*'s Bodily Weakneſſes, cauſed him alſo to Decline the Voyage. But the Two Churches of *Watertown* and *Braintree*, though they loved their Miniſters very well, yet cheerfully diſmiſſed them unto this great Concern; accounting it their Honour that they had ſuch Deſireable Perſons, by whom they might make a *Miſſion* of the Goſpel, unto a *People that ſat in the Region and Shadow of Death*.

On *Oct.* 7. 1642. They began their Voyage: At *Rhode-Iſland*, they lay long Wind-bound; and they met with ſo many other Difficulties, that they made it Eleven Weeks of dangerous Paſſage, before they arrived at *Virginia*: Nevertheleſs, they had this Advantage in the way, that they took in a *Third Miniſter* for their Aſſiſtance; namely, Mr. *James*, then at *New-Haven*.

Though their hazardous Retardations in their Voyage, made them ſometimes to ſuſpect, whether they had a clear Call of God unto their Undertaking, yet the Succeſs of their Miniſtry, when they came to *Virginia*, did ſufficiently extinguiſh that Suſpicion. They had little *Encouragement* from the *Rulers* of the Place, but they had a kind *Entertaiment* with the *People*; and in the ſeveral parts of the Country where they were beſtowed, there were many Perſons by their Miniſtry brought home to God.

But as *Auſtin* told Mankind, *The Devil was never turned Chriſtian yet: the Powers of Darkneſs* could not count it for their Intereſt, that the *Light* of the Goſpel powerfully preached, ſhould reach thoſe *Dark Places of the Earth*. The Rulers of that Province did not allow of their publick Preaching; but inſtead thereof, an Order was made, *That ſuch as would not conform to the Ceremonies of the Church of* England, *ſhould by ſuch a Day, depart the Country*. By which Order, theſe Holy, Faithful, Painful Miniſters, were driven away from the *Virginia* Coaſt: But when they return'd, as they *Left* behind them, not a few *Seals* of their Miniſtry, ſo they *Brought* with them ſome, who afterwards proved Bleſſings to *New-England*.

Well, before the Day fixed for the Departure of theſe Miniſters came, the *Indians* far and near having entred into a *Conſpiracy*, to cut off the *Engliſh* in thoſe Territories, executed it in an Horrible Maſſacre, whereby at leaſt Three Hundred poor *Engliſh Virginians*, were at once Barbarouſly Butchered, which *Maſſacre* was alſo accompanied with a Grievous Mortality, that cauſed many ſober Perſons to Remove out of that Colony, and *others* to acknowledge the Juſtice of God upon them, for the *Ill-Treats*, which had been given to the *Miniſters* of his Goſpel, and the *Goſpel* brought by thoſe Miniſters.

After this, did Mr. *Knowles* remove back to *England*, where he was a Preacher at the Cathedral, in the City of *Briſtol*, and Lived in Great Credit and Service for divers Years.

But

But when the Act of *Uniformity*, made ſuch a Slaughter of *Non-Conformiſts*, Mr. *Knowles* was one of the Miniſters which were *ſilenced* by that Act. And after that *Civil Death*, he lived in *London* a Collegue to the famous Mr. *Kentiſh*, and a Bleſſing to the Church of God.

Exerciſing his Miniſtry in the City of *London*, he underwent many *Grievous Perſecutions*, and received as many Glorious *Deliverances*. — But when ſome of his Friends diſcouraged him, with Fears of his being thrown into Priſon, if he did not affect more of Privacy, he Reply'd, *In Truth, I had rather be in a Gaol, where I might have a Number of Souls, to whom I might Preach the Truths of my Bleſſed Maſter, than live Idle in my own Houſe, without any ſuch Opportunities.*

He lived unto a very Great Age, and ſtaid longer out of *Heaven*, than the moſt of them that *Live in Heaven upon Earth*. But in his great Age, he continued ſtill to do *Great Good*; wherein his Labours were ſo fervent and eager, that he would ſometimes *Preach* till he *fell down*; and yet have a *Youthful Readineſs* in the *Matter* and *Spirit* of his Preaching. His laſt *Falling Down* was a *Flying up*; and an *Eſcape* to that Land where *The Weary are at Reſt*.

Epitaphium.

Vis Scire, Quis Sim? Nomen eſt KNOLESIUS
Dixi Satis! ———

CHAP IV.

Eliſha's Bones. The LIFE of Mr. *HENRY WHITFIELD.*

Cupiditatem Imitandi fecit; Spem abſtulix.

THere has been a *Trite* Proverb, which I wiſh indeed were ſo *Thread-bare* as to be never uſed more;

Angelicus Juvenis, ſenibus Satanizat in Annis.

which, though 'twere pity it ſhould ever ſpeak *Engliſh*, has been *Engliſhed*, *A Young Saint, an Old Devil.* I remember *Eraſmus* believes, the *Devil* himſelf was the Author of that *Proverb.* This I am ſure, the *Proverb* was none of *Solomon*'s, who ſays, *Train up a Child in the way that he ſhould go, and when he is old, he will not leave it.* Indeed a *Young Sinner* may make an *Old Devil*; a Young *Hypocrite*, a Young *Diſſembler*, pretending to *Saintſhip*, may do ſo; but a *Young Saint* will certainly make an *Old Angel*.

And ſo did our Bleſſed *Whitfield.* He was a Gentleman of *Good* Extraction by his *Birth*; but of a *Better* by his *New-Birth*: Nor did his *New-Birth* come very long after his *Birth.* He did betimes begin his Journey *Heavenwards*; but he did not ſoon *Tire* in that Journey; nor did the *Serpent by the way*, the *Adder in the Path*, prevail to make him come *ſhort home* at laſt.

His Father being an Eminent *Lawyer*, deſigned this his youngeſt Son, to be a Lawyer alſo, and therefore afforded him a Liberal Education, firſt at the *Univerſity*, and then at the *Inns of Court.* But the Gracious and early Operations of the Holy Spirit, on his Heart, inclined him rather to be Preacher of the *Goſpel*, and in his Inclinations he was encouraged by ſuch Eminent Miniſters, as Dr. *Stanton*, Mr. *Byfield*, and others.

He was very *pious* in his Childhood, and becauſe *pious*, therefore *Prayerful*; yea, ſo addicted unto Prayer, that in the very *School* it ſelf, he would be ſometimes *Praying*, when the *Scholars* about him imagined by his Poſtures, that he had only been intent upon his *Book.*

As he grew up, he grew exceedingly in his Acquaintance with God, with Chriſt, and with the exceeding Riches of *Grace* diſplay'd in the New *Covenant.* And he gained ſuch a grounded *Aſſurance* of his own ſaving Intereſt, in that Covenant, that he had not for *Forty* Years together, fallen into any Miſcarriage, which made any Conſiderable Breach upon that *Aſſurance.*

Oekely in *Surrey*, was the Place where the Providence of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt now *ſtation'd* him; where his Labours were bleſſed unto the Good of many, not only in his own Town, but in all the Circumjacent Country, from whence on *Holy-Days*, the People would flock to hear him. At length, obſerving that he did more Good, by Preaching ſometimes

Abroad, than by preaching always *at Home*, and enjoying then a *Church-Living* of the firſt Magnitude, beſides a fair Eſtate of his own, he procured and maintained another Godly Miniſter at *Okely*; and by means thereof, he had the Liberty to preach in many Places, which were deſtitute of Miniſters, where his Labours were ſucceſsful in the Converſion of many Souls unto God.

He was one who abounded in *Liberality* and *Hoſpitality*; and his Houſe was always much Reſorted unto. He was for Twenty Years, a *Conformiſt*; but yet a pious *Non-Conformiſt* was all this while very dear unto him: And ſuch perſecuted Servants of Chriſt, as Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Hooker*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Nye*, then moleſted for their *Non-Conformity*, were ſheltered under his Roof. At laſt, being preſent at the Conference between Mr. *Cotton*, and ſome other Famous Divines, upon the Controverſies of *Church-Diſcipline*, there appeared ſo much of *Scripture* and *Reaſon* on that ſide, that Mr. *Whitfield* alſo became a *Non-Conformiſt*. But now, finding it impoſſible for him, to proceed in the Publick Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, he obtained a *Godly Succeſſor*, he embraced a *Modeſt Seceſſion*, and he Reſigned his Place with the true Spirit of *Self-Denial*.

He now ſold his *Perſonal Eſtate*, and came over to *New-England*, in the Year *1639.* with a Multitude of poor People, out of *Surrey*, *Kent*, and *Suſſex*, who could not live without his Miniſtry. With theſe, he began a New Plantation, about Twenty Miles from *New-Haven*, and called it *Guilford*: Where he mightily encouraged the People to bear with a Chriſtian Patience and Fortitude, the Difficulties of the Wilderneſs, which they were come into; not only by his *Exhortations*, but alſo by his own Exemplary Contentment, with low and mean Things, after he had once lived in a more ſplendid manner, than moſt other Miniſters.

His way of Preaching was much like Dr. *Sibs*'s; and there was a marvellous Majeſty and Sanctity, obſervable in it. He carried much *Authority* with him; and uſing frequently to *Viſit* the particular Families of his Flock, with Profitable Diſcourſes on the Great Concerns of their *Interiour State*, it is not eaſy to deſcribe the Reverence with which they entertained him.

He ſojourned Eleven Years at *Guilford*, living with his large Family of Ten Children, moſtly on his own Eſtate, which was thereby exceedingly exhauſted. But the *Inconveniencies* of *New-England*, and *Invitations* to *Old*, at length overcame him, to return into his Native Country: And at the Time of parting, the whole Town accompanied him unto the *Water-ſide*, with a Spring Tide of Tears, becauſe *they ſhould ſee his Face no more*.

This was in the Year 1650.

How highly his Ancient Friends then welcomed him; how highly the greateſt Perſons in the Nation then reſpected him; how faithfully he then diſcharged his Miniſtry in the City of *Wincheſter*; how many Services he occaſionally did for *New-England*; and how Triumphantly at laſt he flew away to Heaven; muſt be no part of this Hiſtory.

But let the Excellent Words of *Lupichius* in his *Epitaph*, be borrow'd for an *Epitaph* to this Rare Perſon; inaſmuch as no Words can more *livelily* expreſs the very Spirit of all his *Life*.

Dum mihi Vita fuit, Tibi, CHRISTE, Fidelis ut eſſem,
Mente Pia Studui, Dogma Sonando Tuum.
Tu mihi Dælitiæ, — Tu Divitiæq; fuiſti;
Tu mihi Defuncto, Gloria, Vita, Salus.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

REMAINS *of the* Second Claſſis.

OF our *Second Catalogue* are now fallen aſleep, *ARNOLD*, the Author of a Savoury Diſcourſe, publiſhed under the Title of *David ſerving his Generation: BISHOP, BULKLY, CARTER, DEAN, HANFORD* [of which Worthy Man, let the Reader, here in a *Crotchet*, as we go along, refreſh himſelf with one *Crotchetly Paſſage:* He was near Forty Years a Faithful, Painful, and Pious Miniſter at *Norwalk*, even from the firſt Settlement of that Plantation: But though he had the Comfort of ſeeing a Good and Great Succeſs to his Miniſtry there, yet there were Times wherein the *Fire* of *Contention* annoy'd the Affairs of that Church exceedingly: And in this *Fire*, there once happened ſuch a *Smoke*, that the People made this one of their Articles to the Council againſt him, that in a certain Paper of his, he had opprobriouſly called them *Indian Devils:* The Council thereupon with Wonder, calling for the Paper, wherein the Reproachful Terms was to be look'd for, found his Expreſſion to have been only thus, *Every Individual among them:* Which occaſioned a very Joco-ſerious Reflection upon the Ridiculous Errors and Follies that attend a Quarrelſome Diſpoſition:] *HOUGH, NEWTON.* And into this *Catalogue* I am content that there ſhould be received (for the Saints of this *Catalogue* already departed have received him) Honeſt Mr. *Nicholas Baker* of *Scituate*; who, tho' he had but a *Private Education*, yet being a Pious and Zealous Man; or as Dr. *Arrowſmith* expreſſes it, ſo Good a *Logician*, that he could offer up to God a *Reaſonable Service*, ſo Good an *Arithmetician*, that he could wiſely *Number his Days*; and ſo Good an *Orator*, that he *perſwaded himſelf* to be a *Good Chriſtian*; and being alſo one of good Natural Parts, eſpecially of a ſtrong *Memory*, was choſen Paſtor of the Church there; and in the Paſtoral Charge of that Church, he continued about Eighteen Years, until that *Horror of Mankind*, and *Reproach of Medicine*, the STONE (under which he preached *Patience*, by a very memorable Example of it; never letting fall any Word worſe than this, which was an uſual Word with him, *A Mercy of God it is no worſe!*) put an end unto his *Days*.

But he that brings up the Rear, is Mr. *JOHN WOODBRIDGE*, of whom we are able to ſpeak a little more particularly.

He was Born at *Stanton*, near *Highworth*, in *Wiltſhire*, about the Year 1613. of which Pariſh his Father was Miniſter; and a Miniſter ſo Able and Faithful, as to obtain an high Eſteem among thoſe that at all knew the Invaluable Worth of ſuch a Miniſter. His Mother was Daughter to Mr. *Robert Parker*, and a Daughter who did ſo *Virtuouſly*, that her own Perſonal Character would have made her highly eſteemed, if a Relation to ſuch a Father had not farther added unto the Luſtre of her Character.

Our *JOHN* was, by his Worthy Parents, *trained up in the Way that he ſhould go*, and ſent unto *Oxford*, when his Education and Proficiency at *School* had ripened him for the *Univerſity*; and kept at *Oxford*, until the *Oath of Conformity* came to be required of him; which neither his *Father*, nor his *Conſcience* approving, he removed from thence unto a Courſe of more *Private Studies*. The Rigorous Enforcing of the Unhappy *Ceremonies*, then cauſing many that underſtood, and regarded the *Second Commandment* in the Laws of Heaven, to ſeek a *peaceable* Receſs for the *pure* Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in an *American* Deſart; our young *Woodbridge*, with the Conſent of his Parents, undertook a Voyage to *New-England* about the Year 1634. and the Company and Aſſiſtance of his Worthy Uncle Mr. *Thomas Parker*, was not the leaſt Encouragement of his Voyage.

He had not been long in the Country, before *Newberry* began to be planted; where he accordingly took up *Lands*, and ſo ſeated himſelf, that he Comfortably and Induſtriouſly *ſtudied on*, until the Advice of his Father's Death obliged him to Return into *England*; where, having ſettled his Affairs, he Returned again unto *New-England*, bringing with him his Two Brothers; whereof one died by the way. He had married the Daughter of the Honourable *Thomas Dudely*, Eſq; and the Town of *Andover* then firſt peeping into the World, he was by the Hands of Mr. *Wilſon* and Mr. *Worceſter*, Sept. 16. 1644. ordained the Teacher of the Congregation there.

Here he continued with Good Reputation, diſcharging the Duties of his Miniſtry, until upon the Invitation of his Friends, he went once more to *England*, in the Year 1647. where he ſoon found Employment (beſides his being a Chaplain to the Commiſſioners treating with the King at the Iſle of *Wight*) firſt at the Conſiderable Town of *Andover*, and afterwards at

Burford

Burford St. Martins, in *Wiltſhire*; at the laſt of which Places, he continued until the Return of *Epiſcopacy* firſt ſequeſtred him, and they being outed of the School at *Newberry*, the Infamous *Bartholomew-Act*, cauſed him, in the Year 1663. (with his now Numerous Family) to come once more unto *New-England*. Here it was not long before the Church of *Newberry* ſolicited him, to become an Aſſiſtant unto his Aged Uncle Mr. *Parker*; and in anſwer to their Solicitations, he beſtowed his Conſtant, Learned and Holy Labours upon them.

At laſt, there aroſe little *Differences* between him and ſome of the People upon certain Points of *Church-Diſcipline*, wherein his *Largeneſs* and their *Straitneſs*, might perhaps better have met in a *Temper*; and theſe Differences ended not, without his putting an end unto his own Miniſtry among them; after which, the Remarkable Bleſſing of God upon his own *private Eſtate*, abundantly made up to him the *Publick Stipend* which he had parted withal. The Country hereupon in Token of their Value for him, choſe him a *Magiſtrate* of the Colony, that ſo he might in yet a more extenſive Capacity, be *A Miniſter of God unto them for Good*; and upon the Alteration of the Government, he was made a *Juſtice of Peace*, in which Office he continued unto the laſt.

He had Iſſue *Twelve* Children, whereof *Eleven* lived unto the Age of Men and Women: And he had the Conſolation of ſeeing *Three Sons*, with *Two Sons-in-Law*, Improved in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and *Four Grandſons* happily advancing thereunto. A Perſon he was, truly of an *Excellent Spirit*; a *Pious* Diſpoſition accompanied him from his *Early Childhood*, and as he grew in *Years*, he grew in the *Proofs* and *Fruits* of his having been ſanctified from his *Infancy*. He ſpent much of his Time in Holy *Meditations*, by which the *Foretaſts of Heaven*, were continually Feeding of his Devout Soul; and he abounded in all other Devotions of Serious, Heavenly, Experimental Chriſtianity.

He was by *Nature* wonderfully Compoſed, Patient, and Pleaſant; and he was, by *Grace*, much more ſo: He had a great Command of his *Paſſions*, and *could*, and *would*, and often *did* forgive *Injuries*, at a rate that hardly can be imitated. It was rarely or never obſerved, that *Worldly Diſappointments* made any *Grievous Impreſſions* upon his Mind; but as once, when Word was brought him, that a ſore Diſaſter had befallen many of his Cattel, the Meſſenger was exceedingly ſurprized, on his beholding the only Reſentments of this Good Man thereupon to be in theſe Humble Expreſſions, which were the firſt he utter'd, *What a Mercy it is, that this is the firſt Time that ever I met with ſuch a Diſaſter!*

This was the Frame of Mind with which he ſtill entertain'd all Diſaſterous Occurrences. Only he was obſervably overwhelmed by the Death of his moſt Religious, Prudent and Faithful Conſort, when ſhe was *July* 1. 1691. Fifty Years after his firſt Marriage unto her, *torn* away from the *Deſire of his Eyes*. His Value for the *whole World*, was, after a manner, extinguiſhed in this Loſs, of what was to him the *beſt part* of it; and he ſometimes declared himſelf deſirous to be gone, whenever the *Lord of Heaven* ſhould pleaſe to call him thither.

At laſt, about the Beginning of *March*, 1695. the *Strangury* arreſted him; and he, who had been a Great *Reader*, a Great *Scholar*, a Great *Chriſtian*, and a Pattern of *Goodneſs* in all the Succeſſive *Stations*, wherein the *Lord of Hoſts* had placed him, on *March* 17. the Day of the *Chriſtian Sabbath*, after much Pain, went unto his *Everlaſting Reſt*; having a few Minutes before it, refuſed a Glaſs of offered *Wine*, ſaying, *I am going where I ſhall have better!*

His Age was about *Eighty Two*.

Let him now report the reſt himſelf, in a *Epitaph*, like that on the Tomb of *Chriſtianus Machabæus*.

Quam Vivens Potui tantum ſperare, Quiete

Mortuus in Solida nunc Statione fruor.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

REMAINS of the Third Claſſis.

SEveral, in our Third Catalogue, have upon the late Revolutions, returned back to *Europe*, and ſeveral are yet living in Service and Eſteem among our ſelves.

Article (I.) But of thoſe that are gone unto the better World, we have cauſe particularly to remember Mr. THOMAS GILBERT, whoſe *Hiſtory* is, it may be, ſufficiently related in his *Epitaph*, which is at this Day to be read on his Tomb in *Charleſtown*.

> *Here is Interred the Body of that Reverend, Sincere, Zealous, Devout and Faithful Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, Mr.* THOMAS GILBERT, *ſometime Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt, at* Chedle *in* Cheſhire: *Alſo, ſometime Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt at* Eling, *in* Old-England: *Who was the Proto-Martyr, the firſt of the Miniſters that ſuffered Deprivation, in the Cauſe of* Non-Conformity *in* England: *And after, betaking himſelf to* New-England, *became Paſtor of the Church of Chriſt, in* Topsfield; *and at Sixty Three Years of Age, departed this Life.* Interred *Oct.* 28. 1673.

Omnia præterunt, præter amare Deum.

Theſe Things paſs for ever, Vain World, away;
But Love to God, This, This endures for ay.

Gilberti hic tenuem, Lectores, Cernitis, Umbram,
Longè hâc Clara Magis Stella Micauſq; fuit.
Sic fuit in Vitâ *Gilbertus*, ſicq; Receſſu,
Sicce detur nobis Vivere, ſicq; Mori.

Lo here of Gilbert, *but a Shadow ſlight;*
He was a Star of more Illuſtrious Light.
Such Gilbert *was in Life, ſuch in his Death;*
God grant we may ſo live, ſo yield our Breath.

Article (II.) On *Dec.* 28. 1674. Died Mr. *John Oxenbridge*, a Succeſſor to four Famous *JOHNS*, in the Paſtoral Charge, of the Firſt Church in *Boſton*. He was Born in *Daventry*, *Northamptonſhire*, Jan. 30. 1608. Both *Cambridge* and *Oxford* contributed unto his Liberal Education; and in one of thoſe Univerſities he proceeded *Maſter of Arts*, in the Year 1631. The Year following, he became a Publick Preacher of the Goſpel; and after this, taking ſucceſſively Two Voyages to *Barmudaz*, he at length returned into *England*, and in the Year 1644. became a Paſtor to a Church in *Beverly*. I find him after this, a Fellow of *Eaton-College*: But in the General *Shipwrack* that befel the *Non-Conformiſts*, A. C. 1662. I find him *ſwimming* away to *Surrinam*, in *America*. From thence he came to *Barbados*, in the Year 1667. and to *New-England* in the Year 1669. where he ſucceeded Mr. *Davenport*, and continued until his laſt Remove, which was to the *City of God*.

The Abilities and Inclinations of this Worthy Man, are diſcovered in ſeveral of his publiſhed Compoſures. In *England* he publiſhed ſeveral Diſcourſes on, *The Duty of Watchfulneſs*. He alſo publiſhed, *A Propoſition of propagating the Goſpel by Chriſtian Colonies, in the Continent of* Guianai *being ſome Gleanings of a larger Diſcourſe*. That larger Diſcourſe is yet ſleeping: But upon Peruſal of the M. SS. I am ſenſible, that there is in it a grateful Variety of Entertainment. After he came to *New-England*, he publiſhed a *Sermon*, preached at the Anniverſary Election of our *Governour and Aſſiſtants*. And he likewiſe publiſhed a Sermon about *Seaſonable ſeeking of God*.

The *Piety* which breathed in theſe Compoſures, was but what he maintained in his *Daily Walk*: And ſometimes he found the Leiſure to *Articulate* the Breathings of it in Writing. We read concerning *Balaam*, *The Lord put a Word in his Mouth*: It ſhould ſeem, his *Heart* was not Holily affected with what was expreſſed by his *Mouth*. But the *Word* was in the *Heart*, as well as in the *Mouth* of our *Oxenbridge*; and his *Pen* alſo ſometimes tranſcribed his *Heart*. Once thus particularly.

'Certain late Experiments of the Grace of 'God in Chriſt, to *J. O.* a poor Worm, who 'deſires to Record them, to the Praiſe of his 'Grace.

'Nov. 19. 1666. was a Dark Day; my *Bodily Spirits* being very low (tho' without 'Pain) and my Heart ſhut up, that I could 'not look up to God. This made me to apprehend the ſad Condition of a Soul deſerted 'of God in a Time of Affliction; but the 'Lord ſuffered not this Dark Maze to continue. 'For that Night he thawed my Heart, and 'opened it with ſome Freedom to himſelf.

But

'But what ſhall I ſay for the ſtrange and ſtrong Conſolations; with which he filled my Soul, on the 20 and the 21 of *November*? No Words can expreſs what I have felt in my Heart. I was wholly taken up with the Thoughts of the Kindneſs of God. I ſaid, *What Love is like this Love? And who is a God like unto thee? and what remains for me, but to love and to praiſe thee for ever?* Now *Death* was no Dark Thing to me, neither was any Concern of this *Life* conſiderable. And now I have ſaid, Who *can lay any thing to my Charge, ſince Chriſt* hath *ſatisfied* by his *Death*, and hath gotten a *Releaſe* by his *Reſurrection*, and *lives for ever* to perfect my Salvation? This hath been a great Stay to me in my *Solitary Condition*; tho' bereft of ſuch Relations, a precious *Wife*, and two ſuch *Children*. But the Lord Jeſus liveth for ever, to do all for me, and be all to me. And I do the more admire and adore the Great God, in his condeſcending ſo much to ſo vile a Worm, that hath been ſo full of Fears and Doubts, and hath ſo much diſpleaſed my Lord Jeſus and his Holy Spirit. That which grieved me moſt, of late Months, is, the *Unfixedneſs* of my Thoughts on God: And Oh, that the Lord may, by his *Eſtabliſhing Spirit*, confirm theſe Comforts on me, ſo that I may enjoy them in *Death*, and improve them for the good of others in *Life*. I know *Satan* is a Wrangler; but my *Advocate* is able to ſilence him!

When the Lord of this *Faithful Servant* came to call for him, he was found in his Maſter's Work. Towards the Cloſe of a Sermon, which he was preaching at *Boſton*-Lecture, he was taken with a Degree of an *Apoplexy* (as *John Cyril*, the Worthy *Bohemian* Paſtor was in the Beginning of the former Century, *Apoplexia in media ad populum concione correptus*) which in two or three Days, ended his Pilgrimage. Thus he had the Wiſh of ſome great Men, *Oportet Concionatorem, aut Precantem aut Predicantem, Mori.*

Epitaphium.

Vixi, & quem dederas Curſum, in Te Chriſte, peregi.

Article (III.) On *March* 24. 167$\frac{8}{9}$. Expired that Excellent Man, Mr. *THOMAS WALLEY*, about the Age of Sixty one. I can't recover the Day of his *Birth*, Let it content my Reader, that the Primitive Chriſtians did happily confound the Diſtinction of the Two *Times* mention'd by the Wiſe Man, *A Time to be Born, and a Time to Die*, calling the Day of a Saint's *Death*, by the Name of their *Natalitia*.

This *Man of a Thouſand*, was a well accompliſhed *Scholar*; but his Accompliſhments eſpecially lay in that which the Great *Gregory* aſſerts to be, *Ars Artium, & Scientia Scientiarum*, namely, *Animarum Regimen.*

He was a *Chriſtian* in whom the *Graces* of Chriſt very richly adorned, but *moſt* of all, that which has moſt of *Chriſtianity* in it, HUMILITY; the *Happy Vertue* which we may addreſs, with the Acknowledgment once made unto *Fœlix*, *By thee we enjoy great Quietneſs*: and by that Vertue he was eminently Serviceable to make all *Quiet*, wherever he came. He was a *Divine*, well furniſhed with the Knowledge neceſſary to *Maſter Builder* in the Church of God, and particularly knowing in thoſe Points of *Divinity*, which *Non Lectio docet, ſed Unctio, non Litera, ſed Spiritus, non Eruditio, ſed Exercitatio.*

He was a *Preacher*, who made CHRIST the main Subject of his *Preaching*; and who had ſuch a Regard for *Souls*, that he thought much of nothing, by which he might recommend a CHRIST unto the Souls even of the meaneſt, as well as of the greateſt: Being diſpoſed, like that Great King of *France*, who being found inſtructing his Kitchin-Boy in the Matters of Religion, and being as'd with Wonder the Reaſon of it, anſwered, *The meaneſt has a Soul as precious as my own, and bought by the Blood of Chriſt as well as mine!* It may be I cannot give a Truer Deſcription of this our *WALLEY*, than in the Words of him that writes the Life of the Famous *Belgic WALLÆUS*; 'He was diligent in Viſiting his Pariſhioners, whereby he Reformed many which were given to Viciouſneſs. He ſatisfied Doubting Conſciences, and extricated them out of the Snares of *Satan*. He comforted thoſe that were caſt down, with the Apprehenſion of God's Wrath for their Sins. He miniſtred Relief to Widows, Orphans, and ſuch as were deſtitute of Humane Help. His Company was never Grievous.

His being ſuch a one, did but render him the more likely to be found a *Non-Conformiſt*, when the Act of *Uniformity* ſtruck *Dead* ſo many Faithful Miniſters of the Goſpel in the *Engliſh* Nation. When the Church of *England* under the *New Form*, which its *Canons* after the Year 1660. depraved it into, was preſſing its *Unſcriptural Rites*, our *Walley* replied, with *Tertullian, ſi ideo dicetur, licere, quia non prohibeat Scriptura, æque retorquebitur, ideo non licere, quia Scriptura non Jubeat.*

If the Church of *England*, in the Days of *New-England*'s firſt planting, did ſo want *Reformation*, that theſe Colonies muſt be planted for the ſake thereof, how much more would the *Second Model* of it affright ſuch Conſcientious Diſſenters as our *Walley*, unto Congregations

tions that were more thoroughly *Reformed?* For, as one writes, ‘ Tho’ the Church of *England* was never ſo Reformed, as *Geneva*, *France*, *Holland*, and other Reformed Churches; yet there is as vaſt a difference between the *Old* Church of *England* and the *New* one, as between *Nebuchadnezzar*, when ſitting on his Throne and glittering in his Glory, and *Nebuchadnezzar* when grazing among Beaſts in the Field, with his Hair like Birds Feathers, and Nails like Eagle's Claws. The Effect of all was, that Mr. *Walley* was driven from the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry in *London*, to *New-England*; where he arrived about the Year 1663.

Here he had a *Great Service* to do; for if the Apoſtle *Paul* thought it beſeeming an Apoſtle, to write a part of Canonical Scripture, about the Agreement of no more than *Two* Godly Perſons [Phil. 4. 2.] certainly it muſt be a *Great Service* to bring a Divided *Church* of Godly Perſons unto a Good Agreement. In *Thebes*, he that could reconcile any Quarelſome Neighbours, was honoured with a *Garland*. The Honour of a *Garland*, was on that ſcore, highly due to our *Walley*.

The Church of *Barnſtable* had been miſerably broken with Diviſions, until this Prudent, Patient, and Holy *WALLEY* appeared among them: And,

Quum Pietate Gravem, ac Meritis hunc Forte
Virum jam Conſpexere, Silent. ——

As among the *Suevians* it was a Law, That in a Fray, where Swords were drawn, if any one did but cry *Peace*, they muſt end the Quarrel, or elſe he died that ſtruck the next Blow after *Peace* was named. Thus, after our *WALLEY*, with his charming Wiſdom, cried *Peace*, that Flock was happily united; and he continued in much *Peace*, and with much *Fame*, Feeding of it, all the reſt of his Days.

I will now ſo far diſcover *my ſelf*, as to applaud this Worthy Man, for Two Things, which it may be, many Good Men will count worthy rather of *Reproach* than *Applauſe*.

One is this: In my Father's Preface to his Diſcourſes on the *New Jeruſalem*, I meet with this Paſſage. *Tho' it hath been generally thought, that the* Firſt Reſurrection *ſpoken of in the* Apocalypſe, *is to be underſtood only in a Myſtical Senſe; yet ſome of the Firſt, and Eminent Teachers in theſe Churches, believed the* Firſt Reſurrection *to be Corporal. So did Mr.* Davenport, *Mr.* Hook, *and of later Years, that Man of an Excellent Spirit, Mr.* Thomas Walley, *Paſtor of the Church in* Barnſtable. Thus did our Pious Chiliaſt, *Walley*, it ſeems, come to his Thoughts, as *Joſeph Mede* before him did, and as in the Times of more Illumination Learned Men muſt and will: *Poſtquam alia omnia fruſtra tentaſſem, tandem Rei ipſius Claritudine perſtrictus, paradoxo Succubui.*

Another is this: On a Great Occaſion, our *Walley* declared himſelf in theſe Words, *It would not conſiſt with our Profeſſion of Love to Chriſt or Saints, to trouble thoſe that peaceably differ from the Generality of God's People, in leſſer Things; thoſe that are like to live in Heaven with us at laſt, we ſhould endeavour they might live peaceably with us here. A well bounded Toleration were very deſireable in all Chriſtian Commonwealths, that there may be no juſt Occaſion for any to complain of Cruelty or Perſecution; but it muſt be ſuch a Toleration, that God may not be publickly Blaſphemed, nor Idolatry practiſed.* With ſuch *Candor* did he expreſs himſelf againſt the way well decryed by *Gerhard, A Verbo ad Ferrum, ab Atramento ad Armamenta, a Pennis, ad Bipennes, confugere.*

I cannot find any more than one publiſhed Compoſure left behind; which is Entituled, *Balm in* Gilead *to heal* Sion's *Wounds*: Being a Sermon preached before the General Court of the Colony of *New-Plymouth*, — Jun. 1. 1669. the Day of Election there: In which, Let it be remembred, he expreſly foretels, That *New-England*, would *e'er long, loſe her Holineſs, her Righteouſneſs, her Peace, and her Liberty.*

Epitaphium.

O Mors, Qualem Virum Extinxiſti!
Sed bene habet;
Virtus WALLÆI *Immortalis eſt.*

Article (IV.) The *ſmall Stay* of the Reverend Mr. SAMUEL LEE in this Country, where he was Paſtor of the Church at *New Briſtol* [from the Year 1686. to the Year 1691.] will excuſe me, if I ſay *little* of him; and yet the *Great Worth* of that Renowned Man, will render it inexcuſable to ſay *Nothing* at all.

All that I ſhall ſay is, That if *Learning* ever merited a *Statue*, this Great Man, has as Rich an one due to him, as can be erected; for it muſt be granted, That hardly ever a more *Univerſally Learned* Perſon trod the *American Strand.*

Live, O Rare LEE, Live, if not in our *Works*, yet in *thy own*; Ten or Twelve of which, that have ſeen the Light, will *Immortalize* thee. But above all, thy Book *De Excideo Antichriſti*, ſhall ſurvive and aſſiſt the

Funeral of the *Monſter*, whoſe *Nativity* is therein, with ſuch Exquiſite Study calculated; and thy Book, Entituled, *Orbis Miraculum*; or *The Temple of* Solomon, ſhall proclaim thee to be a *Miracle* for thy vaſt Knowledge, and a *Pillar* in the *Temple* of thy God!

In his Return for *England*, the *French* took him a *Priſoner*, and uncivilly detaining him, he died in *France*; where he found the Grave of an *Heretick*, and was therein (after ſome ſort, like *Wickliff* and *Bucer*) made a *Martyr* after his Death.

CHAP VII.

A Good Man making a Good End. The LIFE and DEATH of the Reverend Mr. JOHN BAILY, Compriſed and Expreſſed in a Sermon, on the Day of his *Funeral.* Thurſday 16 D. 10. M. 1697.

Pulchra ſunt Verba ex Ore
Ea Facientium. Adag. Judaic.

READER,

WE *are not ſo* Wiſe, *as the Miſerable* Papiſts! *Among them, a Perſon of Merit ſhall, at his Death, be Celebrated and Canonized by all Men agreeing in it, as in their* Common Intereſt, *for to applaud his* Life. *Among us, let there be Dues paid unto the Memory of the moſt Meritorious Perſon after his Deceaſe; many of the Survivers are offended, I had almoſt ſaid enraged at it: They ſeem to take it as a Reproach unto themſelves (and it may be,* ſo it is!) *That ſo much* Good *ſhould be told of any Man, and that all the little* Frailties *and* Errors *of that Man, (and whereof no* meer Man *was ever free!) be not alſo told with all the Unjuſt* Aggravations *that Envy might put upon them.* This Folly *is as Inexpreſſible an* Injury *to us all; as it cannot but be an* Advantage *unto Mankind in General, for Interred* Vertue *to be Rewarded with a* Statue.

If ever I deſerved well of my Country, it has been when I have given to the World the Hiſtories and Characters of Eminent Perſons, which have adorned it. Malice *will call ſome of thoſe things* Romances; *but that* Malice *it ſelf may never hiſs with the leaſt Colour of Reaſon any more, I do here declare, Let any Man living evince any one* Material Miſtake *in any one of thoſe Compoſures, it ſhall have the moſt* Publick *Recantation that can be deſired. In the mean time, while ſome Impotent Cavils, nibbling at the* Statues *which we have erected for our* Worthies, *take pains to prove themſelves,* The Enemies of *New-England*, and of Religion, *the* Statues *will out-live all their Idle Nibbles;* The Righteous will be had in Everlaſting Remembrance, *when the* Wicked *who* ſee it and are grieved, *ſhall* gnaſh with their Teeth and melt away.

A GOOD MAN *making a* GOOD END.

Uttered, *Thurſday* 16 D. 10 M. 1697.

I Bring you this Day a Text of Sacred Scripture, which a Faithful Servant of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, lately gone unto him, did before his going, order for you as his Legacy. Give your Attention.

'Tis *That* in Pſal. XXXI. 5.
Into Thine Hand I Commit my Spirit.

THAT Holy and Worthy Miniſter of the Goſpel, whoſe *Funeral* is this Day to be attended, having laboured for the Converſion of Men unto God, at length grew very *Preſagious* that his Labours in the Evangelical Miniſtry, drew near unto an End. While he was yet in Health, and not got beyond the Fifty Fourth Year of his Age, he did, with ſuch a *Preſage* upon his Mind (having firſt written on this wiſe in his *Diary, Oh! that Chriſt's Death might fit me for my own!*) begin to ſtudy a Sermon on this very Text, *Into thine Hand I commit my Spirit.* But his Great Maſter, who favoured him with ſuch a *Preſage*, never gave him an Opportunity to finiſh and utter, what he

he had began to ſtudy. His *Life* had all this while, been a *Practical Commentary* upon his *Doctrine*; yea, 'twas an Endeavour to imitate our Bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is ſaid [Act. 1. 1.] firſt to *Do*, and then to *Teach*: And now, Behold! His *Death* muſt Expound and Apply the *Doctrine* which he would have preached unto us. He muſt ſhow us, how to do that Important Work of *Committing a Departing Spirit into the Hands of God*, no otherwiſe than by the Actual doing of that Work himſelf. While therefore he lay a Dying, he ask'd one of his deareſt Relations, *Doſt thou know what I am doing!* She ſaid, *No*; He then added, *I am Rendring, I am Rendring!* Mean-in, I ſuppoſe, his own *Spirit* unto the Lord. But while he was doing of that Work, and with Humble Reſignation *Committing his own Spirit into the Hands of God*, he deſired of me, that I would preach upon the Text, about which he had been under ſuch Intentions. Wherefore [If at leaſt I may be thought worthy of ſuch a Character!] You are now to conſider me, ſhall I ſay, as *Executing the Will of the Dead?* Or, as *Repreſenting a Man of God, whom God hath taken.* The *Truths* which we ſhall now Inculcate, will be ſuch, as you are all along to think, *Theſe are the things which a Saint now in Glory would have to be Inculcated.* And when we have briefly ſet thoſe *Truths* before you, we will deſcribe a little that *Excellent Saint*, as from whom you have them Recommended: We will deſcribe him chiefly, with *Strokes* fetch'd from his own *Diaries*, out of which, in the little Time I have had ſince his Death, I have collected a few *Remarkables*.

Our *Pſalmiſt*, the Illuſtrious *David*, now, as we may judge, drew near unto his End: And we may ſay of the *Pſalm* here compoſed by him, *Theſe are among the laſt Words of* David, *the Man who was Raiſed up on High.* The *Sighs* of the Pſalmiſt here collected, ſeem to have been occaſion'd by the *Sufferings*, which he underwent, when his own Subjects took up Arms againſt him. Nevertheleſs, as our Pſalter is all over *The Book of the Meſſiah*, ſo this particular Hymn in it, is contrived Elegantly to point out the *Sufferings* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto us. In the Text now before us, the Pſalmiſt apprehending himſelf in danger of *Death*, does the Great Work of a *Dying Man*: Which is, *To Commit a Surviving Spirit, into the Hand of God.* But in doing this, he entertains a ſpecial Conſideration of God, for his Encouragement in doing it: This is, *Thou haſt Redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth.* It is the *Meſſiah* that hath *Redeemed us*; It is the *Meſſiah* whoſe Name is *the Truth*; *David* upon a View of the *Meſſiah*, said, *This is the Man, who is the Lord God.* Wherefore, In *Committing our Spirits unto God*, our Lord *Chriſt* is to be diſtinctly conſidered; and he was, no doubt, by *David* conſidered. The Power of God is called his *Hand*; The *Wiſdom* of God is called his *Hand*: But above all, the Chriſt of God, who is *the Power of God, and the Wiſdom of God*, he is the *Hand* of God; By *Him* 'tis, that the God of Heaven doth, what he doth in the World: And he is, for that Cauſe alſo ſtyled, *The Arm of the Lord.* It is therefore to the *Power* and *Wiſdom* and *Goodneſs* of God, in *Chriſt*, that our Expiring *Spirits* are to be committed.

There was indeed a wonderful *Time*, when our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf made a wonderful *Uſe* of this very Text. We read in Luke 23. 46. *When Jeſus had cried with a loud voice, he ſaid, Father, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; and having ſaid thus, he gave up the Ghoſt.* Sirs, *God uttered his Voice*, at this rate, *and the Earth trembled at it!* And well it might, for never did there ſuch an amazing thing occur upon the Earth before. Now, our Lord having ſaid, *Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, ſtop'd at thoſe Words; for he was himſelf the *Redeemer, the Lord God of Truth.* But as for *us*, we are to conſider *God*, as in our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, when we *Commit our Spirits* into his *Hands.* As *Luther* could ſay, *Nolo Deum Abſolutum*, I tremble to have to do, with an *Abſolute God*; that is to ſay, *a God without a Chriſt*: So, we may all tremble to think of *Committing our Spirits* into the *Hands* of God, any otherwiſe than as he is, *in Chriſt Reconciling the World unto himſelf.* We are truly told in Heb. 10. 31. *It is a fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God.* Our *Spirits* are by Sin become obnoxious to the *Fearful* Wrath of God; and wo to us, if our *Spirits* fall into his *Hands*, not having his *Wrath* appeaſed! Sirs, we *Commit* Briars and Thorns, and wretched Stubble to infinite Flames, if we *Commit our Spirits* into the *Hands* of God, not in a *Chriſt*, become our Friend. We deliver up our *Spirits* unto a *Devouring Fire*, and unto *Everlaſting Burnings*, if we approach the *Holy, Holy, Holy Lord God Almighty* any otherwiſe than thro' the *Immanuel*, our *Mediator.* We are to *Commit our Souls unto our Faithful Creator*: But if he be not our *Merciful Redeemer* too, then *He that made us will not have Mercy on us.* When *Hezekiah* was, as he thought, a Dying, he *turn'd his Face to the Wall*: I ſuppoſe it was to that ſide of the *Upper Chamber*, the *Praying Chamber*, where he lay, that had *God's Window* in it, the *Window* that opened it ſelf towards the Ark in the Temple. When we *Commit our Spirits* into the Hand of God, we are to *turn* our *Face* towards that *Ark* of God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. We have this Matter well directed by the Words of the Dying Martyr *Stephen*, in Acts 7. 59. He ſaid, *Lord Jeſus, Receive my Spirit.*

And now there is a weighty CASE, that lies before us;

After what manner ſhould we commit our Spirits unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ſo the Eternal Safety and Welfare of our Spirits, may be effectually provided for?

If our Faithful *BAILY* were now *Alive*, I do not know any one CASE, that he would more *Livelily* have diſcourſed among you: But I know, that he would have Diſcourſed on this, with a *Soul* full of Inexpreſſible Agonies. He was a Man, who had from a Child, been full of ſollicitous Cares about his own Soul; and from hence in part it was, that when he became a *Preacher* of the Goſpel, he preach'd nothing ſo much, as the Cares that all Men ſhould have, about the Converſion of their Souls unto God, and the Sincerity of their Souls before him. There were many Great Points of our *Chriſtian Faith*, which he ſtill treated with ſhorter Touches, becauſe his Thoughts were continually ſwallowed up with the *Vaſt Concern* of not being deceived, about the Marks of a Regenerate and a Sanctified Soul, and Hopes of being *found in Chriſt* at a Dying Hour. He was none of thoſe Preachers, *Qui ludunt in Cathedra, & lugent in Gehenna.* Thoſe two Words, *A Soul* and *Eternity*, were *Great Words* unto him; and his very *Soul* was greatly, and always under the Awe of them. Hence the very Spirit of his Preaching lay in the Points of turning from Sin to God in Chriſt, and the Tryal of our doing ſo, and the Peril of our not doing it. Wherefore, as far as alas, one of my ſinful Coldneſs in thoſe dreadful Points can do it, I will ſet before you in a few Minutes, what I apprehend, my dead Friend would have to be ſpoken, upon theſe Points, in Relation to the Caſe that is now to be conſidered.

I. Let every *mortal* Man be very ſenſible, that he hath an *Immortal Spirit* in him, and prize that Spirit exceedingly. How ſhall we *Commit* a *Spirit* into the *Hands* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, if this thing be not Realized unto us, *That we have a Spirit, which will be horribly miſerable to all Eternity, if the Lord Jeſus Chriſt look not after it!*

Could that Mouth, which is this Day to be laid in the Duſt, once more be opened among us, I know what Voice would iſſue from it: With a very zealous Vivacity, I know this Voice would be uttered, *Man, Thou haſt a Soul, a Soul within thee; a Soul that is to exiſt throughout Eternal Ages; Oh! Prize that Soul of thine at the greateſt rate imaginable.* I ſay then; we muſt be ſenſible, That we have *Spirits* which are Diſtinct from our Bodies, and which will out-live them: *Spirits* which are *Incorporeal Subſtances, endued with Rational Faculties; and tho' inclined unto our Humane Bodies, yet ſurviving after them.* An Infidel Pope of *Rome*, once lying on his Death-Bed, had ſuch a Speech as this; *I ſhall now quickly be certified and ſatisfied, whether I have an Immortal Soul or no!* Woful Man, if he were not until *then* certified and ſatisfied! God forbid, that there ſhould be ſo much as one *Epicurean Swine* among us, dreaming, That *Man* is nothing but a *meer Lump of Matter put into Motion.* Shall a Man dare to think, that he has not a *Rational Soul* in him, which is of a very different Nature from his *Body*? Truly, his very *Thinking* is enough to confute his monſtrous *Unreaſonableneſs*: Meer *Body* cannot *Think*; and I pray, of what Figure is a *Rational Atom*? The Oracles of God have therefore aſſured us, That the *Fathers* of our *Bodies*, are not the *Fathers* of *Spirits*; No, theſe have another *Father*! And, That the *Spirits* of Men may go from their *Bodies*; and be caught up to the *Third Heaven* too! Well; But when our *Bodies* crumble and tumble before the Strokes of *Death*, are not our *Spirits* overwhelmed in the Ruines of our *Bodies*, like *Sampſon*, when the *Philiſtean* Temple fell upon him? No; they are *Sparks of Immortality*, that ſhall never be Extinguiſhed; they muſt live, and move, and think, until the very Heavens be no more. Among other Evidences, *That our Spirits are Immortal*, there is no contemptible one, in the *Preſages*, which the *Spirits* of ſuch good Men, as he which is anon to be interr'd, have had of their ſpeedy Paſſage in a *World of Spirits.* Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who gave his own Blood for the Purchace of our Souls, and can tell, ſure! what it is that he has purchaſed; he has expreſly told us in Matth. 10. 28. *They which kill the Body, are not able to kill the Soul.* Our Bleſſed Apoſtle *Paul*, a mighty Student and Worker for Souls, was not fed with Fancies, when he took it for granted, in Phil. 1. 21. That when he ſhould *be diſſolved*, he ſhould *be with Chriſt* immediately. Do, try thou Fool-hardy Creature, to perſwade thy ſelf, *That thou haſt not an Immortal Soul*: Thou canſt not, for thy Soul, render thy ſelf altogether, and evermore perſwaded of it: With very dreadful Suſpicions, of its Immortality, will thy own Conſcience, a certain Faculty of thy Soul terrify thee, when God awakens it. I have known a ſturdy Diſputer againſt the *Immortality of the Soul*, go out of the World with this Lamentable Out-cry, *Oh! my Soul, my Soul; what ſhall I do for my poor Soul?* Sirs, let this Principle ſtand like the very Pillars of Heaven with every one of us, *That we have Immortal Souls to be provided for.* But if a Man have an Immortal Soul within him, what will be the Natural Conſequence of it? The Conſequence is plainly this; That ſince the Soul is Immortal, it ſhould be very *precious*. It was infinitely Reaſonable for the Soul to be called, as it was in Pſal. 22. 20. *My Soul, my Darling*! Oh! There ſhould be nothing ſo dear to a Man as that Soul of his, that ſhall endure when all other things are changed: For, *O my Soul, of thy Years there ſhall be no end.* The Intereſts of our *Spirits* are to be much greater things unto us, than the Intereſts of our Bodies. What will become of our Souls? That, that is a thing that ſhould lie much nearer to our Hearts, than what will become of our Lives, our Names, our Eſtates. We ſhould ſet an high Value on our *Spirits*, and often meditate on the Text, which was once given to a Great Man, for his daily Meditation in Matt. 16. 26. *What is a Man pro-*

fited

fited, if he gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul.

II. Let every Man in this World that hath an Immortal Spirit, be above all Things, thoughtful for the Welfare of that Spirit in another World. When we *Commit* a *Spirit* into the *Hands* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, it is, that ſo it may eſcape that Wretchedneſs, and attain that Bleſſedneſs in another World, whereof our Lord hath in his Word adviſed us. When that *Embaſſador of Chriſt*, who is lately gone back unto him, was Reſident among us, there was no one thing that he more vigorouſly inſiſted on than this; *Oh! there is nothing ſo dreadful, as that Hell, which every wicked Soul ſhall be turned into: There is nothing ſo joyful as that Heaven which is prepared for every godly Soul: And there is nothing of ſo much Concernment for you, as to flee from that Wrath to come, and lay hold on that Life Eternal.* I ſay accordingly; there are aſtoniſhing Dangers, whereto our Souls are expoſed by our Sins. Our Spirits are in Danger of being for ever baniſhed from the Communion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, into a State of Eaſeleſs and Endleſs Horror; our Spirits are in Danger to be plung'd into doleful Torments, among the Devils that have been our Tempters: Our Spirits are in Danger to be ſeiz'd by the Juſtice of that God againſt whom we have ſinn'd, and laid under Everlaſting Impreſſions of his Indignation. There are *Spirits in Priſon*; there is Danger leſt the Vengeance of God chain up our Spirits in that fiery Priſon. (It was but a little before he went unto Heaven, that our *Baily* in Twenty Six Diſcourſes on Rev. 6. 8. opened the Treaſures of that Wrath among us.) And we ſhould now be ſo thoughtful of nothing upon *Earth*, as how to get our Spirits delivered from this Formidable *Hell*. The fitteſt Language for us, would be like that in Pſal. 116. 3, 4. *The pains of Hell are getting hold on me; O Lord, I beſeech thee to deliver my Soul.* But then there is a Great Salvation, which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has wrought for us; and that Salvation is, *The Salvation of the Soul.* Our Spirits may be releaſed from the Bonds, which the *Sentence of Death*, by the *Law* of God paſſed upon them, has laid them under. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſatisfying of the Law, by his Death in our ſtead, hath procured this Releaſe for the Spirits of his choſen. There are the *Spirits of Juſt Men made perfect*; and there is perfect *Light*, and perfect *Love*, and perfect *Joy*, among thoſe glorified Spirits. Our Spirits may be advanced into the Society of *Angels*; and be with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Heaven, the Spectators and Partakers of his Heavenly Glory. Now, we ſhould be more thoughtful to make ſure of ſuch a Heaven for our Spirits, than to enſure any thing on Earth. We ſhould wiſh for nothing ſo much as that in 1 Sam. 25. 29. *A Soul bound up in the Bundle of Life.* There are Souls which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has bundled like ſo many Slips, to be tranſplanted into the ſweet Garden of Heaven; ſay now, O Man, with all poſſible Ardour of *Soul, Oh! may my Soul be one of them!*

When our Father *Jacob* was a Dying, he ſeems, upon the Occaſion of mentioning a Serpent, immediately to call to mind the Miſchiefs which had been done by the old Serpent unto our Spirits: Whereupon he cried out, Gen. 49. 18. *I have waited for thy Salvation* [for thy JESUS!] *O Lord.* That our Spirits may not be deſtroy'd in our *Dying*, This, this is the Thing that we ſhould be concerned for; That they may be ſaved by a *Jeſus*, from the Miſchiefs, which the old Serpent has brought upon them.

III. When we *Commit* our *Spirits* into the *Hands* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we muſt believe in him, as fully able to *ſave our Spirits unto the uttermoſt.* It is by Faith acted unto the uttermoſt, that we are to *Commit* our *Spirits* into the *Hands* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: Now the Acts of this *Faith* are admirably expreſſed in 2 Tim. 1. 12. *I know whom I have believed, and I am perſwaded, That he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him.* We would have our Spirits preſerved from the Direful Anger of God, which threatens to ſwallow them up: Say now, *Lord Jeſus, I am perſwaded, Thou art able to preſerve me.* We would have our Spirits enriched with the Knowledge and Image, and Favour of God, in his Kingdom: Say now, *Lord Jeſus, I am perſwaded, Thou art able to enrich me.* We are therefore to place our Faith on the Sacrifice which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath offered unto God, on the behalf of his People. We read in Job 33. 22. *When a Soul draws near unto the Grave, If there be a Meſſenger with him, an Interpreter, then he ſays, Deliver him from going down to the Pit, I have found a Ranſome.* Some of the Ancients take that, *Angelus Interpres*, to be *Chriſt the Mediator.* Sirs, when yours Souls are *drawing near unto the Grave*, 'tis high time to believe on that *Ranſome*, which *One among a Thouſand* has paid unto God for us. We muſt believe, That the *Sacrifice* of the *Soul* of the *Meſſiah*, when *He was cut off, but not for himſelf*, is a valuable *Sacrifice*, a ſufficient *Sacrifice*, and a *Sacrifice* which the wondrous Grace of God invites us to depend upon; and with a firm Dependance on that Sacrifice, we muſt plead, *O let my Soul be delivered from going down to the Pit, ſince God has found ſuch a Ranſome for me!* But while we rely on our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as he has been ſacrificed for us here below, we muſt alſo reply upon him, as he is now above, in the Holy of Holies, interceeding for us. And that our Faith in committing our Spirits unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may be a truly *Chriſtian Faith.* We muſt believe him to be no leſs than *The Lord God of Truth*; to be God as well as Man; to be God and Man in one Perſon. That Man is a very Fooliſh Man, who will truſt his own Soul with

with any one leſs than the God who made our Soul, and who alone can ſave it. Our Belief muſt pronounce our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame that his Bible has pronounced him; *The True God*, the *Great God*, and *God over all*; one who is every where, and who knows every thing. This Article of our Faith, which the modern *Jews* deny, is indeed ſo inconteſtable, that I could preſently overwhelm them with an Army of Teſtimonies, from the Rabbies among the Ancient *Jews*, confeſſing, That the *Meſſiah* muſt be very *Jehovah* himſelf. I beſeech you, let no Man dare to die in any Doubt, whether the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, unto whom he commits his own Soul, be not more than a meer Man. Believing him to be God, let us believe, that his Blood is Price enough to obtain for us the Everlaſting Happineſs of our Spirits; what can our Spirits want that the Blood of God can't obtain? Let us believe, that his Holy Spirit can fit our Spirits for, and fill our Spirits with Eternal Glories; the Spirit of *Chriſt* is the Spirit of *God*: What can't he do for us? Let us believe, that he has Legions and Myriads, and Millions of Bleſſed Spirits to be our Convoy, and Safeguard from thoſe Evil Spirits, which are waiting to arreſt our Spirits at our Diſſolution: He is God among the *Thouſands* of his Angels, in *his Holy Place*: They'll fly like ſwift Flaſhes of Lightning to ſuccour us, when ever he ſhall command them ſo to do. What ſhall we ſay? When *Jacob* fell aſleep with his Head lying upon a Stone, he had a Viſion of *Angels* concerned for him. Truly, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is, *The Stone of Iſrael*. If you don't fall aſleep, till you have laid your Heads and Hopes on that Stone, you ſhall then ſee Armies of Angels about you, to ſecure you.

IV. When we commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we muſt ſubmit unto all his Gracious Operations upon our Spirits. We commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſay: Well, he then demands of us, as in Mark 10. 51. *What wilt thou, that I ſhould do unto thee?* And, I pray, mark it; If there be any *Article of Grace* always wrought by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the Spirits of his Elect, which you do not Conſent unto, he will not receive your Spirits; no, he will deſtroy them dreadfully. Some commit their Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they ſay; but they are not willing that the *Hand* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhould ever do for them, all that muſt done, in all that are brought Home unto God. Perhaps they would have their Spirit reſcued from the Hands of the Devils hereafter; but they don't heartily commit their Spirits into the Hands of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for to have all the Luſts that make their Spirits like Devils, here embittered, and Eradicated. They would have eaſy Spirits, it may be, but Oh! they are loth to have Holy Spirits. This Halving of it, thou Hypocrite, this Halving of a Chriſt, will hang the Mil ſtones of Damnation about the Neck of thy Soul for ever. The Lord Jeſus Chriſt puts this Queſtion unto us, *Poor Sinner what ſhall I do for thy Spirit?* No Man can aright commit a Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, until he have ſeriouſly pondered on that Queſtion. Ponder it Sirs, in the Fear of God! But then let our Anſwer to it, be according to that in 2 Theſ. 1. 11. *That he would fulfil all the good pleaſure of his Goodneſs in you, and the Work of Faith with Power.* In committing your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Oh! Let your Hearts, *being made willing in the Day of his Power*, declare themſelves willing to have him do for you, all that he is willing to do. 'Tis the Propoſal of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Shall my Obedience to my Father furniſh thee with that Attonement, and that Righteouſneſs whereby thy Spirit ſhall ſtand without Fault before the Throne of God?* Reply, *Lord, I commit my Spirit into thy Hand, for thee to juſtiſy it.* The Propoſal of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto us is, *All the Maladies of thy Spirit, ſhall I heal them all?* Reply, *Lord, I commit my Spirit into thy Hand, as into the Hand of the Lord my Healer; O let that hand of thine open this Blind Mind, and ſubdue this baſe Will, and rectiſie all theſe depraved Affections; and on all Accounts renew a right Spirit within me.* Man, commit thy Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with ſuch a Diſpoſition; and then reſt aſſured, That Spirit ſhall never be loſt.

V. If you would ſucceſsfully commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when you die, you are to do it for your Spirits before you die. Indeed, what ſhould all our Life be, but a Preparation for Death? And all of our Life truly is little enough. So thought our Devout *Baily*. It was the Counſel which he often gave to his Friends, *Let not one Day paſs you, without an earneſt Prayer, that you may have a Chriſt for to ſtand by you in a Dying Hour.* And his own Practice was according to that Counſel, as is well known to them that lived with him in his Family. Sirs, you are not ſure, that when the *Decretory Hour* of *Death* overtakes you, you ſhall have one Minute of an Hour allow'd you, to commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Is not a *Sudden Death* a *Frequent Sight*? There are very many ſo ſuddently ſnatched away by the Whirlwind of the Vengeance of the Almighty, that they have not opportunity ſo much as to ſay, *Lord have Mercy upon me!* And let me tell you, That a *Sudden Death* is moſt likely to be the Portion of thoſe who moſt preſumptuouſly put off to a *Death bed*, the Work of committing their Spirits into the Hand, that can alone befriend them. I have Read, That of old, according to the Laws of *Perſia*, a Malefactor had Liberty, for an Hour before his Execution, to aſk what he would, and what he ask'd was granted him. One that was under Sentence of Death, being admitted unto the uſe of this Liberty, deſired neither one thing nor another, but only, *That he might ſee the*

the King's Face; which being allow'd him, he ſo plied the King in that Hour, that he obtained his Pardon: Whereupon the *Perſians* altered their Cuſtom, and covered the Face of the Malefactor, that he might never ſee the King any more. I will not now Enquire, how far this Paſſage, will illuſtrate the Story of *Haman*; but I will obſerve, That the *Face of God* is the Name of the *Meſſiah*; and in this Obſervation, I have given you a Golden Key to come at New Treaſures in ſcores of Scriptures. And I will apply it with ſaying, you have it may be an Hour and no more allow'd you to addreſs the *Face of God* in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In this Hour you may obtain his Favour and Mercy, and Pardon. Don't ſlip this Hour, leſt it be too late. Or, peradventure (and alas, 'tis but a peradventure!) you ſhould upon a *Death-bed* have ſpace enough to commit your Spirits into the Hands of the Lord, are you ſure that you ſhall then have the Grace to do it? It is a ſolemn Caution that is given us, in Phil. 2. 12, 13. *Work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*; *for it is God that works in you, both to will and to do of his own good Pleaſure.* Even ſo fear and tremble, to delay committing your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord, ſo much as one Day longer; you don't know, that God will pleaſe to work in you, for the doing of it, when your laſt Moments are upon you.

I have read it, as the Obſervation of ſome very Experienced Miniſters, that they never handled in their Miniſtry any Subjects more ſucceſsfully than thoſe which led them to diſcourſe againſt Procraſtination in the Concerns of their Souls. Our *Baily* was much in making of this Experiment. Many a Man inſerts that Clauſe in his *Laſt Will*, *I bequeath my Soul unto God that gave it.* But in the Name of God, art thou certain that he will accept of it? The Law ſays, *Legato renunciari poteſt*, and *Legatum accipere nemo nolens cogitur*; one may refuſe a Legacy, there's no compelling one to accept it. It is true, our Compaſſionate Lord will ever accept a poor Soul, whenever 'tis with a true Faith brought unto him. Yea, but it may be, he will not accept of thy Soul, inaſmuch as thou haſt no true Faith to bring it withal; Faith, which *is not of our ſelves, 'tis the Gift of God!* Wherefore, O Man, if thou haſt any Regard unto thy never dying Soul, go thy ways preſently, and earneſtly commit it unto the Lord before a Dying Hour. As the Apoſtle ſaid, *This I ſay, Brethren, the Time is ſhort:* Even ſo, this I ſay, My friend, thy Time it may be ſhorter than thou art well aware of. What ſhall I ſay? I ſay, *Boaſt not thy ſelf of to Morrow.* I ſay, *This Night thy Soul may be required.*

And if thy Faithleſs Heart, have the Aſſiſtances of the Divine Grace witheld from it, when the damp Sweats of Death are upon thee, there is yet another Objection, with which the God of Heaven will Thunder-ſtrike thy Attempts to commit thy Spirit into his Hand. That is this: *That Spirit of thine, is it thy own to diſpoſe of? Haſt thou not already otherwiſe diſpoſed of it?* It is a Rule in Law, *Nemo poteſt legare, quod ſuum jam non eſt*, No Man can by Will, Demiſe, Deviſe, Diſpoſe of that, of which he had made Sale before. It is ſaid of a very Ungodly Man, in 1 King. 21. 25. *He ſold himſelf to work Wickedneſs, in the ſight of the Lord.* Ungodly Sinner, the Devil has often bargain'd with thee, about thy Soul; he hath ſaid, *By deliberate ſinning againſt Heaven, do thou make over thy Soul to me, and thou ſhalt have the ſhort Pleaſures of Sin for it.* God knows how often thou haſt thus bargain'd away thy Soul to the Devil; and ſince thou haſt not in all thy Life revok'd that Bargain, then though thou do at thy Death cry unto him, *Lord, Receive this poor Soul of mine!* How juſtly may he ſay, *No, not I! Thou haſt ſold that Soul to another*; *and let him keep it for ever!* There will alſo be this further to be ſaid, *What Power haſt thou to diſpoſe of thy Spirit? haſt thou any thing at all at thy own Diſpoſal?*

It is a Rule in Law, *Servus non poteſt Condere Teſtamentum*; a Slave can't make a Will: He has nothing of his own to diſpoſe of. It is ſaid in Joh. 8. 34. *Whoſoever practiſeth Sin, is the Slave of Sin.* It may be, thou haſt all this while been a very Slave; thy Luſt is thy Lord, a Luſt of Uncleanneſs, of Drunkenneſs, of Worldlineſs, it hath utterly enſlaved thee. And, What? Not got out of that Slavery before thy Dim Eyes, and Cold Lips, and Faltering Tongue, and Failing Breath, hath put over thy Soul into the Hand of the Lord! How juſtly may he ſay, *Slave, Thou art not able to do for thy wretched Soul, what thou doſt now pretend unto.* The Lord Jeſus Chriſt will not caſt off thy Soul with ſuch Objections, if thou *Seek the Lord while he may be found, and call upon him while he is near.* I earneſtly teſtify unto you, The Vileſt and the Oldeſt Sinner among you all, may *Come* and be *Welcome* unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, if you will come now, while it is *the Acceptable Time*, now while it is *the Day of Salvation.* Though thou art never ſo bad, yet come and heartily complain to him of all thy Badneſs, and he will do good unto thy Soul!

I am ſure my *BAILY*, would have ſaid nothing more heartily than this among you; you heard him often ſay it, *Come in to the Mercy of my Lord, for yet there is Room!* But it is to be fear'd, That if thou ſtay till the laſt Aſſaults of Death are made upon thee, the Door of Mercy will be ſhut, and ſo when the Shrieks are, *Lord, Lord, Open to me!* all the Anſwers will be Rebukes and Fiery Thunders.

VI. Often committing our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt while we live, Let us endeavour after ſuch Characters upon our

our Spirits, as may aſſure us, that he will receive us when we die.

Indeed when we firſt commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we are to bring them with no other Characters but thoſe of Sin and Hell upon them. If we then commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under the Encouragement of any Laudable Qualifications and Recommendations in them, *Ah! Lord, thou wilt abhor us and caſt us off!* In our firſt Believing on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he enquires of us, *What Spirit is that which thou doſt now commit into my Hand?* Our Anſwer muſt be, *Lord, It is a guilty Spirit, a filthy Spirit, a Spirit full of Sin and Hell, as ever it can hold, and a Spirit horribly under the Curſe of God.*

Sirs, If you anſwer any otherwiſe than ſo, the Redeemer of Spirits will not receive your Spirits. But when we commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the laſt Actions of our Life, it is to be ſuppoſed, That we only repeat what we have done before, and that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has already received our Spirits on our doing of it. Oh! 'Tis a dreadful thing for a Dying Man to think, *The Lord never yet received this poor Soul of mine; for I never till now committed it unto the Lord!* When ſuch Perſons commit their Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under the Dimneſs of the Anguiſh of Death, 'tis as one ſays, *As if one ſhould bequeath unto an Honourable Perſon ſome greaſy Diſh clout, or ſome dirty Shooe-clout.*

It is of unutterable Concernment, for every Man to get the Symptoms of a Received Soul upon him, now before his laſt ſurrender of a Diſtreſſed Soul: And for a Man to be able to ſay at the laſt, *Lord, I commit a poor ſinful Spirit now into thy Hand; but it is a Spirit upon which thy Blood has been ſprinkled, and it is a Spirit which thy Spirit has long ſince taken Poſſeſſion of.* Now to render this unqueſtionable, we are to examine our ſelves, *Whether our Spirits have been renewed by the Holy Spirit of God?* And be Reſtleſs in our own Spirits, till we are ſure of ſuch a Renovation. The Apoſtle once concluded, That when our Spirits depart from hence, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt will receive them into *an Houſe not made with Hands, Eternal in the Heavens*: And upon what was it, that he raiſed this Concluſion? He ſays, in 2 Cor. 5. 5. *For he that wrought us, for this ſelf ſame Thing is God.* The Greek Word uſed there, is the ſame that the LXX uſe for the Curious Works about the Tabernacle.

When *Bezaleel* had neatly wrought a Board, for to be ſet up in the Silver Sockets of the Tabernacle, he would not throw it away among the Rubbiſh. Man! If thou haſt a well wrought Soul within thee, God will receive it, and advance and improve it, in his Houſe for ever. A Work of Grace produced by the Spirit of God, upon the Spirits of Men, is a ſure Token of his purpoſe to beſtow a State of Glory upon them, at their Departure from their Bodies. The Primitive Martyrs were bidden in 1 Pet. 4. 19. To *Commit the keeping of their Souls unto God, as unto a Faithful Creator.* But it is probable, the New Creation experienced by Renewed Souls, is eſpecially therein referred unto. Has the Spirit of God made a New Creature of thy Spirit? This will be a Demonſtration, that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has already received thy Spirit, and that when thou doſt again commit thy Spirit unto him, he will receive it. When we do, in our laſt Actions, commit a Spirit into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, what is it for? It is that he may put an *upper Garment* of Glory upon that Spirit. But he will demand, *Where is the under Garment of Grace upon it?* If thou art without that Garment, he will doom thy Spirit unto Outer Darkneſs, that is to ſay (for *Outer Darkneſs* was the Name of the Priſon among the *Jews*) he will make a perpetual Impriſonment, the Portion of thy Soul. Wherefore, let us enquire diligently into the Signs of a *Newborn Soul* upon us before we come to die. Wo to us, if we are not *Born Twice* before we *Die Once*! Why ſhould we incur this Deſolation upon our Souls, That when at laſt we go to commit them into the Hand of the Lord, he ſhall reject them and ſay, *No, I know them not; they are none of mine; they are the Workers of Iniquity*!

The more certainly to prevent this Deſolation, let this one Comprehenſive Duty of the New Creature, be often renewed with you. Receive the Lord Jeſus Chriſt into thy Soul, when he does command it of thee, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt will receive thy Soul into Heaven, when thou doſt at laſt commit it unto him. As *Jotham* ſaid, in Judg. 9. 7. *Hearken to me, that God may hearken to you*: Even this do I now ſay to you; and I carry it on to this Iſſue: Do you hearken to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when he bids you to receive him, and when you pray him to receive you. He will then hearken to you.

The Lord Jeſus Chriſt is often knocking at the Door of thy Soul: There would he enter, with all his Gracious Influences: Open to the Lord, by reſigning up thy Soul to the ſweet Influences of his Grace: Reply, *O come in, thou Bleſſed of the Lord, why ſtandeſt thou without?* So when my laſt Sands are running, thou mayſt joyfully think, *My Lord Jeſus Chriſt will now receive me, more heartily than ever I received him: If I have had an Heart, alas a vile Heart! for him. I am ſure he has an Heaven for me! Lord, I now commit into thy Hand, a Spirit into which thou haſt been received, when thy wondrous Grace demanded it for an Habitation: And thou wilt now receive this unworthy Spirit of mine into a better Habitation.*

bitation. Think thus, and *Rejoice with Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory!*

VII. When we come to commit our Spirits into the Hand of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at and for our laſt Reſignation, let us do it very Humbly, but very Willingly, but very Chearfully.

How humbly ought we to commit our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt! With how much Loathing and Judging of our ſelves, and with what ſhameful Reflections on all our paſt Behaviours. We are bitterly to acknowledge the Diſorders and Corruptions of our own Spirits, when we commit them unto the Lord, and acknowledge the numberleſs Errors whereinto our Spirits have betray'd us. When we lift up our Soul unto the Lord, let it be in Terms like thoſe in Ezra 9. 6. *O my God, I am aſhamed, and bluſh to lift up my Face to thee, my God!* And therefore, whatever Bleſſings we expect for our Souls, let us with all poſſible Self-Abhorrence found our Expectations on the pure Mercy of God, in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Moſt ſweetly did our Dying *Hooker* expreſs the Frame of Spirit, wherewith a Spirit is to be committed into the Hand of the Lord: When one that ſtood weeping by his Bed-ſide ſaid unto him, *Sir, You are going to receive the Reward of all your Labours,* he replied, *Brother, I am going to receive Mercy!* What ſhall I ſay? The Frame of Spirit neceſſary in this Glorious Tranſaction, I cannot better paint out unto you, than by reciting the Words, which I remember I once had, from an Eminent old Servant of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at my taking Leave of him: Said he, 'Sir, I am every 'Day expecting my Death; but I deſire to 'die like the Thief, crying to the Crucified 'Jeſus for Mercy. I am nothing, I have nothing, I can do nothing, except what is unworthy. My Eye, and Hope, and Faith, is 'to Chriſt on his Croſs. I bring an Unworthineſs, like that of the poor Dying Thief 'unto him, and have no more to plead than 'he. Like the poor Thief Crucified with him, 'I am waiting to be received, by the Infinite 'Grace of my Lord, into his Kingdom. And 'pray tell me, did not aged *Paul* mean ſomething of this, when he ſaid, *I am Crucified 'with Chriſt?*

Sirs, This is the Frame wherewith we are to do what we do. But then how Willingly, how Chearfully! God forbid, That we ſhould commit our Spirits into his Hand, as only drag'd and forc'd unto it by unavoidable Death. Our dying Lord ſaid, *Father, Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit.* When God calls for our Spirit, we are to think, *'Tis my Father that calls for me; and ſhall not I go to my Father?*

It was a good Speech even of an Heathen, *Bene Mori eſt Libenter Mori,* one thing in well dying, is to die willingly. 'Tis a diſmal thing for the Spirit of a Man to be torn from him, and be pull'd away with roaring Reluctances, with Horrid Convulſions. Where would be the ſenſe of it, if a dying Man ſhould ſay, *Lord, Into thy Hand I commit my Spirit, but if I could have my choice, my Spirit ſhould never come there!* When we perceive that Call from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Go up and die!* Let us freely ſurrender our Spirits unto our Great Lord, and *Go up and die:* He is the Lord of our Lives. Freely, did I ſay? Yea, and gladly too. When we have aright committed our Spirits into the Hand of the Lord, then take up that Concluſion in Pſal. 49. 15. *God will receive my Soul.* And then, let us wonderfully comfort our ſelves, in the Thoughts of that Spiritual World which we are going into. Think, *I ſhall quickly reſt from Sin and all Temptations, and all Affections, and all the curſed Effects of Sin, and all the Annoyances of Ill Spirits for ever. I ſhall quickly be lodg'd among the pure Spirits that ſee God, and ſerve him Day and Night in his Temple, and God ſhall wipe away all Tears from my Eyes. Yea, I ſhall quickly be with my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is by far the beſt of all.* Oh! *Rejoice in the Hope of this Glory of God!* And let not your Joy be interrupted by any Fear of what may become of your Friends, when you ſhall be dead and gone. The Lord that calls you to commit your Spirits into his Hand, calls you at the ſame time, to commit your Widows, your Orphans, and all your Friends, into that Omnipotent Hand: He ſays, *Leave them all with me, and I'll take the Care of them all!*

It was noted of the *Engliſh* Martyrs, which dy'd at the Stake in the Bloody *Marian* Perſecution; *That none of them went more joyfully to the Stake, than thoſe that had the largeſt and the deareſt Families then to commit unto the Lord:* And afterwards thoſe large Families, were wondrouſly provided for. The Excellent Mr. *Heron,* a Miniſter, that had a Family of many ſmall Children in it, when he lay a dying, his poor Wife ſaid with Tears, *Alas, what will become of all theſe Children?* He preſently and pleaſantly replied, *Never fear, he that feeds the young Ravens, won't ſtarve the young Herons!* And it came to paſs accordingly.

Sirs, Thus you are to commit your Spirits into the Hand of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

My Reverend BAILY did ſo; and it is as from him, that I do this Day beſpeak your doing like him; yea, not from him only, but from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the God, *whoſe he was, and whom he ſerved.* If you would more particularly be told after what manner he did commit his own Spirit into the Hands of the Lord, I can faithfully recite you his own Account of the Tranſaction. He gives it thus,

'I ſpent half the Day alone in ſeeking of 'God; deſiring to give up my ſelf unto God in

Gggg Chriſt

'Chriſt wholly, and to be his in Soul and Body. The Particulars I omit. I hope, God in 'Chriſt, will accept of me, and enable me by 'his Spirit to keep touch with him: For I 'owned my ſelf wholly unworthy to enter into Covenant, and alſo unable to keep it; 'but Jeſus Chriſt is both worthy and able.

'Tis from one who thus did it, that you are now call'd upon to do likewiſe.

When you ſee the Coffin of this Man of God, anon carried along the Streets, imagine it a mournful Pulpit, from whence, *Being Dead he yet ſpeaks* thus unto you; *Whatever yon do, commit your periſhing Souls into the Hands of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as you have been adviſed.*

That theſe Admonitions may have the more of Emphaſis, a ſhort Account of this worthy Man muſt now be given you.

He was Born on *Febr.* 24. 1643. near *Blackbourn* in *Lancaſhire*; of a very Pious Mother, who even before he was Born, often as *Hannah* her *Samuel*, Dedicated him unto the Service of the Lord.

Of this his *Birth-day*, in the Return of every Year, he ſtill took much Notice in his *Diaries*: And made his humble and uſeful Reflections thereupon.

Once particularly, I find him thus entertaining it.

'This is my *Birth-day*, I am ready to ſay of 'it, as *Job* doth of his: But I forbear any un'adviſed Words about it: Only, I have done 'little for God, and much againſt him; for 'which I am ſorry.

When this Day, laſt arrived unto him, he thus wrote upon it.

'I may ſay with a great Sigh, *This was my* '*Birth-day!* O how little Good have I done all 'this while! O what Reaſon have I to ſtand 'amazed at the Riches of God's Forbearance! 'Much may happen this Year! *Lord, Carry* '*me through it!*

From a Child he did know the Holy Scriptures, yea, *From a Child* he was *wiſe unto Salvation.* In his very Childhood he diſcovered the Fear of God, upon his young Heart; and Prayer to God was one of his Early Exerciſes.

There was one very Remarkable Effect of it. His Father was a Man of a very Licentious Converſation; a Gameſter, a Dancer, a very Lewd Company-keeper. The Mother of this Elect Veſſel, one Day took him, while he was yet a Child, and calling the Family together, made him to pray with them. His Father coming to underſtand, at what a rate, the Child had pray'd with his Family, it ſmote the Soul of him with a great Conviction, and prov'd the Beginning of his Converſion unto God. God left not off working on his Heart, until he proved one of the moſt Eminent Chriſtians in all that Neighbourhood. So he lived; ſo he died; a Man of more than ordinary Piety. And it was his manner ſometimes to retire unto thoſe very Places of his former Lewdneſſes, where having this his little Son in his Company, he would pour out Floods of Tears in repenting Prayers before the Lord.

This Hopeful Youth having been educated in Grammar-Learning under a worthy Schoolmaſter, one Mr. *Sager*, and in further Learning, under the Famous Dr. *Harriſon*, at length, about the Age of Twenty Two, he entred on the Publick Employment of Preaching the Goſpel. In ſo doing, he was not one of thoſe, of whom even the great Papiſt *Bellarmine* complains, *Qui non valde ſolliciti eſſe ſolent, an ea qua par eſt preparatione accedant, cum Finis eorum magis ſit cibus Corporis, quam Animæ.* He began at *Cheſter*; but afterwards went over to *Ireland*, where his Labours were ſo frequent, and fervent, that they gave thoſe Wounds unto his Health, which could never be recovered. About Fourteen Years of his Time, in *Ireland*, he ſpent at *Limrick*, and ſaw ſo many Seals of his Miniſtry, in that Country, that he ſeem'd rather to fiſh with a Net, than with an Hook, for the Kingdom of God.

I am not willing to relate, how grievouſly, and yet how patiently he ſuffered long and hard Impriſonments, from thoſe Men, concerning whom a conformable Divine of the Church of *England*, very truly ſays, *That they were Atheiſts, with the Inventions of Ceremonies habited like Chriſtians, for the Service of the Devil, to corrupt and deſtroy true Chriſtianity*: I I ſhould relate but little of this, becauſe that Spirit of Perſecution, has been repented by an happy Act of Parliament.

And yet for the Admonition of our Inexcuſable Young Men, *The Sin of which Young Men is very great before the Lord!* above that of thoſe, who have been brought up, as many very Godly Chriſtians have in thoſe ways of the Church of *England*, for a Seceſſion from which, this Country was firſt planted: Young Men, who notwithſtanding their Deſcent from Fathers and Grandfathers, that were great Sufferers for their Non-Conformity to an Uninſtituted Worſhip of Chriſt, and notwithſtanding their Education in the Knowledge of what is Required, and what is Forbidden in the Second Commandment, and notwithſtanding their being urged by no Temptation of Perſecution, or being tempted by any thing, but the Vanity of their own Minds, do yet ſo *Rebel againſt the Light*, as to turn Apoſtates from the Firſt Principles of *New-England*; it may be ſeaſonable to repeat ſo much of the Hiſtory

Hiſtory of this Worthy Man, as a little further to illuſtrate this Article.

He no ſooner began to preach the Goſpel of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but his Fidelity to that Goſpel, was tried by an hard Impriſonment, which he underwent becauſe his Conſcience could not conform to Humane Inventions in the Sacred Service of Heaven. Yea, while he was yet a Young Man, he often travelled far by Night in the Winter, as well as in the Summer, that ſo he might enjoy the Ordinances purely adminiſtred in the Meetings of the Faithful; and was laid up ſometimes in *Lancaſhire* Gaol, for being found at thoſe Meetings. When he was at *Limrick*, the Attendance of a Perſon of Great Quality, and his Lady, (who were nearly related unto the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) upon his Miniſtry, provoked the Biſhop to complain unto the Lord Lieutenant. This Gentleman then profered unto Mr. *Baily*, that if he would conform, he would procure his being made Chaplain to the Duke, and having a Deanery immediately, and a Biſhoprick upon the firſt Vacancy: But he refuſed the Profer. Albeit, another Eminent Non-Conformiſt Miniſter, not far from *Limrick*, a Godly and an able Man, and one who had appeared much againſt Conformity at the firſt preſſing thereof, did afterwards accept of the aforeſaid Chaplainſhip, and by degrees conformed, and arrived unto ſeveral Places of Preferment: Pretending, *That he did it for the ſake of Opportunities to preach the Goſpel.* But it was remarkable! God ſo diſabled him with Diſtempers after this, that he was very ſeldom, if ever able to preach at all.

Mr. *Baily* went on in the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, not purſuing any Factious Deſigns, but meerly the Converſion of Men to Chriſt, and Faith, and Holineſs, which the Devil counts the worſt of all Deſigns. And now, although he were ſo harmleſs and blameleſs in his whole Converſation, that he was always much beloved wherever he came, yet another long Impriſonment was inflicted on him, while the Papiſts in the Neighbourhood, had all manner of Liberty and Countenance. When he was before the Judges, he told them, *If I had been drinking and gaming and carouſing at a Tavern with my Company, my Lords, I preſume that would not have procured my being thus treated as an Offender. Muſt praying to God, and preaching of Chriſt, with a Company of Chriſtians, that are as Peaceable and Inoffenſive, and Serviceable to his Majeſty and the Government as any of his Subjects, muſt this be a greater Crime?* The Recorder anſwered, *We will have you to know, it is a greater Crime.*

While he was impriſoned, his Church being divided into Seven Parts, viſited him one part a Day, ſo that preaching to them, and praying with them every Day, he once in a Week ſerved them all. But this, in a little while gave ſuch Offence, that a Violent Obſtruction was given thereunto; and though his Flock, particularly his Dear Young Men (as he call'd them) did pray without ceaſing, and not without faſting, for his Releaſe; and humble Applications were alſo made unto the Judges at the Aſſizes for it, yet no Releaſe could be granted him, without his giving Security, to depart the Land, within a little time then limited unto him.

It was not long, before a Wrath unto the uttermoſt came upon the City, which had thus perſecuted this Faithful Miniſter of God; and that Perſon particularly, who had been the chief Inſtrument of his Perſecution, was (as we have been told) within a while, upon other Accounts, himſelf run into Priſon, where he cried out with Horror, of the Wrongs done by him to Mr. *Baily*, and then running Diſtracted, he died miſerably. But *New-England*, a Country originally a Retreat for perſecuted Non-Conformiſts, hereupon afforded unto our *Baily*, an Opportunity of labouring near Fourteen Years more, in the Work which he loved above all things in the World; the Work of *Turning the Souls of Men from Darkneſs to Light, and from Satan to God*: Wherein for ſome time, his Younger and Godly, and ſweet natur'd Brother, who came over with him, was his comfortable Companion and Aſſiſtant; until he got the ſtart of him in his Departure to the Glories of the better World. They were indeed, *Fratrum dulce par*; a *David* and a *Jonathan*. *Death*, which for a while parted them, has now again brought them together. This Mr. *Thomas Baily*, died *January* 21. 1689. as this his Brother and Colleague notes in his Diary; *He died well, which is a great Word; ſo ſweetly as I never ſaw the like before!* But as for this Elder Brother, he was a Man of Great Holineſs, and of ſo tender a Conſcience, that if he had been at any time innocently chearful, in the Company of his Friends, it coſt him afterwards abundance of ſad Reflection, through Fear, leſt e'er he had been aware, he might have *grieved the Holy Spirit of Chriſt*. A Savoury Book of his about *The Chief End of Man*, publiſhed among us, has fully deſcribed unto us, that Savour of Spirit, which was in his daily Walk maintained.

Sic Oculos, Sic ille manus, Sic ora ferebat.

The Deſire of this Holy Man, was (as himſelf expreſſed it) to get up unto Three things: To Patience under the Calamities of Life; To Impatience under the Infirmities of Life; and to earneſt Longings for the next Life.

And his Deſire at another Time, he thus expreſſed. *Oh! that I might not be of the Number of them, that live without Love, ſpeak without Feeling, and act without Life! Oh! that*

God would make me his Humble and Upright and Faithful Servant!

From this Holy Temper it was, that when ſome kind Preſents were made unto him, he wrote in his Diary thereupon; *I have my Wages quickly; But Oh! that God may not put me off, with a Reward here! Oh! that God may be my Reward!*

We will more particularly note a few Notable, wherein the Holineſs which irradiated him, will be deſcribed unto us.

We might begin with obſerving, That the Holy Word of God was very dear to him, as indeed it is to every Holy Man. Hence, I find this Paſſage in his Diary, *Jan.* 11. ' *I finiſhed* ' *the Reading of the Bible*, in my Family (as ' formerly) Oh! it's a Dear Book; it's always ' New. In the Beginning of every Chapter it's ' good to ſay, *Lord, open my Eyes, that I may* ' *ſee Wonders out of thy Law*; And when we ' ſhut it up to ſay, *I have ſeen an end of all* ' *Perfection, but thy Law is exceeding Broad.* ' Oh! how terrible are the Threatning; how ' precious are the Promiſes; how ſerious are ' the Precepts; how deep are the Prophecies ' of this Book! But we will paſs on to ſome ' further Obſervations.

What is Holineſs but a Dedication to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt? This Holy Man was often breathing in himſelf, and preſſing on others, that great Point of dedicating every thing to the Service of the Lord. Thus in his Diary, there frequently occur ſuch Strains as theſe. ' Oh! that I may glorifie God with all I am, ' or have; even with all the Faculties of my ' Soul, all the Members of my Body, and in ' all the Places and Relations that I ſtand in, ' as Man, Maſter, Miniſter, Husband, Kinſman, ' and Neighbour. Oh! I ſtand in need both ' of a Juſtifying Chriſt, and a Sanctifying ' Chriſt. When ſhall I ſenſibly find a Chriſt ' ſwaying his Scepter in my Soul! Thus whatever Houſe he came to live in, it came under a Dedication; and once upon a Remove, he wrote this Paſſage in his Diary. ' I could not ' but leave my Old Houſe, with a Prayer in ' every Room of it, for pardoning Mercy.

But it was particularly expreſſed, when one of his Children was to be Baptized. He thus wrote upon it. ' I ſpent ſome time in offer- ' ing up my ſelf, and my Child unto the Lord, ' and in taking hold of the Covenant for my ſelf ' and him. It is actually to be done to Mor- ' row, [in Baptiſm.] I prayed hard this Day, ' all this Day, that I might be able in much ' Faith, and Love, and New-Covenant Obedi- ' ence to do it to morrow. It is not eaſy, tho' ' common to offer a Child unto God in Bap- ' tiſm. Oh! that's a ſweet Word, *I will be a* ' *God to thee, and thy ſeed after thee.* No marvel ' *Abraham* fell on his Face at the hearing of it!

Hence, when he parted with the greateſt Enjoyment he had in this World, he thus wrote upon it, in his Diary;

' If I can but Exchange outward Comforts ' for inward Graces, 'tis well enough: Oh! ' for an Heart to *Glorify God in the Fire*!

From this Holineſs proceeded that Watchfulneſs, which diſcovered a ſingular *Fear of God*, in his whole Converſation. I find him entring in his Diary ſuch Paſſages as theſe.

At one Time.

' I did not watch my Tongue ſo as I ought; ' which coſt me much Trouble afterwards, and ' made me walk heavily. It's a mad thing to ' Sin!

At another Time.

' I ſpoke two unadviſed Words to Day. Tho' ' there was no great harm in them, yet I was ' rebuked by my Conſcience for them. Let ' the Lord forgive them; and for the future, ' ſet a watch before the Door of my Lips. Let ' my *Thoughts and Words be acceptable in thy* ' *ſight*, O Lord.

At another Time.

' That a ſerious Word, methinks, in Eph. 5. ' 30. I have *grieved* the *Holy Spirit*, by my un- ' edifying Communication. Oh! that in ſpeak- ' ing, I might adminiſter Grace to the Hearer! ' Oh! that Honey and Milk were under my ' Tongue continually.

At another Time.

' I was too forgetful of God, and exceeding ' in Tobacco. The Lord pardon that, and all ' other Sins, and heal this Nature, and hum- ' ble this Heart.

At another Time.

' This Day I have been more chearful than ' I have been of a long time. It hath afflicted ' me ſince, fearing it was not ſuitable. Oh! I ' ought to walk in the midſt of my Houſe, in a ' perfect way. I ought every Day to be wri- ' ting Copies; and to leave a Stock behind me ' that others may trade for God withal, when ' I am dead. And behold, you ſee this Day, that he did ſo.

And as Holy Men uſe to be full of Hearty Prayers and Wiſhes for the Good of other Men, thus this Holy Man has fill'd many Places in his Diaries, with his Prayers for the Welfare of thoſe, with whom he was concerned; from whence we may gather how full his Heart was of Bleſſings for his Neighbous.

Once

Once particularly I find him thus writing.

'I deſired to know of Dr. *O.* what I was indebted to him for thoſe many rich things I 'have had from him: He told me, *Nothing*; '[which was a great Favour!] only deſired my 'Prayers for him. Oh! that I could pray! 'Whenever I can pray, I will heartily ſay to 'God in the Name of Chriſt for him, *The 'Lord bleſs him indeed! Let thy Hand be with 'him, and keep him from all Evil, that it may 'not grieve him.*

Moreover, It was not only among the great Signs, but alſo among the great Means of his Holineſs, that he was very ſollicitous, as well in his Preparation for the Table of the Lord, as in his Obſervation of what Communion he enjoyed with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at his Table.

His Diary abounds with Paſſages of this Importance; the Expreſſions of a Careful Soul.

The laſt time of his being at the Lord's Table, he wrote the enſuing Paſſages.

'I was encouraged to carry my late bad 'Frame to the Croſs of Chriſt, and to bewail 'there my late Prayerleſneſs and Unthankful'neſs. Of late it hath troubled me, to think 'how little I have admired Chriſt for bringing 'me out of ſome late Plunges of Temptation. 'I now come to him for two things; namely, 'for Pardon; and alſo for double Power; both 'to receive him, and to ſhew forth his Praiſes.

Let me add; Sometimes, as he was able, he would ſet a part half a Day for extraordinary Prayers: He ſtill did ſo, when there were any extraordinary Cares upon him. Thus he Records in his Diaries.

At one Time.

'Being of late in ſo ill a Frame, I ſpent ſome 'time, to ſeek the fair Face of Jeſus Chriſt; 'and I did, on purpoſe, addreſs my ſelf to 'him, who is the moſt Admirable Saviour. I 'left my ſelf with him; my Mind, Heart, 'Mouth; eſpecially my *Conſcience*. Oh! how 'many Wonders are to be wrought in me! I 'know, the Loving and Wonder-working *Je'ſus* can do them all.

At another Time.

'I ſpent ſome time alone in Prayer, from '8 to 3. I was much tired. Oh! that I might 'wait for Returns, and never more turn to 'Folly. I can't tell how God ſhould admit 'me near him, conſidering how I have grieved 'his Spirit. Having pray'd in the Morning in 'the Family, I retired; and firſt ſought at 'large unto God for help to go through the 'Day: Eſpecially begging Repentance, and not 'only ſo, but Faith; that I might not reſt in 'the bare Work; that Satan might get no Ad'vantage after it; that I might have Reaſon 'to deſire more ſuch days. Then after a little 'Meditation and Breathing, I went to Prayer 'again, only to confeſs my Sin before God, and 'to ſet my Soul as before the Lord; labouring 'to judge and loath my ſelf, for all my Sin, 'from firſt to laſt. God helped a little; but Oh! 'that my Heart was broken in pieces, and 'humbled to the Duſt. After a little more 'Meditation, I went to Prayer in way of Pe'tition, and that at large. Oh! Lord, hear 'me, and give me the Wiſdom that I want. I 'hope God will hear, pity, pardon, and help me. 'After a little more Meditation, I fell to praiſe 'and bleſs God for my Mercies, by Sea and 'Land; but was ſomewhat ſhort in this part, 'for which I am ſorry. At laſt I concluded 'all, in praying for the Church of God in ge'neral, for *London*, *Lancaſhire*, and *Limrick*; 'and for *New-England* alſo. Here I brought 'all my Relations to the Lord. Oh, Lord, 'accept of me, and my poor Services in Chriſt. 'Oh! that I may watch afterward, and never 'more be ſenſual, unbelieving, proud, nor hy'pocritical. Lord, ſay *Amen*.

And that Praiſes, as well as Prayers might not be forgotten with him, I find him once particularly in his Diary, thus expreſſing himſelf.

December 15. 1691.

'I reſolved, through the Grace and Strength 'of Jeſus Chriſt, even in the midſt of all my 'Sorrows and Sinkings, Deſpairings and Di'ſtractions, to keep as much of this Day as I 'could in Thankſgiving; which I did; but 'could not go thorow with it, through bodily 'Faintneſs. I ſpent Five Hours ſomewhat 'comfortably; but after that I flagged. I re'ſolved to do three things. Firſt, to ſpend 'ſome time in praiſing God for his Excellencies. 'God was with me, I hope, in that part of it, 'and I ſpent my ſelf ſo much therein, that 'I was diſabled for the reſt. To help it for'ward God brought to hand Mr. *Burroughs*, 'of the Nature of God; I bleſs God for it. 'After that, I went to Prayer; labouring to 'exalt God; (it was a good Time!) after that 'I ſang the 148th. Pſalm. Secondly, after that, 'I ſet my ſelf to bleſs God for his Benefits and 'Kindneſſes to me. But being ſpent, I did not 'much; only going to Prayer, I made mention 'of ſome Mercies; ſuch as theſe, *viz.* for 'Chriſt; his Covenant of Grace; and the Pro'miſes of it (ſome of which, were particularly 'mentioned and preſſed:) alſo my Education; 'my manifold Preſervations by Land and Sea; '(eſpecially that in *Ipſwich Bay*:) and mani'fold tedious Sickneſſes ſince; for the long 'Day of God's Patience, notwithſtanding many 'Sins: For my comfortable Proviſions all along;

'along; for preſerving his great Name, that 'I have in nothing openly diſhonoured it; for 'my Succeſs and Acceptance in my Work; for 'my dear Wife, that I had her ſo long; and 'that my Brother and my dear Wife died both 'of them glorifying of God: They are in Hea- 'ven, and I am out of Hell! that I have hither- 'to been kept from Diſtraction and Deſpair, 'and kept to my Work: That I have any 'Friends (in this ſtrange Land) and any in my 'Family to mind me and tend me: That I have 'Work here, and Opportunities of Service: For 'my ſore Croſſes and Loſſes of late Afflictions 'and Temptations, hoping they may work for 'Good. *Thirdly*, To conclude all, with a 'chearful accepting of Chriſt, and devoting my 'ſelf to his Service: To do for him, that had 'done all this for me: Saying, If God would 'help me to ſtudy, he ſhould have all the 'Glory of it. Thus did he walk with God.

His Miniſtry was very Acceptable to the People, whoſe Good he moſt aimed at, wherever he came: Great Auditories uſually flocking thereunto, proclaimed it. But that he might not be *Lifted up*, it ſeemed meet unto the Wiſdom of Heaven, to humble him with ſore and long *Temptations*, often Recurring to *Buffet* him. In his *Days*, he ſaw many Diſconſolate *Hours*; he was fill'd with Deſponding Jealouſies, leſt *after he had preached unto others, he ſhould be himſelf a Caſt-away:* And he often intreated thoſe, who ſaw the Diſtreſſes of his Mind, *That they would by no means take up any Prejudice againſt the ſweet and good Ways of Religion, from what they ſaw of his Diſconſolate Uneaſineſſes.*

It may be, 'twill be profitable unto ſome Diſcouraged Minds, to underſtand how he expreſſes himſelf on ſuch Occaſions. In Sermons on thoſe Words, *I am oppreſſed, undertake for me*, he much deſcribed it unto us. But in his Diaries 'twas thus:

At one Time.

'I was almoſt in the *Suburbs of Hell* all 'Day; a meer *Magor Miſſabib*. I ſaw *Death* 'and *Sin* full of Terror: I thought I never 'ſought the Glory of God: Ah! What a match- 'leſs Wretch am I! Oh! That I could love 'above all things, and ſeek the Glory of God, 'and live contentedly on him alone! Oh! that 'I could ſee the Blood of Chriſt on my Soul, 'and at the Bottom of my Profeſſion. Oh! 'for a Sight of the Myſtery and Majeſty of 'the Grace and Love of Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that 'all Excellencies might fall down before it!

At another Time.

'I am in a woful Frame; far from ſaying, 'with Dr. *Avery*, *Here I lie, not knowing 'what God will do with me, but tho' I thus 'lie, God doth not terrifiy me, either with my 'Sin, or with my Death, or with himſelf.*

At another Time.

'If God ſhould yet ſave my Soul, and his 'Work in my Hand, it would be amazing. 'There is a *May be*! If theſe inward Troubles 'hold, I ſhall be forced to lay down my 'Work. O Lord, ſtep in for my Relief! O 'the Worth of the Senſe of God's Love in 'Chriſt!

At another Time.

'I am oppreſſed unto Death, and fill'd with 'the Angry Arrows of God: It ariſeth not at 'preſent from any *particular Cauſe*, but the 'Senſe of my woful Eſtate in *general*. Oh! 'that the Iſſue may yet be *Peace*, and that I 'may not fetch Comfort unto my ſelf, but by '*Faith in Jeſus Chriſt*.

At anotherr Time.

'Oh! That Jeſus Chriſt would undertake 'for me! If God marvelloufly prevent not, I 'ſhall lay down my Work. O Lord, appear. 'Oh! for one ſaving Sight of the Love, and 'Lovelineſs of Jeſus Chriſt. I wiſh I could 'ſay, as my dear Tutor Dr. *Harriſon* ſaid, '*That he could not live a Day, without a freſh 'Manifeſtation of God unto his Soul*!

At another Time.

'The Eclipſe of the Moon laſt Night, made 'one think, *Oh! that I could mourn bitterly, 'who have ſinned my ſelf into Darkneſs.* How 'is the Earth interpoſing! Lord, Remove it. Let 'the *Son of Righteouſneſs* in his Glory and 'Strength yet be ſeen by me!

At another Time.

'I have much Reaſon to bleſs God, for Re- 'buking of Satan. I have been many a Time 'ready to give up all, and lay down my Mini- 'ſtry, thinking that God had utterly forſaken 'me, and hid Jeſus Chriſt from me; which I 'would juſtify him in. But by the Conſidera- 'tion of the Brazen Serpent, I was ſomewhat 'Recovered.

At another Time.

'I was now ſupported by the Thoughts of a 'Precious JESUS. I ſhould for ever ſink, but 'for him! When I look backward or forward, 'upward or downward, I die, I ſink; but 'when I look at the ſweet JESUS, I live. I 'may reſolve with Dr. *Preſton*; (O that I 'could!) ſaying, *I have often try'd God, and 'now I'll truſt him.* It's a good Reſolution; 'Lord, help me to it!

At

At another Time.

'I would gladly think, *That God is my Father.* And if ſo, Oh! what Glory is due to 'the Riches of Free Grace! Oh! how glorious 'is that Grace, and how will it ſhine through 'all Eternity! If ever I ſee my ſelf ſafe at 'laſt, I muſt for ever cry out, *I am wonder-fully ſaved!*

In fine, One thing that much relieved him in his internal Troubles, was what he had occaſion (thus) to write in his Diary, a little before his End.

'I do more ſee into the great Myſtery of our 'Juſtification by Faith, meerly of Grace. There 'is no reſpect in it, unto this or that; but 'Jeſus Chriſt having wrought out a Redemp-'tion for us, and by his Active and Paſſive 'Obedience procured a ſufficient Righteouſneſs, 'and making a *Tender* of it in the Goſpel, it 'becomes mine, by my accepting of it, and 'relying on it alone for Salvation. And ſhall 'I not accept of it? God forbid!

'I ſee (ſaith he) there are two things, 'wherein I can't eaſily exceed, *viz.* In aſcri-'bing to the Grace of God, the Freeneſs and 'Richneſs of it in Man's Salvation; and in aſ-'cribing to the Righteouſneſs of Chriſt in Man's 'Juſtification.

At length, diſmal Pains of the Gout, with a Complication of other Maladies, confined him for a Quarter of a Year together. Under the Pains of his Confinement, he took an extraordinary Contentment in the Fifty Third Chapter of *Iſaiah*, which repreſents the Sorrows of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whereby all our Sorrows are ſanctified: And he would often roll over thoſe Words of our Saviour, elſewhere occurring, *They pierced my Hands and my Feet.* When the Remainders of his Flock, which waited on him to *New-England*, viſited him, his uſual and ſolemn Charge to them was, *I charge you, That I find you all ſafe at laſt!* My Brethren, God make the Charge of your dead Paſtor abide upon you. For ſome time in his laſt Sickneſs, his Heavenly Soul was harraſſed with terrible Diſcouragements: Under all of which, it was yet a common Expreſſion with him, *The Maſter hath done all things well!* But at laſt, he arrived unto a Bleſſed Satisfaction, That the Lord Jeſus Chriſt had made his Peace in Heaven, and that he was going into Eternal Peace. Yea, at the worſt, he would ſay, *That his Fear was not ſo much about the End of all as about what he might meet withal in the way to that End.* He had begun to prepare a Sermon for our *South-Church*, upon thoſe Words, *Who is this that comes up from the Wilderneſs, leaning on her Beloved?* And he now ſpoke of it, as expreſſing his own Condition; *Thus am I going* (ſaid he) *out of the Wilderneſs of all my Temptations, leaning on my Bleſſed Jeſus!* When his Affectionate Friends were weeping about him, he beſtow'd this Rebuke upon them, *Away with your Idols! Away with your Idols!* It was not very long before he fell ſick, that he wrote this Paſſage in his Diary.

'I was affected with what I read of Mr. *Shewel* 'of *Coventry*, who died in the Pulpit. *Lord,* '*Let not me die meanly, but in dying bring much* '*Glory to thee.* And now it ſhall be ſo! At laſt, juſt as he was going to expire, he ſeem'd as if he had ſome extraordinary Apprehenſions of the Glory, in which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt is above enthroned: He ſtrove to ſpeak unto his Vertuous Conſort, and anon ſpoke thus much, *Oh! What ſhall I ſay? He is altogether lovely?* His Worthy Siſter-in-Law, then coming to him, he haid, *Oh! All our Praiſes of him here, are poor and low things!* And then added, *His Glorious Angels are come for me!* Upon the ſaying whereof he cloſed his own Eyes, about the time when he ſtill opened his Bible for his Publick Labours: On the Lord's Day, about three in the Afternoon; and he never opened them any more.

This was he whom you are now going to Bury; but I pray you, Bury not with him all the Holy Counſels and Warnings, that we have heard from him; *Remember how you have received and heard.*

He was one, who took much Notice of what was from the Oracles of God, ſpoken to him, in the Sermons of other Men. He has much repleniſhed his Diaries, with Remarks of this Importance; *I have heard a good Word to day!* And he would often decline going to Feaſts, whereto his Friends invited him, that he might go to *Private Meetings* in ſome other Parts of the Town, where he might at the ſame time *Feaſt* on the Word of God. Thus, more particularly.

At one Time.

'I heard a very good Word. *Are ye not* '*Carnal?* Ah, Lord, I am *Carnal.* The Lord 'give me his Spirit to make me Spiritual! I 'was in many things juſtly reproved: Let me 'take it, and be wrought into the Likeneſs of 'this good Word.

At another Time.

'To day I heard a moſt precious Word, with 'which I was much edified and refreſhed, *viz.* '*Chriſt is all.* Oh! that I might never forget 'it! Oh! that it might be written upon the 'Table of my Heart! Let my Soul feed upon 'it for ever. It was very ſeaſonable. Though 'it was a Day moſt intolerably cold; ſo cold, 'that there was little writing it; yet it hear-'tily warmed me. I needed a Chriſt: Oh! 'that I could get him, and keep him for ever! 'I would make him my *All*, and count him 'my *All.* I need a *whole Chriſt*: Oh! that I 'may prize a *whole Chriſt*, and improve a *whole* *Chriſt*

'*Chriſt*. I have of late thought, that this may 'be one Evidence of my Right unto Glory, 'that Chriſt is more precious to me than ever.

What I ſay upon it, is; Imitate him in a point ſo Imitable. This Preacher is well worthy to be imitated, as he was an Hearer.

You can all teſtify, that he was none of thoſe *Cold Preachers*, whereof one complains, *Verba vitæ in quorundam Doctorum Labiis, quantum ad Virtutem, & Efficaciam Moriuntur: Adeo enim tepide, adeo remiſſe, verba Dei annunciant, ut Extincta in Labiis Eorum penitus videantur; unde Sicut ipſi Frigidi ſunt, & Extincti, ſic Frigidos & Extinctos relinquunt, & utinam non facerent Auditores.*

For his Preaching, he particularly preſcribed unto himſelf, according to a *Memorandum*, which I found thus entred in his Diary.

'Old Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, when on his 'Death-bed, ſaid unto the young Miniſters 'about him, *That their Work was great, and 'called for great Serious̄neſs*. For his own part, 'he told them three things. Firſt, That the 'ſtudying of every Sermon coſt him Tears; he 'wept in the ſtudying of every Sermon. Secondly, Before he preach'd any Sermon, he 'got Good by it himſelf. Thirdly, He always 'went up into the Pulpit, as if he were to 'give up his Accounts unto his Maſter. *Oh! 'that my Soul* (adds our *Baily*) *may remember 'and practiſe accordingly!*

To this his Preaching, when he ſaw God gave any Succeſs, he would ſtill in his private Papers, take as Thankful a Notice, as if great Riches had been heaped in upon him. And yet he would add [ſuch Paſſages I ſometimes find.]

'Let my Soul rejoice. But, Lord, keep me 'from Pride. I deſire to be humbled for it. 'Do I not know that God makes uſe of whom 'he pleaſes, and uſually of the *Weakeſt*! *No 'Fleſh ſhall glory!*

But if the Word preached by this lively Diſpenſer of it, live not in our Lives, after he is Dead, he will himſelf be, which he often told you, he fear'd he ſhould be in the Day of God, a *Witneſs* againſt many of you.

That we may then meet him with Joy, *Let us remember them, who have ſpoken to us the Word of God, and follow their Faith, conſidering the End of their Converſation.*

But be thou ſenſible, O all my Country of *New-England*, how much thou art weakened, by the Departure of ſuch Bleſſings to the World of the Bleſſed.

Thy *Baily* could ſometimes write ſuch Paſſages as this, (I find) in his Reſerved Papers.

'There was a Day of Prayer. God was with 'me in Prayer, helping me to plead with him 'an Hour and half, *for this poor Land*, and in 'ſome meaſure to *Believe* for it. I hope, God 'will hear and help.

Such an one taking Flight from thee, Let thy Lamentations thereupon be heard; *My Father, my Father!*

The End of the THIRD BOOK.

SAL GENTIUM.

THE

Fourth BOOK

OF THE

New-Engliſh Hiſtory.

CONTAINING

An ACCOUNT of the

UNIVERSITY,

From whence the Churches of *NEW-ENGLAND*, (and many other Churches) have been *Illuminated*.

Its *LAWS*, its *BENEFACTORS*, its *VICISSITUDES*, and a CATALOGUE of ſuch as have been therein *Educated* and *Graduated*.

Whereto are ADDED,

The LIVES of ſome Eminent Perſons, who were *Plants of Renown* growing in that NURSERY.

Offered unto the Publick

By *COTTON MATHER*.

Here, as in Furnaces of Boiling Gold
Stars Dipt, Come back, full as their Orbs can hold
Of Glitt'ring Light! ———

AB. COULÆUS, de AMERICA.
Ingenium, Pietas, Artes, ac Bellica Virtus,
Huc profugæ venient, et Regna Illuſtria condent;
Et Domina his Virtus erit, et Fortuna Miniſtra.
Plantar. *Lib.* 5.

LONDON,
Printed for *Tho. Parkhurſt.* 1702.

THE

HISTORY

OF

Harvard-Colledge.

INTRODUCTION.

IF *there have been* Univerſities *in the World, which a* Beza *would call* Flabella Satanæ, *and a* Luther *would call* Cathedras Peſtilentiæ, & Antichriſti Luminaria, *and a Third ventures to ſtyle*, Synagogas Perditionis & Puteos Abyſſi; *the Excellent* Arrowſmith *has truly obſerved, That it is no more to be inferred from hence that all are ſo, than that all Books are to be burnt, becauſe the Chriſtians did burn the* Magical *Ones at* Epheſus. *The* New-Englanders *have not been* Weigelians: *or the Diſciples of the Furious Fanatick, who* held forth [*Reader, Let it never be tranſlated into* Engliſh!] Nullam eſſe in Univerſo Terrarum Orbe Academiam, in quâ Chriſtus inveniatur; In Academijs nè tantillam quidem Chriſti Cognitionem reperiri poſſe: Noluiſſe Chriſtum Evangelium prædicari per Diabolos; ergo non per Academicos. *Leſt all the* Hellebore *of* New-England (*a Countrey abounding with* Hellebore) *ſhould not ſuffice to reſtore ſuch Dreamers unto their Wits, it hath produced an* Univerſity *alſo, for their better Information, their utter Confutation. Behold, an American* Univerſity, *preſenting her ſelf, with her Sons, before her* Europæan *Mothers for their Bleſſing. An* Univerſity, *which hath been to theſe Plantations, as* Livy *ſaith of* Greece, *for the good Literature there cultivated*, **Sal Gentium**; *An* Univerſity, *which may make her boaſt unto the Circumjacent Regions, like that of the Orator on the behalf of the Engliſh* Cambridge, Fecimus (abſit Verbo Invidia, cui abeſt Falſitas) ne in *Demagorijs* Lapis ſederet ſuper Lapidem, nè deeſſent in Templis Theologi, in Foris Juriſperiti, in Oppidis Medici; Rempublicam, Eccleſiam, Sedatum, Exercitum, Viris Doctis replevimus, eòq; meliùs bono publico inſervire comparatis, quò magis eruditi fuerint: *Finally, An* Univerſity *which has been what* Stangius *made his Abbey, when he turn'd it into a Proteſtant* Colledge; Τῆς Θεογνωσίας παιδευτήριον ϗ Ψυχῶν διδασκαλεῖον Λογικῶν. *And a* River, *without the Streams whereof, theſe Regions would have been meer*, Unwatered Places, *for the* Devil!

PART I.

Its Laws, Benefactors, Viceſſitudes, and its Graduates.

§. 1 THE Nations of Mankind, that have ſhaken off *Barbarity*, have not more *Differed* in the *Languages*, than they have *Agreed* in this One Principle, That *Schools* for the Inſtitution of Young Men, in all other Liberal *Sciences*, as well as that of *Languages*, are neceſſary to procure, and preſerve, that *Learning* amongſt them, which

Emollit Mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros.

To relate the Thouſandth Part of the *Brave Things*, which have been done by the Nations of *Aſia*, in former, or the Nations of *Europe*, in later Ages, purſuant to this Principle, would be to fill huge *Folio* Volumes, with Tranſcribing from *Hoſpinian* or *Middendorpius*, from *Alſted*, from *Junius*, and from *Leigh*, and from very many other Authors. *America* is the part of the World, whereto our Hiſtory is confined; and one little Part of *America*, where the Firſt *Academy*, that ever adorned any *Engliſh* Plantation in *America* was erected; and an *Academy*, which if *Majores noſtri* Academias *ſignato vocabulo appellavêre* Univerſitates, *quod* Univerſarum *Divinarum Humanarumq; Rerum Cognitio, in ijs, ut Theſauro conſervata aperiatur*, it may, though

it have otherwiſe wanted many Priviledges, from the very Foundation of it, pretend unto the Name of an Univerſity. The Primitive *Chriſtians* were not more prudently careful, to ſettle *Schools* for the Education of Perſons, to ſucceed the more immediately Inſpired Miniſtry of the Apoſtles, and ſuch as had been Ordained by the Apoſtles; (and the Apoſtate *Julian*, truly imagined, that he could not ſooner undo *Chriſtianity*, than by putting of them down!) than the Chriſtians in the moſt Early Times of *New-England* were to form a Colledge, wherein a Succeſſion of a Learned and Able *Miniſtry* might be Educated. And, indeed, they foreſaw that without ſuch a Proviſion for a *Sufficient Miniſtry*, the Churches of *New-England* muſt have been leſs than a *Buſineſs of One Age*, and ſoon have come to Nothing: The Other *Hemiſphere* of the World, would never have ſent us over Men enough to have anſwered our Neceſſities; but without a Nurſery for ſuch Men among our ſelves *Darkneſs muſt have ſoon covered the Land, and Groſs Darkneſs the People.* For ſome little while, indeed, there very Hopeful Effects of the Pains taken by certain particular Men of Great Worth and Skill, to bring up ſome in their own *Private Families*, for *Publick Services*; but much of *Uncertainty* and of *Inconveniency* in this Way, was in that little while diſcovered; and when Wiſe Men conſidered the Queſtion handled by *Quintilian*, *Utilius ne ſit Domi, atq; intra privatos Parietes ſtudentem continere, an frequentiæ Scholarum, & velut publicis Præceptoribus tradero?* they ſoon determined it as *He* did, That *Set-Schools* are ſo neceſſary, there is no Doing without them. Wherefore a Colledge muſt now be thought upon: A *Colledge*, the beſt Thing that ever *New-England* thought upon! As the Admirable *Voetius* could happily boaſt of it, that whereas there are no leſs than *Ten* Provinces in the *Popiſh Belgium*, and there are no more than *Two Univerſities* in them, there are but *Seven* Provinces in the *Reformed Belgium*, and there are *Five Univerſities* therein, beſides other Academical Societies; thus the Firſt Poſſeſſors of this *Proteſtant* and *Puritan* Country, were zealous for an *Univerſity*, that ſhould be more ſignificant than the Seminaries of *Canada* and *Mexico*; *New-England* compared with other Places, might lay Claim to the Character that *Strabo* gives of *Tarſus*, the City of our Apoſtle *Paul*'s firſt Education; *They had ſo great a Love to Philoſophy,* [τοσαύτη σπουδὴ πρὸς τε φιλοσοφίαν] *and all the Liberal Sciences, that they excelled* Athens, Alexandria, *and if there were any other Place worth Naming where the Schools, and Diſputes of Philophy, and all Humane Arts maintained.* And although this Country did chiefly conſiſt of ſuch as by the Difficulties of Subduing a Wretched Wilderneſs, were brought into ſuch a Condition of *Poverty*, that they might have gone by the Title, by which the modeſtly-clad *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, that firſt petitioned againſt the *Inquiſition* in the *Low-Countries*, were diſtinguiſhed, namely, *A Troop of Beggars*, yet theſe *Gueux* were willing to let the Richer Colonies, which retained the Ways of the Church of *England*, ſee *How much True Religion was a Friend unto good Literature.* The Reader knows that in every Town among the *Jews*, there was a *School*, whereat Children were taught the Reading of the *Law*; and, if there were any Town deſtitute of a *School*, the Men of the Place did ſtand excommunicate, until One were erected: Beſides and beyond which they had *Midraſhoth*, or Divinity-Schools, in which they expounded the Law to their Diſciples. Whether the Churches of *New-England* have been duely careful or no, about their other *Schools*, they have not been altogether careleſs about their *Midraſhoth*; and it is well for them that they have not.

§. 2. A General Court held at *Boſton*, Sept. 8. 1630. advanced a *Small Sum* (and it was then a Day of *Small Things*) namely, Four Hundred Pounds, by way of *Eſſay* towards the Building of ſomething to begin a *Colledge*; and *New-Town* being the *Kiriath Sepher* appointed for the Seat of it, the Name of the Town was for the ſake of ſomewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an Univerſity, changed into *Cambridge*. 'Tis true, the Univerſity of *Upſal* in *Sueden*, hath ordinarily about ſeven or eight Hundred Students belonging to it, which do none of them live *Collegiately*, but board all of them here and there at Private Houſes; nevertheleſs the Government of *New-England*, was for having their Students brought up in a more *Collegiate* Way of Living. But that which laid the moſt ſignificant *Stone* in the Foundation, was the Laſt Will of Mr. John Harvard, a Reverend, and Excellent Miniſter of the Goſpel, who dying at *Charlſtown*, of a Conſumption, quickly after his Arrival here, bequeathed the Sum of *Seven Hundred, ſeventy nine Pounds, ſeventeen Shillings and two Pence*, towards the Pious Work of building a *Colledge*, which was now ſet a foot. A Committee then being choſen, to proſecute an Affair, ſo happily commenced, it ſoon found Encouragement from ſeveral other *Benefactors*: The other *Colonies* ſent ſome ſmall Help to the Undertaking, and ſeveral particular Gentlemen did more, than whole *Colonies* to ſupport and forward it: But becauſe the Memorable Mr. John Harvard, led the Way by a Generoſity exceeding the moſt of them, that followed *His* Name was juſtly Æternized, by its having the Name of Harvard-Colledge impoſed upon it. While theſe Things were a doing, a Society of *Scholars*, to Lodge in the *New Neſts*, were forming under the Conduct of one Mr. *Nathanael Eaton* [or, if thou wilt, Reader, *Orbilius Eaton*] a Blade, who marvellouſly deceived the Expectations of Good Men concerning him; for he was One fitter to be Maſter of a *Bridewel* than a *Colledge*: And though his *Avarice* was notorious, enough to get the Name of a *Philargyrius* fixed upon him, yet his *Cruelty* was more ſcandalous than his *Avarice*. He was a *Rare Scholar* himſelf, and he made many more ſuch; but their Education truly was *In the School of Tyrannus.* Among many other Inſtances of his

Cruelty

Cruelty, he gave One in cauſing two Men to hold a young Gentleman, while he ſo unmercifully beat him with a *Cudgel*, that upon Complaint of it, unto the Court in *September*, 1639. he was fined an Hundred *Marks*, beſides a Convenient Sum to be paid unto the young Gentleman, that had ſuffered by his Unmercifulneſs; and for his Inhumane Severities towards the *Scholars*, he was removed from his Truſt. After this, being firſt Excommunicated by the Church of *Cambridge*, he did himſelf Excommunicate all our Churches, going firſt into *Virginia*. then into *England*, where he lived privately until the Reſtauration of King *Charles* II. Then Conforming to the *Ceremonies* of the Church of *England*, he was fixed at *Biddiford*, where he became (as *Apoſtata eſt Oſor ſui Ordinis*) a bitter *Perſecutor* of the Chriſtians, that kept faithful to the *Way of Worſhip*, from which he was himſelf an *Apoſtate*; until he who had caſt ſo many into *Priſon* for *Conſcience*, was himſelf caſt into *Priſon* for *Debt*; where he did, at length, pay One *Debt*, namely, that unto *Nature*, by *Death*,

§. 3. On *Auguſt* 27. 1640. The *Magiſtrates*, with the *Miniſters*, of the Colony, choſe Mr. *Henry Dunſtar*, to be the Preſident of their New *Harvard-Colledge*. And in time convenient, the General Court endued the Colledge with a *Charter*, which made it a *Corporation*, conſiſting of a *Preſident*, two *Fellows*, and a *Treaſurer* to all proper Intents and Purpoſes: Only with Powers reſerved unto the *Governour*, *Deputy-Governour*, and all the *Magiſtrates* of the Colony, and the *Miniſters* of the ſix next Towns for the Time being, to act as *Overſeers*, or *Viſitors* of the Society. The *Tongues* and *Arts* were now taught in the *Colledge*, and *Piety* was maintained with ſo Laudable a *Diſcipline*, that many Eminent Perſons went forth from hence, adorned with Accompliſhments, that rendred them formidable to *other Parts* of the World, as well as to this Country, and Perſons of good Quality ſent their Sons, from *other Parts* of the World, for ſuch an Education, as this Country could give unto them. The Number of *Benefactors* to the *Colledge*, did herewithal increaſe to ſuch a Degree of *Benefits*, that although the Præſident were ſupported ſtill by a *Salary*, from the *Treaſury* of the *Colony*, yet the Treaſury of the *Colledge* it ſelf was able to pay many of its Expences; eſpecially after the Incomes of *Charlstown Ferry*, were by an Act of the *General Court* ſettled thereupon. To Enumerate theſe *Benefactors* would be a piece of *Juſtice* to their Memory, and the Catalogue of their *Names*, and *Works* preſerved in the *Colledge*, has done them that *Juſtice*. But as I find One Article in that Catalogue to run thus, *A Gentleman not willing his Name ſhould be put upon Record, gave fifty Pounds*; thus, I am ſo willing to believe, that the moſt of thoſe *Good Men* that are mentioned were content with a *Record* of their *Good Deeds* in the *Book of God's Remembrance*, that I ſhall Excuſe this *Book of our Church-Hiſtory* from ſwelling with a particular Mention of them: albeit for us to leave unmentioned in this place a *MOULSON*, a *SALTONSTAL*, an *ASHURST*, a *PENNOYER*, a *DODDRIDGE*, an *HOPKINS*, a *WEB*, an *USHER*, an *HULL*, a *RICHARDS*, an *HULTON*, a *GUNSTON*, would hardly be excuſable. And while theſe made their Liberal Contributions, either to the *Edifice* or to the *Revenue* of the *Colledge*, there were others that enrich'd its *Library*, by preſenting of Choice *Books* with Mathematical Inſtruments, thereunto, among whom Sir *Kenelm Digby*, Sir *John Maynard*, Mr. *Richard Baxter* and Mr. *Joſeph Hill*, ought always to be remembred. But the moſt Conſiderable Acceſſion to this *Library* was, when the Reverend Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, a well known *Writer* of many *Books*, and *Owner* of more, bequeathed what he had, unto this *New-Engliſh* Treaſury of Learning; whereof I find in an Oration of Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, at the Commencement in the Year 1681. this Commemoration, —— *Libris quam plurimis iisq; Lectu digniſſimis* Bibliotheca Harvardina *Locupletatur, quos* THEOPHILUS GALEUS (ὁ μακαρίτης) *Theologus nunquam ſatis Laudatus, legavit; quoſq; Novanglorum* Moſes, *Dominum* Gulielmum Stoughtonum *volo, procuravit, eoq; ſe primarium Hujus Academiæ Curatorem præbuit, atq;* Harvardinos *omnes ſibi in perpetuum Devinctos habet.* —— Indeed this *Library* is at this Day, far from a *Vatican*, or a *Bodleian* Dimenſion, and ſufficiently ſhort of that, made by *Ptolomy* at *Alexandria*, in which *Fame* hath placed Seven Hundred Thouſand Volumns, and of that made by *Theodoſius* at *Conſtantinople*, in which a more certain *Fame* hath told us of Ten *Myriads*: Nevertheleſs, 'tis I ſuppoſe the beſt Furniſhed that can be ſhown any where, in all the *American* Regions; and when I have the Honour to walk in it, I cannot but think on the Satifaction, which *Heinſius* reports himſelf to be fill'd withal, when ſhut up in the *Library* at *Leyden*; *Plerumq; in eâ ſimulac pedem poſui, foribus Peſſulum obdo, et in ipſo Æternitatis Gremio, inter tot Illuſtres Animas ſedem mihi Sumo: cum ingenti quidem Animo, ut ſubinde Magnatum me miſereat, qui Fœlicitatem hanc ignorant.*

§. 4. When Scholars had ſo far profited at the *Grammar Schools*, that they could Read any *Claſſical Authot* into Engliſh, and readily make, and ſpeak true *Latin*, and Write it in *Verſe* as well as *Proſe*; and perfectly Decline the *Paradigms* of *Nouns* and *Verbs* in the Greek Tongue, they were judged capable of Admiſſion in *Harvard-Colledge*; and upon the Examination, were accordingly Admitted by the Preſident and Fellows; who, in Teſtimony thereof, ſigned a Copy of the *Colledge Laws*, which the Scholars were each of them to Tranſcribe and Preſerve, as the continual Remembrancers of the Duties, whereto their Priviledges obliged them. While the *Præſident* inſpected the *Manners* of the Students thus Entertained in the *Colledge*, and unto his Morning and Evening *Prayers* in the Hall, joined an *Expoſition* upon the Chapters; which they Read out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, from the *Old* Teſta-

Teſtament in the Morning, and out of *Engliſh* into *Greek*, from the *New* Teſtament in the Evening; beſides what *Sermons* he ſaw cauſe to Preach in publick Aſſemblies on the *Lord's-Day* at *Cambridge*, where the Students have a particular *Gallery* allotted unto them; the *Fellows* Reſident on the Place, became *Tutors* to the ſeveral *Claſſes*, and after they had Inſtructed them in the *Hebrew Language*, led them through all the *Liberal Arts*, e're their firſt *Four Years* expired. And in this Time, they had their Weekly *Declamations*, on *Fridays* in the Colledge-Hall, beſides publick *Diſputations*, which either the *Præſident* or the *Fellows* moderated. Thoſe who then ſtood *Candidates* to be *Graduates*, were to attend in the *Hall* for certain Hours, on *Mondays*, and on *Tueſdays*, Three Weeks together towards the Middle of *June*, which were called *Weeks of Viſitation*; ſo that all Comers that pleaſed, might examine their Skill in the *Languages* and *Sciences*, which they now pretended unto; and uſually, ſome or other of the *Overſeers* of the *Colledge*, would on purpoſe *Viſit* them, whilſt they were thus doing what they called, *ſitting of Solſtices*: When the *Commencement* arrived, which was formerly the Second *Tueſday* in *Auguſt*, but ſince, the Firſt *Wedneſday* in *July*; they that were to proceed *Bachelors*, held their *Act* publickly in *Cambridge*; whither the *Magiſtrates* and *Miniſters*, and other *Gentlemen* then came, to put Reſpect upon their Exerciſes: And theſe Exerciſes were beſides an *Oration* uſually made by the *Preſident*, *Orations* both *Salutatory* and *Valedictory*, made by ſome or other of the Commencers, wherein all *Perſons* and *Orders* of any faſhion then preſent, were Addreſſed with proper Complements, and Reflections were made on the moſt Remarkable Occurrents of the præceeding Year; and theſe Orations were made not only in *Latin*, but ſometimes in *Greek* and in *Hebrew* alſo; and ſome of them were in *Verſe*, and even in *Greek* Verſe, as well as others in *Proſe*. But the main Exerciſes were *Diſputations* upon *Queſtions*, wherein the *Reſpondents* firſt made their *Theſes*: For according to *Voſſius*, the very Eſſence of the *Baccalaureat* ſeems to lye in the Thing: **Baccalaureus** being but a Name Corrupted of *Batualius*, which *Batualius* (as well as the French *Bataile*) comes *à Batuendo*, a Buſineſs that carries *Beating* in it: So that, Batualii *fuerunt vocati, quia jam quaſi*, Batuiſſent *cum Adverſario, ac Manus conſeruiſſent*; *hoc eſt*, PUBLICE DISPUTASSENT, *atque ita Peritiæ ſuæ Specimen dediſſent*. In the Cloſe of the Day, the Præſident, with the Formality of Delivering a *Book* into their Hands, gave them their *Firſt Degree*; But ſuch of them as had Studied *Three Years* after their *Firſt Degree*, to Anſwer the *Horation* Character of an Artiſt,

Qui Studiis Annos Septem dedit inſenuitque Libris et Curis.

And beſides their Exhibiting *Synopſes* of the *Liberal Arts*, by themſelves compoſed, now again publickly diſputed on ſome *Queſtions*, of perhaps a little higher Elevation; *Theſe* now, with a like Formality, received their *Second Degree*, proceeding *Maſters of Art*. —— *Quis enim Doctrinam amplectitur ipſam, præmia ſi tollas?* The Words uſed by the Præſident, in this Action, were

For the *Batchelours*.

Admitto Te ad Primum Gradum in Artibus, *ſcilicet, ad Reſpondendum Quæſtioni, pro more Academiarum in* Angliâ.

Tibiq; Trado hunc Librum, *unà cum Poteſtate publicè Prælegendi, in aliquâ Artium (quam profiteris) quotieſcunq; ad hoc Munus evocatus fueris.*

For the *Maſters*.

Admitto Te ad Secundum Gradum in Artibus, *pro more Academiarum in* Angliâ.

Tradoque Tibi hunc Librum, *unà cum Poteſtate Profitendi, ubicunque ad hoc Munus publicè evocatus fueris.*

§. 5. Mr. *Henry Dunſter*, continued the Præſident of *Harvard-Colledge*, until his unhappy Entanglement in the Snares of *Anabaptiſm*; fill'd the *Overſeers* with uneaſie Fears, leſt the Students by his means, ſhould come to be Enſnared: Which Uneaſineſs was at length ſo ſignified unto him, that on *October* 24. 1654. He preſented unto the Overſeers, an Inſtrument under his Hands; wherein he Reſigned his Preſidentſhip, and they accepted his Reſignation. That brave Old Man *Johannes Amos COMMENIUS*, the *Fame* of whoſe Worth hath been *Trumpetted* as far as more than *Three* Languages (whereof every one is Endebted unto his *Janua*) could carry it was indeed agreed withall, by our Mr. *Winthrop* in his Travels through the *Low Countries*, to come over into *New-England*, and Illuminate this *Colledge* and *Country*, in the Quality of a *Preſident*: But the Solicitations of the *Swediſh* Ambaſſador, diverting him another way, that Incomparable *Moravian* became not an *American*. On *November* 2, 1654. Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Norton*, were employed by the Overſeers, to tender unto Mr. *Charles Chancey* the Place of *Preſident*, which was now become Vacant; who on the Twenty Seventh Day of that Month, had a Solemn *Inauguration* thereunto. A Perſon he was, of whom 'tis not eaſie to ſay *too much*; but let it here be *enough*, to Recite the Words of Mr. *Increaſe Mather* (who now ſucceeds him) in one of his Orations.

Cl. *Ille* Chancæus. *quem* CAROLUM *magnum, jure optimo nominare poſſumus: Fuit ille Senex Venerandus, Linguarum & Artium præſidiis Inſtructiſſimus, Gymnaſiarcha præclarè Doctus; qui in filiis Prophetarum Erudiendis fidelem navavit operam omnemque diligentiam adhibuit. Abitus & Obitus tanti Viri, Collegium quaſi truncatum, ac tantum non enecatum reliquerunt.* After the Death of Mr. *Chancey*, which was at the latter End of the Year 1761. The *Alma Mater Academia*, muſt look among her own *Sons*, to find a *Preſident* for the reſt of her Children; and accordingly the Fellows

Fellows of the Colledge with the Approbation of the Overſeers, *July* 13. 1672. elected Mr. *Leonard Hoar*, unto that Office; whereto, on the Tenth of *September* following he was Inaugurated.

This Gentleman, after his Education in *Harvard-Colledge*, travelled over into *England*; where he was not only a Preacher of the Goſpel in divers Places, but alſo received from the Univerſity in *Cambridge*, the Degree of *A Doctor of Phyſick*. The *Doctor*, upon ſome Invitations, relating to a Settlement, in the Paſtoral Charge with the South Church at *Boſton*, returned into *New-England*; having firſt married a Virtuous Daughter of the Lord *Liſle*, a Great Example of *Piety* and *Patience*, who now croſs'd the *Atlantick* with him; and quickly after his Arrival here, his Invitation to *Præſide* over the Colledge at *Cambridge*, ſuperſeded thoſe from the Church in *Boſton*. Were he conſidered either as a *Scholar*, or as a *Chriſtian*, he was truly a *Worthy Man*; and he was generally reputed ſuch, until happening, I can ſcarce tell *how*, to fall under the Diſpleaſure of *ſome* that made a Figure in the Neighbourhood, the *Young Men* in the Colledge, took Advantage therefrom, to ruine his Reputation, as far as they were able. He then found the *Rectorſhip* of a Colledge to be as troubleſome a Thing, as ever *Antigonus* did his *Robe*; and he could ſubſcribe to *Melchior Adam*'s Account of it, *Sceptrum illud Scholaſticum, plus habet ſolicitudinis quam pulchritudinis, plus curæ quam Auri, plus Impedimenti quam Argenti.* The *young Plants* turned *Cud-weeds*, and with great Violations of the *Fifth Commandment*: ſet themſelves to *Traveſtie* whatever he *did* and *ſaid*, and aggravate every thing in his Behaviour diſagreeable to them, with a Deſign to make him *Odious*; and in a *Day of Temptation*, which was now upon them, ſeveral very *Good Men* did unhappily countenance the *Ungoverned Youths*, in their Ungovernableneſs. Things were at length driven to ſuch a paſs, that the Students deſerted the *Colledge*, and the *Doctor* on *March* 15. 1675. reſigned his Præſidentſhip. But the *Hard* and *Ill* Uſage, which he met withal made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon his Mind, that his Grief threw him into a *Conſumption*, whereof he dyed *Novem.* 28. the Winter following, in *Boſton*; and he lies now interr'd at *Braintree*: Where he might properly enough have this Line inſcribed over him for his

EPITAPH,

Malus celeri ſaucius Africo.

The Fate of this Ingenious Man, was not altogether without a Parallel, in what long ſince befel Dr. *Metcalf*, the Maſter of St. *John*'s Colledge in *Cambridge*; who, as Dr. *Fuller* has related it, was injuriouſly driven from the Colledge, and expired ſoon after his going out of his Office: But I would not have my Reader go too far, in Conſtruing the Remark, which the Great *Caius* made thereupon, *Omnes qui* Metcalfi *excludendi Autores extiterunt, multis Adverſæ Fortunæ procellis, ſive Divina Ultione, ſeu Fato ſuo, jactati, mortem obierunt Exemplo Memorabili.* All that I ſhall farther add concerning our Doctor, is, that in his Time, there being Occaſion for the Colledge to be recruited with *New-Edifices*, there was a Contribution made for it through the Colony, which, in the whole, amounted unto *One Thouſand, Eight Hundred, Ninety Five Pounds, Two Shillings and Nine Pence*; and of *this*, there was *Eight Hundred* Pounds given by the One Town of *Boſton*; and of that, there was *One Hundred Pounds* given by the One Hand of Sir *Thomas Temple*, as True a *Gentleman*, as ever ſet foot on the *American* Strand; and this Contribution with ſome other Aſſiſtances, quickly produced a *New Colledge*, wearing ſtill the Name of the *Old One*, which *Old One* is now ſo mouldred away, that

—— *Jam Seges eſt ubi Troja fuit.*

After the Death of Dr. *Hoar*, the Place of Præſident *pro Tempore*, was put upon Mr. *Urian Oakes*, the Excellent Paſtor of the Church at *Cambridge*; who did *ſo*, and would *no otherwiſe* accept of the Place; though the Offer of a *Full Settlement* in the Place, was afterwards importunately made unto him. He did the Services of a *Præſident*, even, as he did all other Services, Faithfully, Learnedly, Indefatigably; and by a *New Choice* of him thereunto, on *Feb.* 2. 1679, was, at laſt, prevailed withal to take the full Charge upon him. We all know, that *Britain* knew nothing more Famous, than their Ancient Sect of *DRUIDS*; the Philoſophers, whoſe Order, they ſay, was inſtituted by One *Samothes*, which is in Engliſh, as much as to ſay, *An Heavenly Man*. The *Celtic* Name, *Deru* for an *Oak*, was that from whence, they received their Denomination; as at this very Day, the *Welch* call this Tree *Derw*, and this Order of Men *Derwyddon*. But there are no ſmall Antiquaries, who derive this *Oaken Religion* and *Philoſophy*, from the *Oaks* of *Mamre*, where the Patriarch *Abraham* had as well a *Dwelling* as an *Altar*. That *Oaken-Plain*, and the Eminent **Oak** under which *Abraham* lodged, was extant in the Days of *Conſtantine*, as *Iſidore*, *Jerom* and *Sozomen* have aſſured us. Yea, there are ſhrew'd Probabilities, that *Noah* himſelf had lived in this very *Oak-plain* before him; for this very Place was called ογυγη, which was the Name of *Noah*, ſo ſtyled from the *Oggyan* (*ſubcineritiis panibus*) Sacrifices, which he did uſe to offer, in this Renowned *Grove*: And it was from this Example that the Ancients, and particularly that the *Druids* of the Nations, choſe *Oaken* Retirements for their Studies. Reader, Let us now upon another Account, behold the Students of *Harvard-Colledge*, as a Rendezvous of Happy *Druids*, under the Influences of ſo Rare a Præſident: But alas! our Joy muſt be ſhort lived; for, on *July* 25. 1681. the Stroak of a ſudden Death fell'd the *Tree*,

——*Qui tantum inter Caput extulit Omnes,*
Quantum Lenta ſolent, inter Viburna Cypreſſi.

Mr. *Oaks*, thus being *Tranſplanted* into the Better

Better World, the Præſidentſhip was immediately tendered unto Mr. *Increaſe Mather*; but his Church upon the Application of the Overſeers unto them, to diſmiſs him unto the Place, where to he was now choſen, refuſing to do it, he declined the Motion. Wherefore, on *April* 10. 1682. Mr. *John Rogers* was Elected unto that Place; and on *Auguſt* 12. 1683. he was Inſtalled into it. This Worthy Perſon was the Son of the Renowned Mr. *Nathanael Rogers*, the Paſtor to the Church of *Ipſwich*; and he was himſelf a Preacher at *Ipſwich*, until his Diſpoſition for *Medicinal Sudies* cauſed him to abate of his Labours in the *Pulpit*. He was One of ſo ſweet a Temper, that the Title of *Deliciæ humani Generis* might have on that Score been given him; and his Real *Piety* ſet off with the Accompliſhments of a *Gentleman*, as a *Gem* ſet in *Gold*. In his Præſidentſhip, there fell out one thing particularly, for which the Colledge has cauſe to remember him. It was his Cuſtom to be ſomewhat *Long* in his *Daily Prayers* (which our *Preſidents* uſe to make) with the *Scholars* in the Colledge-Hall. But one Day, without being able to give Reaſon for it, he was not ſo *Long*, it may be by Half as he uſed to be. Heaven knew the *Reaſon!* The Scholars returning to their Chambers, found one of them on fire, and the Fire had proceeded ſo far, that if the Devotions had held three Minutes longer, the Colledge had been irrecoverably laid in Aſhes, which now was happily preſerved. But him alſo a Præmature Death, on *July* 2. 1684. the Day after the *Commencement*, ſnatcht away, from a Society, that hoped for a much longer Enjoyment of him, and counted themſelves under as Black an *Eclipſe* as the *Sun* did happen to be, at the Hour of his Expiration.

But that the Character of this Gentleman may be more perfectly exhibited, we will here take the Leave to tranſcribe the *Epitaph* engraved on his Tomb, in *God's-Acre*, at *Cambridge*. It is the Deſire of *Immortality* in wrought into the very Nature of Man, that produced the Invention of *Epitaphs*, and while ſome will aſcribe the Invention unto the Scholars of *Linus*, who ſo ſignified their Affection to their ſlain Maſter, others will that it may be aſcend as high as the *Great Stone* of *Abel*, mentioned in the firſt Book of *Samuel*, which they'll tell us, was Erected as a Memorial to *Abel*, by his Father *Adam*, with that Inſcription upon it, *Here was ſhed the Blood of the Righteous Abel.*

Now to *Immortalize* this their Maſter, one of the Scholars in *Harvard-Colledge*, gave to the *Great Stone* of *ROGERS*, the enſuing Lines to be now read there for his Memorial; which for the ſame Cauſe, we make a part of our Hiſtory.

Mandatur huic Terræ & Tumulo,
Humanitatis Ærarium,
Theologiæ Horreum,
Optimarum Literarum Bibiotheca,
Rei Medicinalis Syſtema,
Integritatis Domicilium,
Fidei Repoſitorium,
Chriſtianæ Simplicitatis Exemplar,
πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν θήσαυρος.

Sc. Domini Reverendiſſimi,
D. JOANNIS ROGERSII,
Rogerſij *Doctiſſimi* Ipſuicenſis *in*
Nov-Anglicâ, *Filij,*
Dedhamenſis, *in* Veteri Angliâ, *per*
Orbem Terrarum Clariſſimi, Nepotis,
Collegij Harvardini
Lectiſſimi, ac Meritò dilectiſſimi Præſidis,
Pars Terreſtior.
Cœleſtior, à nobis Erepta fuit,
Julij 2°. A. D M. DC. LXXX. IV.
Ætatis ſuæ, LIV.

Chara eſt pars reſtans nobis, & quando cadaver.

§. 6. The *Colledge* was now again by Univerſal *choice*, caſt into the Hands of Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, who had already in other Capacities, been ſerving of it; and he accordingly, without leaving either his *Houſe* or his *Church* at *Boſton*, made his continual Viſits to the Colledge at *Cambridge*, managing as well the Weekly *Diſputations*, as the Annual *Commencements*, and inſpecting the whole Affairs of the Society; and by Preaching often at *Cambridge*, he made his Viſits yet more profitable unto them.

Reader, the Intereſt and Figure which the World knows this my *PARENT* hath had, in the *Eccleſiaſtical Concerns* of this Country, ever ſince his firſt Return from *England* in the Twenty Second, until his next Return from *England* in the Fifty Third Year of his Age; makes it a Difficult thing for *me* to Write the *Church-Hiſtory* of the Country. Should I Inſert every where, the Relation which he hath had unto the Publick Matters, it will be thought by the *Envious*, that I had undertaken this Work, with an Eye to ſuch a *Motto* as the Son of the Memorable Prince of *Orange* took his Device, *PATRIÆQUE PATRIQUE*: Should I on the other ſide bury in utter ſilence, all the Effects of that Care and Zeal wherewith he hath Employed in his peculiar *Opportunities*, with which the *Free Grace* of Heaven hath *Talented* him to do Good unto the Publick; I muſt cut off ſome *Eſſentials* of my Story. I will however Bowle nearer to the *latter* Mark than the *former*; and if no Body blame Sir *Henry Wotton* for ſtill mentioning his *Father* with ſo much Veneration, as *that beſt of Men*; *my Father*, I hope I ſhall not be blamed for ſaying thus much, *my Father hath been deſirous to do ſome Good.* Wherefore I will not only add in this Place, that when the Honourable *Joſeph Dudley* Eſq; was by the King's Commiſſion made *Preſident* of the Territory of *New-England*; this Gentleman, among other Expreſſions of his hearty Deſire to ſecure the Proſperity of his *Mother*, whoſe *Breaſts* himſelf had ſucked; continued the Government of the Colledge in the Hands of Mr. *Mather*, and altered his Title into that of a *RECTOR*. But, when Wiſe Perſons apprehend

hend that the Conſtitution of *Men* and *Things*, which followed after the Arrival of another Governor, threatned all the Churches with Quick Ruines, wherein the *Colledge* could not but be comprehended, Mr. *Mather*, did by their Advice, repair to *Whitehall*; where being Remarkably favoured by *Three Crowned Heads*, in Succeſſive and Perſonal Applications unto them, on the behalf of his diſtreſſed Countrey, and having obtained ſeveral Kindneſſes for the *Colledge* in particular, he returned into *New-England*, in the Beginning of the Year, 1692. with a *Royal-Charter*, full of moſt ample Priviledges. By that *Royal Charter* under the Seal of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, the Country had its *Engliſh*, and its *Chriſtian* Liberties, as well as its *Titles* to its *Lands* (formerly conteſted) ſecured to it; and the *Province* being particularly enabled hereby to incorporate the *Colledge* (which was the Reaſon, that he did not ſtay to ſollicite a particular *Charter* for it) immediately upon his Arrival, the *General Aſſembly* gratified his Deſire, in Granting a *Charter* to this *Univerſity*. Mr. *Mather* now reaſſuming the Quality of *Preſident* over the *Colledge*, which in his Abſence had flouriſhed for divers Years, under the Prudent Government of Two Tutors, Mr. *John Leveret*, and Mr. *William Bruttle*, he does to this Day continue his Endeavours to keep alive that *River*, the Streams whereof have *made glad* this *City of God*. Unto this brief Recitation of Occurrences relating to the *Colledge*, I ſhall only annex a few Paſſages, uſed by Mr. *Mather*, when he gave the *Degrees*, at the firſt Commencement, after his Arrival; becauſe they are Expreſſive of Things purely *Academical*.

Gradus Academicus eſt Honor ob Virtutem potiſſimum Intellectualem, merentibus, collatus: Eſtq; *Baccalaureatus*, *Magiſterium*, ac *Doctoratus*. *Doctoratus* in Noſtro Athenæo plane ignotus; Et *quod ſupra nos, nihil ad nos*. De verâ Nominis *Baccalaurei* Notatione, inter Peritiſſimos ambigitur. Nonnulli Verbum à *Bacculo*, derivari volunt; unde Scholaſtici hanc *Baccalaurei* Deſcriptionem formarunt, *Baccalaureus eſt Perſona habens Dignitatem Bajulandi*; *Baculum*, *premovibilis in Magiſtrum*. Ridiculum Animal *Baccalaureus* ſit oportet, ſi hæc Definitio, ſuo Definito per Omnia quadraret! A *Baccâ Laurus* Vocem deſumi veriſimilius eſt; Caveant artem *Baccalaurei*, ne *Laureolos*, in *Muſtaceo* quærunt. Ad *Magiſterii* Gradum quod attinet, eo decorari ſolent, qui abſoluto Liberalium Artium ſtudio iſtâ Laureâ, ſe dignos præbent. *Magiſter Artium*, in quibusdam Academiis *Philoſophiæ Doctor* audit: Sic apud *Belgas*, et ſic etiam, ni fallor, apud Nonnullos *Germanos*; quamvis *Anglis*, *Gallis*, *Hiſpanis*, *Italis*, *Polonis*, iſte Titulus ſit Ignotis. De Antiquitate et Utilitate *Graduum Academicorum*, Multi multa ſcripſerunt, præ cæteris *Altingius et Contingius*. Honos alit Artes. Ea quidem Virtutis Perfectio eſt, ut propter ſe expecti debeat; Ea tamen eſt Humani Ingenii Perverſitas, quòd niſi Honoribus Erigantur Artes, Neglectui habentur.

Vix facilè invenies multis in Millibus Unum,
Virtutem Pretium, qui putet eſſe ſui.

De *Jure* Conferendi Academicos Honores, Juvenis Doctiſſimus *Chriſtianus Itterus*, Librum pereruditum nuper edidit: Atq; alterum de *Jure* Erigendi Academias, *Zeiglerus* publici Juris fecit. Mitto *Rotmarum*, qui Collegia Corpora *Eccleſiaſtica* eſſe vult ac igitur pro Academiis non habendas, quæ Privilegiis Pontificiorum non ſunt Donatæ. Jus Conſtituendi Academias, omnibus & ſolis, qui τὸ κύειον habent in Republica tribuitur. Oggerent forſan aliquio, ſi hæc Poteſtas inter *Regalia* numeretur, quid *Novanglia* cum *Academia?* Quid *Cantabrigia Novanglorum* cum *Gradu Academico?* Ejusmodi Objectores ſciant velim, noſtram Academiam Regis Autoritate jam firmatam & munitam eſſe. Notius eſt quam ut meâ Narratione egeat, quòd non ſolùm Summæ Poteſtates, ſed alii, eorum Nomine, hos Honores diſpertiant, quòd, Exempli gratiâ, in Imperio *Romano Germanico*, Archiduces *Auſtriæ*, etiam et *Comites Palatinii*; quodq; in *Fœderato Belgio*, ſinguli *Ordines*, id unaquaq; Provincia, hanc Poteſtatem habeant & exerceant. Imo, et REX ipſe Magnus *Gulielmus*, magnæ Britaniæ Imperator, mihi dicere Dignatus eſt, *ſe ſat ſcire, quòd apud ſuos in* Novangliâ *ſubditos eſſet Academia: Quæ Academia* (aiebat, *Delicium Humani Generis*, *Rex* noſter Potentiſſimus) *mihi erit in Gratia.* Quid Verbis Regiis Gratioſius eſſe poterit? Deindè verò Summa Provinciâ *Maſſachuſettenſis* Curia, Gubernator, Senatus, Populusq; *Nov. Anglicanus*, Collegium *Harvardinum*, *Academiam*, cum Autoritate Conferendi Gradus pro more Academiarum Angliâ nominârunt & inſtituerunt. Adſunt deniq; Illuſtres Duumviri. *D. Gulielmus PHIPSIUS*, Hujus Territorii Gubernator Ampliſſimus, Regis Mandato delegatus; nec non *D. Gulielmus STOUGHTONUS*, Pro-Gubernator, *Mæcenas* noſter æternum Honorandus; quos equidem tanquam *Cancellarium* & *Vice-Cancellarium*, hujus Academiæ veneror, Animo, Menteq; ſuſpicio. Hæc cum iſtâ ſe habeant, ad *Gradus Academicos* ſine morâ, ac ſolito more, cur non procederemus, nullus video.

§. 7 At the *Commencement*, it has been the Annual Cuſtom for the *Batchelors* to publiſh a Sheet of *Theſes*, *pro virili Defendendæ*, upon all or moſt of the *Liberal Arts*; among which they do, with a particular Character, diſtinguiſh thoſe that are to be the Subjects of the Publick *Diſputations* then before them; and thoſe *Theſes* they *dedicate* as handſomely as they can, to the Perſons of Quality, but eſpecially the **Governour** of the Province, whoſe **Patronage** the *Colledge* would be recommended unto. The *Maſters* do, in an half ſheet, without any *Dedication*, publiſh only the *Quæſtiones pro Modulo diſcutiendæ*, which they purpoſe either Affirmatively or Negatively to maintain as *Reſpondents*, in the *Diſputations*, which are by them to be managed. They that peruſe the *Theſes* of the *Batchelors* of later Years publiſhed, will find that though the

Ramæan Diſcipline be in this Colledge preferred unto the *Ariſtotelæan*, yet they not ſo confine themſelves unto *That* neither, as to deprive themſelves of that *Libera Philoſophia*, which the *Good Spirits* of the Age have embraced, ever ſince the Great Lord *Bacon* ſhow'd 'em the way to *The Advancement of Learning*; but they ſeem to be rather of the *Sect*, begun by *Potamon*, called ἐκλέκτικοι, who adhering to *no former Sect*, choſe out of them all, what they lik'd beſt in any of them: At leaſt, I am ſure, they do not ſhow ſuch a Veneration for *Ariſtotle* as is expreſs'd at *Queens-Colledge* in *Oxford*; where they read *Ariſtotle* on their *Knees*, and thoſe who take *Degrees* are *ſworn* to defend his Philoſophy. A *Venetian* Writer pretends to enumerate no leſs than Twelve Thouſand Volumes publiſhed in the Fourteenth Age, about the Philoſophy of *Ariſtotle*, none of ours will add unto the Number. For this let the Learned Reader, accept the Excuſe, which their preſent *Preſident*, in one of his Orations, at the Cloſe of their Exerciſes, has helpt us unto.

Mihi quidem maximè arridet, quòd vos qui eſtis in Artibus Liberalibus Initiati, Liberum Philoſophandi Modum, potius quam *Peripateticiſmum* ſapere videmini. Nullus addubito quin *Cl. Gaſſendi* Exercitationes vobis non ſunt ignotæ, in quibus, quòd apud *Ariſtotelem* multa deficiant, multa ſuperfluant, multa fallant, pluribus Oſtendit. Tritum eſt illud, *Qui non vult Intelligi debet negligi*; Nonnulla autem in Libris *Ariſtotelis*, Nemo mortalium poteſt Intellegere. Fertur itaque de *Hermolao Barbaro*, quòd *Dæmonem* ab Inferis Excitaverit, ut quid *Ariſtoteles* per ſuam ἐντελέχειαν voluit, exponeret. En. Egregium *Ariſtotelis* Interpretem! Quam plurima in ejus Scriptis, Authoris Paganiſmum redolent: Mundum facit Increatum: Mortuorum Reſurrectionem poſſibilem negat; Animam mortalem. Nonnulli *Pyrrhonem*, qui fuit Pater *Scepticorum*: Alii *Zenonem*, qui fuit Pater *Stoicorum*; Multi *Platonem*, qui fuit Pater *Academicorum*; *Ariſtoteli* præferunt. Vos autem quibus *Liberè Philoſophari* contigit, in Nullius jurare Verba Magiſtri, eſtis addicti: Aſt unicum *Ariſtotelis* Dictum verè Aureum, memoriâ teneatis, *Amicus* Plato, *Amicus* Socrates (addo ego *Amicus* Ariſtoteles) *ſed magis Amica Veritas*.

They likewiſe which peruſe the *Queſtiones* publiſhed by the *Maſters*, will find, that as theſe, now and then preſume to fly as high as *Divinity*; ſo their *Divinity* is of that *Reformed Stamp*, which carries as frequent Confutations of *Arminianiſm* with it, as are poſſible: Herein condemning thoſe *Proteſtant Univerſities*, abroad in the World, which have not preſerved the Glorious *Doctrines of Grace*, in ſuch Purity, as that great Party among the *Romaniſts* themſelves, which go under the Name of *Janſeniſts*. But for this alſo let their Preſent *Preſident* be Accountable, whoſe Orations at the End of their Exerciſes, have uttered ſuch Paſſages as theſe unto them.

Gravis illa fuit *Profundi Doctoris* Querela, *totum pene Mundum poſt* Pelagium *in Errorem abire*. Cauſa in promptu eſt; nam propter *Adæ*, et in eo Peccantis Humani Generis, Naufragium, mortales prout Res ſint, nec ſentiunt, nec judicant. Toti, toti, quanti quantiq; ſunt, a Bono & Vero averſi, converſi ad Malum & Errorem. *Pelagianiſmus* itaq; Homini in Statu lapſo Naturalis eſt, nec unquam ſic avelli poteſt, quòd non iterum tanquam infelix Lolium, in Fundo Naturæ corruptæ exoriatur. Videmus *Papiſtas*, *Socinianiſtas*, nec non *Arminii* Sequaces, *Pelagii* de *Liberi Arbitrii* Viribus, virus Abſorbentes ac Devorantes; tametſi eorum Error, non tantum ab *Auguſtino*, jamdudum, & a *Luthero*, in Libro Inſigni cui Titulus eſt, *De ſervo Arbitrio*, ſed etiam ab Innumeris hujus Seculi Viris perquam Eruditis, refutatur. Sed faceſſat jam *Arminianiſmus*, cum ſit *Neo-pelagianiſmus*. Mihi in Mentem venit Anagramma, ſive Ingenioſa Nominis *Arminii* Interpretatio, ex Literarum Trajectione. *Jacobus Arminius*, ἀναγραμματιζόμενος eſt, *Vani Orbis Amicus*; At nobis ergo non ſit *Amicus*. Habemus autem in *Amyraldo*, *Arminium Redivivum*; parùm enim, aut nihil afferunt *Amyraldiſtæ*, quos *Novatores & Methodiſtas* vocant, niſi quæ ab *Arminianis* acceperunt, uti Multis *Cl. Molineus* evicit. Faceſſant igitur *Novatores*, et in Noſtra Academia, nec Vola, nec Veſtigium *Arminianiſmi* unquam inveniatur. In quantum verò *Inceptores* noſtri veram contrà *Arminianiſmum* Sententiam pro virili propugnârunt, eos Laureâ Dignos habeamus.

And now, I hope, that the *European* Churches of the *Faithful*, will caſt an Eye of ſome Reſpect upon a little Univerſity in *America*, recommended by the Character that has been thus given of it. Certainly they muſt be none but Enemies to the *Reformation*, the Sons of *Edom* (which the *Jewiſh* Rabbins very truly tell us, is the Name of *Rome* in the Sacred Oracles) that ſhall ſay of ſuch an Univerſity, *Raſe it! Raſe it!*

§. 8. But our Account of *Harvard-Colledge*, will be rendred more compleat, if we do here tranſcribe the Laws of it; which **Laws**, now, Reader, do beſpeak thy Patience.

Statuta, Leges, & Privilegia, a Preſide & Sociis, Collegij HARVARDINI, apud Cantabrigienſes in Novâ Angliâ, approbata & ſancita; quibus Scholares ſive Studentes, et Admiſſi & Admittendi, ad Literas & bonos Mores, promovendum, ſubjicere tenentur.

1. Cuicunq; fuerit Peritia Legendi *Ciceronem*, aut quemvis alium ejuſmodi Claſſicum Autorem ex tempore, et congruè Loquendi ac Scribendi Latinè Facultas, Oratione tam ſolutâ quàm Ligatâ, ſuo (ut aiunt) Marte, & ad unquam inflectendi Græcorum Nominum, & Verborum Paradigmata; Hic Admiſſionem in Collegium jure poteſt expectare: Quicunque vero deſtitutus fuerit hâc Peritiâ, Admiſſionem ſibi Neutiquam vendicet.

2. Quicunq; in Collegium admittuntur, iidem etiam Contubernio excipiendi ſunt; et Unuſquiſq; Scholarium Oeconomo tres Libras cum Hoſpitio

Hoſpitio accipitur, numerabit; Eidem ad finem cujuſq; Trimeſtris quod debitum erit, ſolvet: Nec licet Ulli Academico, nondum Gradu Ornato, Convictum extra Collegium quærere, niſi veniâ impetratâ à Præſide, aut ſuo Tutore. Si quis autem hanc Præſidis aut Tutoris Indulgentiam obtinebit, Conſuetudinem uſitatam, fideliter obſervabit; ſin autem aliquis à Collegio Deſcedendo, privatam Inſtitutionem quæſierit; copiâ à Præſide, vel a Tutoribus illi non factâ, nullo Privilegio Academico patietur.

3. Dum hic egerint, Tempus ſtudioſè Redimunto; tam Communes Omnium Scholarium horas, quam ſuis Prælectionibus deſtinatas, Obſervando.

4. Unuſquiſque Scholarium Exercitia omnia Scholaſtica et Religioſa, tam publica quam privata ſibi propria præſtabit. Adhuc in Statu pupillari degentes, Sexies quotannis Roſtra Oratoria aſcendent. Unaquâque Septimanâ bis Diſputationibus publicis Sophiſtæ intereſſe debent: Cum Baccalaurei tum Sophiſtæ, Analyſin in aliquam S. Literarum partem, inſtituent: Baccalaurei ſingulis ſemeſtribus, publicè Quæſtiones Philoſophicas ſub Præſidis Moderamine diſcutient: Abſente vero Præſide, duo Seniores Tutores Moderatoris partes alternatim agent.

5. Ne quis ſub quovis Prætextu, Hominum, quorum Perditi ac Diſcincti ſunt Mores, Conſuetudine utitor.

6. Nemo in ſtatu pupillari degens, niſi conceſſâ priùs a Præſide, vel a Tutoribus, veniâ ex Oppido exeat: Nec quis quam Cujuſcunque Gradûs aut Ordinis fuerit, Tabernas aut Diverſoria, ad Comeſſandum, aut Bibendum, accedat, niſi ad Parentes, Curatores, Nutricios, aut hujuſmodi, acceſſitus fuerit.

7. Nullus Scholaris, nullo Parentum, Curatorum, aut Tutorum approbante, quicquam emito, vendito, aut commutato qui autem ſecùs fecerit, a Præſide aut Tutore, pro Delicti Ratione Mulctabitur.

8. Omnes Scholares a Veſtibus, quæ Faſtum aut Luxum præ ſe ferunt, abſtineant; nec Ulli Studenti extra Limites Academiæ, ſine Toga, Tunica, vel Penula, exire liceat.

9. Omnis Scholaris non Graduatus, ſolo Cognomine vocetur, niſi ſit Commenſalis, aut Equitis Primogenitus, vel inſigni Genere natus.

10. Omnis Commenſalis, quinque Libras, in perpetuum Academiæ Uſum ſolvet, priusquam in Collegium admittatur.

11. Unuſquiſque Scholaris in Statu pupillari degens, Tutori ſuo duas Libras, at ſi Commenſalis, tres Libras, per Annum dinumerare tenebitur.

12. Nulli ex Scholaribus Senioribus, ſolis Tutoribus et Collegii ſociis exceptis, Recentem ſivè Juniorem, ad Itinerandum, aut ad aliud quodvis faciendum, Minis, Verberibus, vel aliis Verbis impellere licebit. Et ſiquis non Graduatus, in hanc Legem peccaverit, Caſtigatione Corporali, Expulſione, vel aliter, prout Præſidi cum Sociis, viſum fuerit punietur.

13. Scholares, cujuſcunq; Conditionis, a Luſu Alearum vel Chartarum pictarum, nec non ab omni Luſus Genere, in quo de pecuniâ concertatur, abſtineant, ſub pœnâ viginti Solidorum toties, quoties, ſi ſit Graduatus, vel aliter, pro Arbitrio Præſidis & Tutoris, ſi non ſit Graduatus.

14. Siquis Scholarium a Precibus, aut Prælectionibus abfuerit, niſi neceſſitate Coactus, aut Præſidis aut Tutoris nactus veniam; Admonitioni, aut aliusmodi, pro Præſidis aut Tutoris, prudentiâ, pænæ, ſi plusquam ſemel, in Hebdomade peccaverit, erit obnoxius.

15. Nullus Scholaris quâvis de Cauſâ (niſi præmonſtrata & approbata, Præſidi & Tutori ſuo) à Studiis, ſtatisve Exercitiis abeſto: Exceptâ ſemihorâ Jentaculo, Prandio vero ſesquihorâ, conceſſâ; nec non Cœnæ uſq; ad horam nonam.

16. Siquis Scholarium ullam Dei aut hujus Collegii Legem, ſive Animo perverſo, ſive ex ſupinâ Negligentiâ violarit, poſtquam fuerit bis admonitus, gravioribus pro Præſidis aut Tutoris prudentia, pœnis, coerceatur. In Atrocioribus autem Delictis, ut adeo gradatim procedatur, Nemo expectet.

17. Quicunq; Scholaris, probatione habitâ, poterit ſacrus utriusq; Inſtrumenti Scripturas, de Textu Originali Latinè Interpretari; & Logicè reſolvere; fueritq; Naturalis & Moralis Philoſophiæ Principiis Imbutus; Vitaq; & Moribus inculpatus; et publicis quibusve Comitiis à Præſide & Sociis Collegii, approbatus, primo ſuo Gradu poſſit Ornari. Aliter Nemo, niſi poſt Triennium et decem Menſes ab Admiſſione in Collegium, ad primum, in Artibus Gradum admittetur.

18. Quicunq; Scholaris Locum habuit Communem, ſcriptamq; Synopſin, vel Compendium Logicæ, Naturalis & Moralis Philoſophiæ, Arithmeticæ, aut Geometriæ, aut Aſtronomiæ, exhibuerit, fueritq; ad Theſes ſuas defendendas paratus; nec non Originalium, ut ſupra dictum, Linguarum, peritus; quem etiamnum Morum Integritas ac Studiorum Diligentia cohoneſtaverint, publicis quibusvis Comitiis probatione factâ, ſecundi Gradûs, Magiſterii nimirum, capax erit.

19. Statutum eſt, quòd qui Theologiæ dat Operam, antequam Baccalaureatum, in illa Facultate Conſequatur, Gradum Magiſterii in Artibus, ſuſcipiat, ac ſedulò Theologicis & Hebraicis Lectionibus incumbat; quibus Annorum ſeptem dabit Operam: quo Spatio, bis Diſputabit contra Theologiæ Baccalaureum, ſemelq; Reſpondebit in Theologiâ; concionabitur Latinè ſemel, & ſemel Anglicè, vel in Templo, vel in Aula Academiæ: Et ſi, in hoc Tempore, in Theologia profecerit, per ſolennem Inaugurationem, Baccalaureus fiet: Hâc tamen Cautione ſervatâ, ne quis ante quinquennium completum à ſuſcepto Magiſtrali Gradu, Concionem hujusmodi habere permittetur.

20. Statutum eſt, Quòd qui cupit in Ordinem Doctorum Theologiæ cooptari, per Integrum Quinquennium, poſt ſuſceptum Baccalaurei gradum, Lectionibus & Studiis Theologicis dabit Operam, et antequam Incipiendum, in eâdem

Facultate admittatur, in Quæſtionibus Theologicis bis Opponet, ſemel Reſpondebit, idq; Doctori, ſi commodè fieri poterit; Latinè ſemel, Anglicè ſemel, concionabitur in Templo, vel in Aula Academiæ; ſolenniter ſexies Legat, et Explicet aliquam Scripturæ partem, et poſt ſolennem Inceptionem, ſemel infrà Annum ipſe ſibi *Q*ueſtionem proponere, tenebitur in Aulà Academiæ, cujus Ambigua & Dubitationes, in utramq; partem, enucleabit, definiet & determinabit.

21. Statutum eſt, quòd præter cætera Exercitia, pro Gradibus Theologicis preſtanda, unusquiſq; tàm pro Theologiæ Baccalaureatu, quàm pro Doctoratu Candidatus, Tractatum quendam contra Hæreſia vel Errorem alliquem Graſſantem, aut in aliud utile quoddam Argumentum (dirigentibus id Præſide & Collegii Sociis) pro Communi Eccleſiarum commodo, in Lucem emittere, tenebitur.

22. Gradus Academici, qui à Præſide & Curatoribus Collegii Harvardini, antehac Collati ſunt, pro Validis habeantur.

23. Unusquiſq; Scholaris harum Legum Exemplar, à Præſide, & Aliquo Tutorum Subſcriptum, ſibi comparabit, priusquam in Collegium admittatur.

§. 9. Among the Laws of *Harvard-Colledge* thus recited, the Reader will find the Degrees of a *Baccalaureate* and a *Doctorate*, in *Divinity*, provided for thoſe, that by coming up to Terms, *beyond* thoſe required, in any one *European* Univerſity, ſhall merit them. Now tho' there are Divines in the Country, whoſe Abilities would fully anſwer the Terms thus propoſed; yet partly from the *Novelty* of the Matter it ſelf, which under the former *Charter* was never pretended unto, and partly from the *Modeſty* of the Perſons moſt worthy to have this Reſpect put upon them, there was yet never made among us any of theſe *Promotions*. 'Tis true, theſe Titles, are of no very Early Original; for the Occaſion of them firſt aroſe, about the Year of our Lord, 1135. *Lotharius* the Emperor, having found in *Italy*, a Copy of the *Roman Civil Law*, which he was greatly taken withal, he ordained, that it ſhould be *Publickly expounded in the Schools*; and that he might give Encouragement unto this Employment, it was Ordained, that the Publick *Profeſſors* of this Law ſhould be Dignified with the Style of *Doctors*, whereof *Bulgarus Hugolinus*, with Others, was the Firſt. Not long after, this Rite of Creating *Doctors*, was borrowed of the *Lawyers*, by *Divines*, who in their *Schools* publickly taught *Divinity*; and the Imitation took place, firſt in *Bononia*, *Paris* and *Oxford*. But I ſee not, why ſuch Marks of Honour may not be properly given by an *American* Univerſity, as well as an *European* to them, who by ſuch *Capacity* and *Activity* for the Service of the Churches, do deſerve to be ſo diſtinguiſhed. Indeed, this Univerſity did preſent their Preſident with a *Diploma*, for a *Doctorate* under the Seal of the *Colledge* with the Hands of the Fellows annexed; which, becauſe it is the *Firſt* and the *Sole* Inſtance of ſuch a Thing done in the whole Engliſh *America*, I will here tranſcribe it.

Quum *Gradus Academicas*, tam in *Theologiâ*, quam in *Philoſophiâ*, pro more Academiarum in *Anglia*, Conferendi Poteſtas, ab Ampliſſimo Gubernatore, et a Summa Maſſachuſettenſis Provinciæ Curia, ſecundùm Sereniſs. Regis ac Reginæ *Gulielmi* & *Mariæ*, illis Conceſſum Diploma, ſit ad nobis Commiſſa: et quoniam Vir Clariſſimus, D. *CRESCENTVS MATHERUS*, Collegii Harvardini in *Novâ Angliâ* Præſes Reverendus, Libros quam plurimos tam Anglicè quàm Latinè edidit, Omnigenâ Literaturâ Refertos, multiſq; prætereà modis, non ſolum in Linguis et in Artibus Liberalibus peritiſſimum, verùm etiam in *S. S.* Scripturis & in Theolgiâ ſe oſtendit verſatiſſimum; Atq; per Studia & Merita verè extraordinaria, non tantum apud *Americanas*, ſed et *Europæanas* Eccleſias commendatiſſimum ſe reddidit; propterea dictum D. *CRESCENTIUM MATHERUM*, Doctorali Cathedrâ dignum, judicamus, eumq; pro Authoritate nobis Commiſſa, *S. Theologiæ DOCTOREM*, Nominamus ac Renunciamus. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, Academiæ Sigillum Hiſce Literis affiximus; Nos, quorum hic ſunt ſubſcripta Nomina.

Datum Cantabrigiæ Nov-Anglorum Die Novembris Septimo, Anno Domini Milleſimo, Sexcenteſimo, Nonageſimoq; Secundo.

Neverthelefs, whatever Uſe he may hereafter ſee Cauſe to make of this *Inſtrument*, he hath hitherto been willing to wear no other Title, than what formerly he had, in the *Catalogue of our Graduates*. which is the Next Thing, that my Reader is to be entertained withal.

§. 10. Reader, *The Sons of* HARVARD are going to *preſent themſelves in Order before thee*. The *Catalogue* pretends not unto ſuch Numbers, as *Oſiander* will find for us in his Academy of *Tubinga*, which yielded more than Four Thouſand Maſters, *Inter quos erant magna Nomina & Lumina*; nor ſuch Numbers, as *Howel* reports of *Paris*, where there have been known, at One Time, *Twenty Thouſand*, yea, *Thirty Thouſand* Students; nor ſuch Numbers as *Alſted* reports of *Prague*, where the Univerſity had at Once, *Forty Four Thouſand Forreigners*, that were Students in it, beſides the Native *Bohemians*. Neverthelefs it muſt be acknowledged, That here are pretty Competent Numbers, for a *poor Wilderneſs* in its Infancy; and a *poor Wilderneſs* indeed it had been, if the Cultivations of ſuch a *Colledge* had not been beſtowed upon it. In the peruſal of this *Catalogue*, it will be found, that, beſides a Supply of **Miniſters** for our Churches from this Happy *Seminary*, we have hence had a Supply of **Magiſtrates**, as well as *Phyſicians* and other *Gentlemen*, to ſerve the Common-wealth with their Capacities. Yea, the Conſiderable Names of *STOUGHTON* and *DUDLEY*, in this Liſt, have been advanced unto the Chief Place in Government: Nor has the Country ſent over

over *Agents* to appear at *Whitehall*, for any of its Intereſts upon any Occaſion for more than theſe Thirty Years, but what had their Education in this Nurſery. . It will be alſo found that *Europe* as well as *America*, has from this Learned *Seminary*, been enriched with ſome Worthy Men; among whom I will rather chooſe to omit the mention of Sir *George Downing*, who occurs in the firſt Claſs of our *Graduates*, than reckon him with a Company ſo diſagreeable to him, as the Reſt, that were many of them afterwards Famous Miniſters of the Goſpel in *England* and *Ireland*. *Non bene conveniunt,, nec in una ſede morantur.* It will be likewiſe found, that not a few of theſe *Harvardians*, have by their *Publiſhed Writings* been uſeful unto the World. That Excellent Man, who is the Leader of this whole Company, and who was a *Star of the firſt Magnitude* in his Conſtellation, to wit, Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*; an Eminent Herald of Heaven at *Salisbury*, and afterwards at *Newbury* in *England*, and (after the *Act of Uniformity* and the Perſecution following hereupon creepled him) in ſeveral other Places, as he had Opportunity: He wrote ſeveral Conſiderable Treatiſes about *Juſtification*; as alſo, *Againſt the Unwarrantable Practice of Private Chriſtians, in Uſurping the Office of Publick Preaching*; and as the Scoffing *Wood* acknowledges, *He was accounted among the Brethren a Learned and a Mighty Man.* After *Him* we have had, beſides thoſe, whoſe *Lives* are anon to be Written, many others that by *Writing* have made themſelves to *Live*; and not only have we had a *Danforth*, a *Nathanael Mather*, an *Hoar*, a *Rowlandſon*, a *Nowel*, a *Whiting*, an *Hooker*, a *Moodey*, an *Eleazar Mather*, a *Richardſon*, a *Thacher*, an *Adams*, a *Saltonſtal*, a *Walter*, the Authors of Leſſer Compoſures, out of their modeſt Studies, even as with a *Cæſarean Section*, forced into Light; but alſo we have had an *Hubbard*, an *Iſaac Chancey*, a *Willard*, a *Stoddard*, the Authors of larger Compoſures. Yea, the Preſent Preſident of the Colledge has obliged the Publick with more than *Thirty* ſeveral Treatiſes of Diverſe Matters, and Figures, and in Diverſe Languages. 'Tis true, there is *One more* among the Sons of this Colledge, that might already bring in a Catalogue of more than *Threeſcore* ſeveral Books, which the Preſs has had from him; nevertheleſs as *Ronſard* the *French* Poet upon Reading of *Du-Bartas*'s WEEKS, would ſay, *Monſieur* Du Bartas *a fait plus en une Semaine, que Je n'ay fait en toute ma Vite*; Du-Bartas *has done more in* One Week, *than I have done all the Days of my Life*: So it muſt be acknowledged, That *Three Compoſures* of One Writer may be more valuable than *Threeſcore* of another. Nor indeed, muſt it be Enumerated among the leaſt Bleſſings of *New-England*, that it has been above all the reſt of the *Engliſh America*, furniſhed with *Preſſes*, from which it has had a Thouſand Ways, the Benefits of that *Art of Printing*; a *Gift* of Heaven, whereof *Beroaldus* well ſang;

Quo nil Utilius dedit Vetuſtas,
Libros Scribere quæ doces premendo.

Finally, if *Harvard* be now asked, as once *Jeſſe* was, *are here all thy Sons?* It muſt be anſwered, *no*; for upon a Diſatisfaction, about an Hardſhip which they thought put upon themſelves, in making them loſe a good part of a *Year* of the Time, whereupon they Claimed their *Degree* (about the Year 1655) there was a Conſiderable Number, even Seventeen of the *Scholars*, which went away from the Colledge without any *Degree* at all. Nevertheleſs, this Diſaſter hindred not their future ſerviceableneſs in the Churches of the Faithful, and ſome of them indeed proved extraordinary ſerviceable: Among whom it would be Criminal for me to forget Mr. *William Brimſmead*, Paſtor at this Day to the Church of *Malborough*; and Mr. *Samuel Torrey*, of *Weymouth*, (of whoſe there are publiſhed *Three Sermons*, which at ſo many ſeveral times were Preached, at the Anniverſary Elections of *Magiſtrates*.) And unto theſe I may add Mr. *Samuel Wakeman*, the Paſtor to the Church of *Fairfield*, of whom we have Three or Four ſeveral Sermons publiſhed.

What now Remains, is to look over our *Catalogue*; and then ſingle out ſome Subjects for a more particular *Biography*. Only, while I carry in my *Reader* to ſpeak with them, the *Writer* himſelf, (ſolicitous, that the Name which *Philo Judæus* puts upon a Colledge; Namely, Διδασκαλεῖον συμπάσης ἀρετῆς, or, *A School of all Virtue*, may ever and juſtly be the Name of *Harvard-Colledge*) will take the Leave to Addreſs their *Succeſſors*, with certain Admonitions, tranſlated from no leſs than a *National Synod* of the Proteſtant Churches in *France*. The laſt *National Synod*, that ſat before the Diſſipation of thoſe Renowned Churches, after the Other, and many, Cares, which the former moſt Venerable *Aſſemblies* took of their *Univerſities*, by their Decree, earneſtly exhorted the Governors of the *Univerſities*, to exert all their Power, *For the Suppreſſion of Abuſes crept in among them, redounding to the Diſgrace of Religion, and opening the Flood-gates to the Deluge of Profaneneſs, to break in upon the Sanctuary*; and under Severe Penalties enjoined the Scholars, but moſt eſpecially the Students in Divinity, *To keep themſelves at the greateſt Diſtance from ſuch Things, as are contrary to Chriſtian Modeſty and Sanctity, and to perfume the Houſe of God, betimes with the ſweet Odours of an Early Religious Converſation, every way becoming the Sacred Employment, whereto they be deſigned.* Now when we have tranſcribed ſome of the Excellent Words, uſed by Monſieur *Guitton*, at the preſenting of this *Decree* to the Univerſity of *Saumur*, we will, without any further Delay give our *Catalogue* Leave to appear before us.

"You have Conſecrated your Labours, your
"Time, your whole Man, unto the Service of
"the Sovereign Monarch of the Whole World;
"that Lord, who is ador'd by all the *Angels*. Your
"own Conſciences, Sirs, as well as mine, muſt
"needs tell you, you cannot bring with you, too
"much *Humility*, nor too much *Self-Abaſement*,
"nor too much *Self-Annihilation*, nor too much

"*Simplicity*

"*Simplicity* and *Sincerity*, when you come into "His Preſence, whoſe Eyes are as a *Flaming* "*Fire*, and who *ſearcheth your Hearts and trieth* "*your Reins*; and offer your ſelves to be Enroll'd "in the Number of his *Menial Servants*, and "*Goſpel-Miniſters*.

"To be ſhort, Sirs, You are deſtinated unto "an Employment, in which there be no *Advance-* "*ments* made, but by *Prayers*; and *Prayers* are "never Heard, nor Anſwered by God, further "than they be *Sincere*; and they be not in the "leaſt *Sincere*, where the *Hearts* are not guided "and purified by the Truth of God's Holy "Word and Spirit, who dictateth our *Prayers* "and quickneth and ſanctifieth our *Affections*. "Do you imagine, Sirs, that God will give you "His *Holy Spirit*, without whom you *are* Nothing "and *can do* Nothing, unleſs you ask Him of "God? And are you then Qualified and Fitted "for *Prayer*, a moſt Holy Duty, when as your "Spirit is ſtuffed up, occupied and diſtracted, "with your *Youthful Luſts*, and repleniſhed with "the Provoking Objects of your *Vanity?* Or, "can you bring unto this Sacred Ordinance, "unto this moſt Religious Exerciſe, that *Atten-* "*tion*, *Aſſiduity* and *Perſeverance*, which is need- "ful to the Getting of Gracious Anſwers, and "Returns from Heaven, whenas the Better and "far Greater Part of your *Time*, is conſumed in "Worldly *Companies* and *Converſations?* Cer- "tainly, Sirs, You will find it exceeding Diffi- "cult to diſentangle your ſelves from thoſe Im- "preſſions you have *firſt* received, and to empty "your ſelves of the *Vanities* you have imbibed, "that you may be at Liberty to Reflect and Me- "ditate upon God's *Holy Word*.

"My Dear Brethren, Honour and Adorn that "*Profeſſion*, whereto you are Devoted, and it "will *Reflect* Beams of Honour again upon you. "Conſider. Sirs, what is *Becoming* you, and God "will communicate what is needful for you, to "ev'ry one of you. Let His *Name* and *Glory* "be the Principal Mark and Butt of your Con- "ditions and Studies, and it will bring down "the Choiceſt and Chiefeſt of Bleſſings of God "upon you. Let your *Lives* and *Converſations* "be Accompanied and Crowned with all the "Virtues and Graces of *Reformed Chriſtians*; with "that *Humility*, which becometh the Servants of "God; with that Univerſal *Modeſty* and *Simplicity*, "which God requireth from the *Miniſters* of His "*Sanctuary*, in their Lives, Actions, Habits, "Language, Behaviour, and in your whole Courſe. "And then, Sirs, this your *Sanctification* will be "moſt Acceptable unto God, and ſaving unto "your ſelves; it will bring your *Profeſſion* into "Credit and Reputation; it will attract upon "you the Beſt *Bleſſings* of Heaven; it will ren- "der your Studies, and Employments proſperous, "ſucceſsful and edifying; the *Churches* will be "the Better for you, and the Kingdom of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt will be by you Promoted "and Advanced.

To theſe Admonitions of Monſieur *Guitton*, I will only for a Farewel, unto every Scholar now addreſs'd, ſubjoin *That* wherewith Mr. *Carter* took his Leave of a Scholar, *Fuge Faſtum, Ignaviam & Antichriſtum*.

Our CATALOGUE is now, without any further Ceremony to be produced; A *Catalogue* of *Chriſtian Students*, inſtructed in thoſe, which the other Day were *Pagan Regions*; A *Catalogue*, whereof I may therefore ſay as the Hiſtorian does of the *Temples* built by *Conſtantine*, It is τὸ πᾶσιν εὐκταῖον, ϗ ποθούμενον θέαμα, *To all Good Men, a deſireable Spectacle*.

CATALOGUS,

Eorum qui in COLLEGIO HARVARDINO, quod eſt CANTABRIGIÆ *Nov-Anglorum*, *ab Anno* 1642. *ad Annum* 1698. alicujus gradus Laurea donati ſunt.

1642.

* Benjamin Woodbridge.
* Georgius Downing.
* Johannes Bulklæus Mr.
Gulielmus Hubbard Mr.
Samuel Bellingham Mr. M D. Ludg.
* Johannes Wilſonus Mr.
* Henricus Saltonſtall.
* Tobias Barnardus.
* Nathanael Brufterus. *Th. Bac. Dub. Hib.*

1643.

* Johannes Joneſius. Mr.
* Samuel Matherus Mr. Socius.
* Samuel Danforth Mr Socius.
* Johannes Allin.

1644.

1645.

* Johannes Oliverus.
* Jeremias Hollandus.
* Gulielmus Ameſius.
* Johannes Ruſſellus. Mr.
Samuel Stow, Mr.
* Jacobus Ward.
* Robertus Johnſon.

1646.

* Johannes Alcock Mr.
* Johannes Brock Mr.
* Georgius Stirk.
* Nathaniel White. Mr.

1647.

* Jonathan Mitchel Mr. Socius
* Nathaniel Matherus Mr.
Conſolantius Star Mr. Socius.
* Johannes Barden.
* Abrahamus Walver.
* Georgius Haddenus Mr.
* Gulielmus Mildmay Mr.

1648.

1649.

* Johannes Rogerſius. Mr. *Præſes*
* Samuel Eaton, Mr. Socius.
* Urianus Oakes Mr. Socius, *Præſes*.
* Johannes Collins Mr. Socius
* Johannes Bowers.

1650.

Gulielmus Stoughton Mr *Oxonii.*
* Johannes Gloverus *M D Aberd*
Joſhua Hobartus. Mr.
Jeremias Hobartus. Mr.
* Edmundus Weld.

* Samuel

* Samuel Philipſius Mr.
* Leonardus Hoar *Mr. M. D. Cantabr. Præſes.*
* Iſaacus Allertonus
* Jonathan Inceus Mr.

1651.

Michael Wiggleſworth Mr. Socius.
* Marigena Cottonus Mr.
* Thomas Dudlæus Mr. Socius
* Johannes Gloverus Mr.
Henricus Butlerus Mr.
* Nathaniel Pelhamus.
* Johannes Daviſius Mr.
Iſaacus Chauncæus Mr.
* Ichabod Chauncæus Mr.
* Jonathan Burræus Mr.

1652.

* Joſephus Rowlandſonus.

1653. *Aug.* 9.

Samuel Willis.
* Johannes Angier Mr.
* Thomas Shepardus Mr. Socius.
* Samuel Nowel Mr. Socius.
* Richardus Hubbard Mr.
* Johannes Whiting Mr.
* Samuel Hookerus Mr Socius
* Johannes Stone *Mr. Cantab. Angl.*
Guilielmus Thomſonus
Qui ad ſecundum Gradum admiſſi fuere 1655. *Diei ſequentis Baccalaurei, ad ſecundum Gradum admiſſi ut moris eſt.* 1656.

1653. *Aug.* 10.

* Edwardus Rawſonus.
* Samuel Bradſtreet Mr. Socius.
* Joſhua Long Mr.
Samuel Whiting Mr.
* Joſhua Moodey Mr. Socius.
Joſhua Ambroſius Mr. *Oxoni.*
* Nehemiah Ambroſius Mr. Socius.
Thomas Crosbæus.

1654.

* Philippus Nelſon.

1655

Gerſhom Bulklæus Mr. Socius
Mordecai Matthewſius.

1656.

* Eleazarus Matherus.
Creſcentius Matherus *Mr. Dubl. Hib.* Socius, *Rector. Præſes. S. T. D.*
Robertus Painæus Mr.
* Subael Dummerus.
* Johannes Hayneſius Mr *Cantab.*
* Johannes Eliotus Mr.
* Thomas Graveſius Mr. Socius.
Johannes Emmerſonus Mr.

1657.

Zecharias Symmes Mr. Socius
* Zecharias Brigden Mr Socius
Johannes Cottonus Mr.
Johannes Hale Mr.
Eliſha Cookæus Mr.
* Johannes Whiting.
* Barnabas Chauncæus Mr.

1658.

* Joſephus Eliotus Mr.
* Joſephus Haynes.
* Benjamin Bunker M.
Jonah Fordhamus.
* Johannes Barſham.
* Samuel Talcot.
* Samuel Shepardus Mr Socius

1659.

Nathaniel Saltonſtall.
* Samuel Alcock.
P Abijah Savagius.
Samuel Willard Mr Socius,
Thomas Pariſh.
Samuel Cheverus.
* Ezekiel Rogerus.
Samuel Belcherus.
Jacobus Noyes.
Moſes Noyes.

1660.

* Simon Bradſtreet Mr.
* Nathaniel Collins Mr.
* Samuel Eliotus Mr. Socius.
* Guilielmus Whittingham.
* Joſephus Cookæus.
* Samuel Carterus.
* Manaſſeh Armitagius.
* Petrus Bulklæus Mr. Socius

1661.

* Johannes Bellingham Mr.
* Nathaniel Chauncæus Mr. Socius.
* Elnathan Chauncæus Mr.
Iſrael Chauncæus Mr.
* Compenſantius Osborn.
* Daniel Weld.
* Joſephus Cookæus.
Joſephus Whiting Mr. Socius
Caleb Watſonus Mr.
* Johannes Parkerus
* Thomas Johnſonus
* Bezaleel Shermannus

1662.

Johannes Holiokus
Benjamin Thomſonus
Solomon Stodardus Mr. Socius
Moſes Fiskæus Mr.
Ephraim Savagius
Thomas Oakes

1663.

* Samuel Symondus
Samuel Cobbet
* Johannes Reynerus Mr.
* Benjamin Blackman
* Thomas Mighil Mr.
* Nathaniel Cutler.

1664.

* Alexander Nowellus Mr. Socius.
* Joſiah Flintæus Mr.
* Joſephus Pynchonus Mr. Socius.
* Samuel Brackenburius Mr.
* Johannes Woodbridge
Joſephus Eaſterbrookæus Mr.
Samuel Street.

1665.

* Benjamin Eliotus Mr.
Joſephus Dudlæus Mr.
* Samuel Biſhop
* Edvardus Mitchelſonus
Samuel Mannæus
* Sperantius Athertonus
Jabez Foxius Mr.
* Caleb Cheeſchaumuk *Indus.*

1666.

* Joſephus Brownæus Mr. Socius.
* Johannes Richardſonus Mr. Socius.
* Daniel Maſonus
Johannes Filerus

1667.

Johannes Harriman Mr.
* Nathaniel Atkinſonus
* Johannes Foſterus
Gerſhom Hobartas Mr.
* Japheth Hobartus
Nehemiah Hobertus Mr. Socius
Nicholaus Noyes.

1668.

Adamus Winthrop
* Johannes Cullick
Zecharias Whitmannus
Abramus Pierſonus
Johannes Prudden

1669.

* Samuel Epps Mr.
Daniel Epps
Jeremias Shephardus Mr.
Daniel Gookin Mr. Socius
Johannes Bridghamus Mr.
* Daniel Ruſſellus Mr.
* Joſephus Taylorus Mr.
Jacobus Bayley Mr.
Joſephus Gerriſh
Samuel Treat Mr.

1670.

Nathaniel Higginſon Mr
* Ammi Ruhamah Corlet Mr. Socius.
Thomas Clarke Mr.
* Georgius Burrough

1671.

* Iſaacus Foſterus Mr. Socius.
Samuel Phips Mr.
Samuel Sewall Mr. Socius.
Samuel Matherus
* Samuel Danforth Mr. Socius
Petrus Thacherus Mr. Socius
* Gulielmus Adamus Mr.
Thomas Weld Mr.
* Johannes Bowles Mr.
Johannes Nortonus
Edvardus Taylorus.

1672.

1672.
1673.
Edvardus Pelhamus
* Georgius Alcock
Samuel Angier Mr.
Johannes Wiſe Mr.
1674.
* Edmundus Davie *M.D.Padua.*
* Thomas Sergeant.
1675.
Joſephus Hanley
Johannes Pike Mr.
Jonathan Ruſſellus Mr.
* Petrus Oliverus Mr.
Samuel Andrew Mr. Socius.
Jacobus Minot
Timothæus Woodbridge Mr.
* Daniel Allin Mr.
Johannes Emmerſonus Mr.
* Nathaniel Gookin Mr. Socius.
1676.
* Thomas Shepardus Mr.
Thomas Brattle Mr.
Jeremiah Cuſhing.
1677.
Thomas Chevers Mr.
Johannes Danforth Mr. Socius
Edvardus Payſon Mr.
Samuel Sweetman
Joſephus Capen Mr.
Thomas Scottow.
1678.
Johannes Cottonus Mr. Socius
Cottonus Matherus Mr. Socius
Grindallus Rawſonus Mr.
* Urianus Oakes.
1679.
* Jonathan Danforth Mr.
* Edvardus Oakes Mr.
* Jacobus Alling Mr.
Thomas Barnardus Mr.
1680.
* Richardus Martin
Johannes Leveretus Mr. Socius
Jacobus Oliver Mr.
Gulielmus Brattle Mr. Socius
* Percivallus Green Mr.
1681.
* Samuel Mitchel Mr. Socius.
Johannes Cottonus Mr.
Johannes Haſting Mr.
Noadiah Ruſſellus Mr.
Jacobus Pierpont Mr.
Johannes Davie
Samuel Ruſſellus Mr.
Gulielmus Deniſon Mr.
Joſephus Eliot Mr.
1682.
1683.
Samuel Danforth Mr
Johannes Williams Mr
Gulielmus Williams Mr
1684.
* Johannes Deniſon Mr.
Johannes Rogerſius Mr.
Gordonius Saltonſtall Mr.

* Richardus Wenſlæus
Samuel Myleſius Mr.
Nehemiah Walterus Mr Socius
Joſephus Webb M.
Edvardus Thompſonus
Benjamin Rolf Mr.
1685.
* Thomas Dudlæus Mr.
Warhamus Matherus Mr.
* Nathaniel Matherus Mr.
Roulandus Cottonus Mr.
Henricus Gibs Mr.
* Thomas Berrius Mr.
* Johannes Whiting Mr.
Edvardus Mills Mr.
Johannes Eliotus Mr.
Samuel Shepardus
* Petrus Ruck
Iſaacus Greenwood.
Johannes White Mr. Socius.
Jonathan Pierpont Mr.
1686.
Franciſcus Wainwright
Benjamin Lynde Mr.
Daniel Rogerſius Mr.
Georgius Phillipſius Mr.
Robertus Hale
Carolus Chauncæus
* Nicolaus Mortonus.
1687.
Johannes Davenport Mr.
Johannes Clark Mr.
Nathaniel Rogers Mr.
* Jonathan Mitchel Mr.
Daniel Brewer Mr.
Timotheus Stevens Mr.
* Nathaniel Welſh
* Joſephus Daſſett Mr.
Henricus Newman Mr.
Joſias Dwight
Sethus Shove Mr.
1688.
1689.
* Jacobus Allen Mr.
Samuel Moodey Mr.
Gulielmus Payn Mr.
Addingtonus Davenport
Johannes Haynes
* Gulielmus Partrigg
Richardus Whittingham Mr.
Johannes Emerſonus Mr.
Johannes Sparhawk Mr.
* Benjamin Marſton
Johannes Eveleth
* Benjamin Pierpont Mr.
Johannes Hancock Mr.
Thomas Swan. Mr.
1690.
Paulus Dudlæus Mr. Socius.
Samuel Matherus Mr.
Johannes Willard Mr.
* Daniel Deniſon
Johannes Joneſius Mr.
Joſephus Whiting Mr.
Nathaniel Clap.
Joſephus Belcherus Mr.
Nathaniel Stone.

Johannes Clark Mr.
Thomas Buckinghamus
Samuel Menſfield Mr.
Petrus Burr Mr.
* Johannes Selleck
Johannes Newmarch Mr.
Thomas Greenwood Mr.
Benjamin Wadſworth Mr. Socius
Thomas Ruggles Mr.
Stephanus Mix Mr.
Edmundus Goffe Mr.
Nicholæus Lynde
* Benjamin Eaſterbrookæus Mr.
1691.
Johannes Tyng Mr.
Ebenezer Pemberton Mr. Socius.
* Thomas Mackarty Mr.
Joſephus Lord Mr.
Chriſtopherus Tappan Mr.
Samuel Emery Mr.
* Thomas Atkinſonus
Timotheus Edwards Mr.
1692.
Benjamin Colman Mr.
Zecharias Alden
Ebenezer White Mr.
Jacobus Townſend
Johannes Mors Mr.
Caleb Cuſhing Mr.
1693.
Iſaacus Chauncæus Mr.
Sthephanus Buckinghamus
Henricus Flintæus Mr.
Simon Bradſtreet Mr.
Johannes Wadæus Mr.
Nathanael Hodſon
Penn Townſend
Nathanael Williams Mr.
Georgius Deniſon
Johannes Woodward Mr.
Joſephus Baxter Mr.
Gulielmus Veazie
Nathanael Hunting Mr.
Benjamin Ruggles Mr.
Gulielmus Groſvenor Mr.
1694.
Adamus Winthrop Mr.
Johannes Woodbridge
Dudlæus Woodbridge
Eliphalet Adamus Mr.
Johannes Savage
Johannes Ballantine Mr.
Salmon Treat
Jabez Fitch Mr. Socius.
1695.
Samuel Vaſſal
Gualterus Price Mr.
Richardus Saltonſtall Mr.
Nathaniel Saltonſtall Mr.
Johannes Hubbard Mr.
Simon Willard Mr.
Habijah Savage Mr.
Oliver Noyſe Mr.
Thomas Phips

Timo-

Timotheus Lindal
Jonathan Law
Ezekiel Lewis
Thomas Blowers Mr.
Thomas Little
Ephraim Little,
Johannes Perkins Mr.
Jedediah Andrews Mr.
Joſephus Smith
Johannes Robinſon Mr.
Joſephus Green Mr.
Joſephus Mors Mr.
Nicolaus Webſter.
1696.
Georgius Vaughan
Petrus Thacherus
Dudlæus Woodbridge
Jonathan Remington
Samuel Whitman
Samuel Eſtabrookæus
Andreas Gardner
Samuel Melyen.
1697.
Eliſha Cookæus
Antonius Stoddardus
Antonius Stoddardus
Jabez Wakeman
Nathaniel Collins
Samuel Burr
Johannes Read
Samuel Moodey
Richardus Brown
Hugo Adams
Johannes Swift
Johannes Southmayd
Joſephus Coit
Joſephus Parſonus.
1698.
Thomas Symmes
Joſias Cottonus
Samuel Matherus
Joſias Willard
Dudlæus Bradſtreet
Petrus Cutler
Johannes Foxius
Nathanael Hubbard
Henricus Swan
Johannes White
Joſias Torrey
Oxenbridge Thacherus
Richardus Billings.

*Illi quorum Nominibus hæc Nota * Præfigitur, e Vivis ceſſerunt.*

CANTABRIGIÆ NOV-ANGLORUM Sexto Quintilis. M DC XC VIII.

We will conclude our *Catalogue* of the *Graduates* in this Colledge, with the *Elegy*, which the Venerable Mr. *JOHN WILSON*, made upon its Founder.

In Pientiſſimum, Reverendiſſimumq; Virum,
JOHANNEM HARVARDUM,
è ſuggeſto Sacro *Caroloenſi* ad Cœlos Evectum,
Ad Alumnos *Cantabrienſes* Literatos, Poema.

Johannes Harvardus.
Anagr.
Si non (ah!) ſurdâ Aure.

En, mihi fert Animus, Patroni Nomine Veſtri
(*Si non (ah !) ſurdâ* ſpernitur *Aure*) loqui.
Sic ait.
Me Deus, immenſo per Chriſtum Motus amore,
Ad Cœlos ſervum juſſit abire ſuum.
Parebam ; monituq; Dei præeunte parabam
Quicquid ad Optatum ſufficiebat Opus.
Me (Licet Indignum) Selegit Gratia Chriſti,
Fundarem Muſis, qui pia Tecta pijs.
(Non quòd vel Charâ, moriens Uxore carerem,
Aut Hæres alius quòd mihi nullus erat :)
Hæredes vos ipſe meos, ſed linquere ſuaſit,
Uſq; ad Dimidium ſortis opumq;, Deus.
Me commune Bonum, præſertim Gloria Chriſti,
Impulit et charæ Poſteritatis Amor :
Sat ratus eſſe mihi Sobolis, Pietatis Amore
Educet Illuſtres ſi Schola noſtra Viros.
Hæc mihi Spes (Vitâ Morienti dulcior olim)
Me recreat, Cœli dum Requiete fruor.
At ſi degeneres liqueat vos eſſe (quod abſit !)
Otia ſi Studiis ſint potiora bonis :
Si nec Doctrinâ, nec Moribus eſtis Honeſtis
Imbuti, (Faſtu non leviore tamen .
Grata ſit aut Vobis, ſi ſecta vel Hæreſis ulla,
Vos ſimul inficiens, Vos, Dominiq; gregem :
Hæc mihi Patrono quàm ſunt contraria veſtro !
Atq; magis ſummo Diſplicitura Deo !
Nec tamen iſta meo ſic Nomine dicier opto,
Mens quaſi promittat non meliora mihi !
Gaudia Cœlorum vix me ſatiare valerent,
Si tanta Orbatus, Speq, Fideq; forem.
Ille Deus Vobis, Veſtriſq; Laboribus, almam,
Et dedit, et porrò ſuppeditabit opem.
Ejus in Obſequio, ſic, O ! ſic, pergite cuncti,
Ut fluat hinc major Gloria Lauſq; Deo.
At ſi quis recto malè ſit de Tramite greſſus
(Quod *David*, et *Solomon* ? et *Petrus* ipſe queat.)
Hic ſibi nè placeat, Monitus neq; ferre recuſet,
In rectam poſſint qui revocare viam.
Sic Grati Vos eſte Deo ! Veſtriq; Labores
Quos olim in Chriſto ſuſcipietis erunt.
Utq; *Vetus* meruit ſibi *Cantabrigia* Nomen,
Sic Nomen fiet dulce Feraxq; *Novæ*.

Johannes Wilſonus.

Verba Doct. *Arrowſmith*, in Orat. Antiweigelianâ.

Faxit Deus Optimus, Maximus, tenacem adeò Veritatis hanc Academiam, ut deinceps in Angliâ *Lutum, in* Hibernia *Bufonem, invenire facilius ſit, quàm aut Socinianum, aut Arminianum in* Cantabrigiâ.

Cccc THE

THE HISTORY OF Harvard-Colledge.

PART II.

The LIVES *of ſome Eminent Perſons therein Educated.*

Diſcant ergò rabidi adverſus Chriſtum canes, diſcant eorum Sectatores, qui putant Eccleſiam nullos Philoſophos et Eloquentes, nullos habuiſſe Doctores, quanti et quales Viri eam extruxerint et ornaverint, et deſinant Fidem noſtram Rusticæ tantum Simplicitatis arguere, ſuamque potius Imperitiam agnoſcant. *Hieron. Præf. ad Catul. de Script. Eccleſ.*

§. 1. THE Great *Baſil* mentions a Certain *Art*, of Drawing many *Doves*, by anointing the Wings of a *Few* with a Fragrant Ointment, and ſo ſending them abroad that by the Fragrancy of the Ointment they may allure others unto the Houſe, whereof they are themſelves the Domeſticks. I know not how far it may have any Tendency to draw others unto the Religion hitherto profeſſed and maintained in *Harvard-Colledge*: But I have here ſent forth ſome of the *Doves* belonging to that Houſe, with the *Ointment* of a *Good Name* upon them. And yet I ſhould not have beſtow'd the *Ointment* of their *Embalmed Name*, as I have done, if the God of Heaven by firſt beſtowing the *Ointment* of His Heavenly *Grace* upon them, had not given them to deſerve it. *Socrates* being asked, which was the moſt Beautiful Creature in the World, anſwered, *A Man garniſhed with Learning*. But, with his Leave, a more Beautiful Creature is, *A Man garniſhed with Vertue*. *Reader*, I will now ſhow thee *Ten* Men garniſhed with *Both*.

§. 2. The Death of thoſe Brave Men that firſt planted *New-England*, would have rendred a fit Emblem for the Countrey. A *Beech-Tree* with its Top lopt off, and the Motto, *Ruina Relinquor*; (which Tree withers when its Top is lopt off!) if *Harvard-Colledge* had not prevented it. But now, upon the Lops of Mortality, *Uno avulſo non defecit Alter*. We have Opportunity to Write the *Lives* of another *Set*, who indeed had their *Whole Growth* in the Soyl of *New-England*; Perſons, whom I may call *Cedars* and *Fir-Trees*, as *Jerom* did *Cyprian* and *Hilary*, and other Holy Men in his Comment on that Paſſage, *Iſa.* 60. 13. *The Glory of Lebanon ſhall come unto thee, the Fir-Tree, and the Pine-Tree, to beautifie the Place of my Sanctuary.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

FIDES IN VITA: OR, THE

LIFE OF Mr. John Brock.

Olim Fides erat in Vitâ, magis quàm in Articulorum Profeſſione. Eraſm. *Epiſt.*

§. 1. DEſigning to Write the *Lives* of ſome *Learned Men*, who have been the *Iſſue* and the *Honour* of *Harvard-Colledge*, let my Reader be rather *Admoniſhed* than *Scandalized* by it, if the Firſt of theſe *Lives*, exhibit One, whoſe *Goodneſs* was above his *Learning*, and whoſe Chief *Learning* was his *Goodneſs*. If One had asked Mr. *JOHN BROCK*, that Queſtion in *Antoninus*, Τίς σοῦ ἡ τέχνη: *Of what Art haſt thou proceeded Maſter?* He might have truly anſwered, Ἀγαθὸν εἶναι. *My Art is to be Good.* He was a Good *Grammarian*, chiefly in this, that he *Stil ſpoke the Truth from his Heart*. He was a Good *Logician*, chiefly in this, that he *Preſented himſelf unto God with a Reaſonable Service*. He was a Good *Arithmetician*, chiefly in this, that he *So numbred his Days as to apply his Heart unto Wiſdom*. He was a Good *Aſtronomer*, chiefly in this, that his *Converſation was in Heaven*. It was chiefly by being a *Good Chriſtian*, that he proved himſelf a *Good Artiſt*. The Elogy which *Gregory* the Great beſtow'd on *Steven* the Monk, *Erat hujus Lingua Ruſtica, ſed Docta Vita*; ſo much belong'd unto this *Good Man*, that ſo *Learned* a *Life*, may well be judg'd worthy of being a *Written* One.

§. 2. He was Born at the Town of *Stradbrook*, in the County of *Suffolk*. A. D. 1620. And from his own Trial of *Early Piety* in himſelf, while he was yet a *Youth*, he was qualified, in a more Significant and Efficacious Manner, to Recommend it unto *Young* People, as he very much did, when he came to be *Old*. When he was about ſeventeen Years of Age, he came to *New-England*, as to a Nurſery of *Piety*, with his Parents: And here, no ſooner was he recovered of the *Small Pox*, wherein he was very nigh unto Death, but another Fit of Sickneſs held him for no leſs than Thirty Weeks together; whereby the Hand of Heaven ordering the *Furnace*, prepared him for the Services that he afterwards performed.

§. 3. He was admitted into *Harvard-Colledge*, A. D. 1643. where he ſtudied for ſeveral Years, with an Exemplary Diligence; being of the Opinion, that as *Caleb* ſaid unto his Men, *I beſtow my Daughter upon one of you, but he that will have her, muſt firſt win* Kiriath-Sepher; i. e. *A City of Books*; thus, One is not worthy to have a Church beſtow'd upon him, until he hath ſome time lain before *Kiriath-Sepher*, and ſtaid at ſome *Univerſity*. After five Years lying here (as loth to be one of the *Sacerdotes Momentandi*, or, *Modò Idiotæ mox Clerici*, ſometimes by the Ancients complained of) he entred upon the Work of the Evangelical Miniſtry; firſt at *Rowly*, and then at the *Iſle of Sholes*. Here *Scaliger* might have indeed found *Wiſdom inhabiting the Rocks*; and here a *Spiritual Fiſherman*, did more than a little Good among a Rude Company of *Literal* Ones.

§. 4. In the Year, 1662. he became a Paſtor to the Church at *Reading*. And here he continued in the Faithful Diſcharge of his Miniſtry, until the Time, that (as the Ancients expreſſed it) *He took his Journey a little before his Body, into another Countrey*. He wholly devoted himſelf, unto his *Beloved Employment*; preaching on *Lord's Days*, and on *Lectures* at *Private Church-Meetings*, and at *Meetings* of *Young Perſons* for the Exerciſes of Religion, which he mightily encouraged, as Great *Engines*, to render his more *Publick Labours* effectual on the *Riſing Generation*. His *Paſtoral Viſits*, to *Water* what had been *Sown* in his

Publick Labours, were alſo very ſedulous and aſſiduous; and in theſe he managed a peculiar *Talent*, which he had at *Chriſtian Conference*, whereby he did more Good, than ſome Abler Preachers did in the Pulpit. He was herewithal ſo Exemplary for his *Holineſs*, that our Famous Mr. *Mitchel* would ſay of him, *He dwelt as near Heaven, as any Man upon Earth.*

§ 5. About Three or Four Years before his Death, he was viſited with a Long and Sore Fit of Sickneſs: But upon his Reſtoration from that Sickneſs, he enjoy'd a more *Wonderful Preſence* of God with him in his Miniſtry than ever before, and a more *Wonderful Succeſs* of it. At length, he told One in his Family, that he had beſought this Favour of Heaven; *To live but fourteen Days after the Publick Labours of his Miniſtry ſhould be finiſhed:* And he was in this thing moſt particularly favoured. He fell ſick, and after a Sickneſs of juſt *Fourteen Days*, on *June* 18. 1688. his Friends full of Sorrow for their Loſs, might uſe *Nazianzen*'s Words concerning him, Ἀπέπτατο, *He is flown away.* But their Sorrow, *Quòd talem amiſerint*, was (to uſe the Words of *Jerom* to *Nepotian*) accompanied with Gladneſs, *Quòd talem habuerint.*

§. 6. Good Men, that labour and abound in *Prayer* to the Great God, ſometimes arrive to the Aſſurance of a *Particular Faith*, for the Good Succeſs of their *Prayer*. 'Tis not a Thing that never happens, That the Children of God, in the midſt of their Supplications for this or that *Particular Mercy*: find their Hearts very *Comfortably*, but *Unaccountably* carried forth to a ſtrange *Perſwaſion*, that they ſhall receive this *Particular Mercy* from the Lord; and this *Perſwaſion* is not a meer Notion and Fancy but a ſpecial Impreſſion from Heaven, upon the Minds of the Saints that are made Partakers of it. This *Particular Faith* is not the *Attainment* of *Every Chriſtian*, much leſs an *Endowment* of *Every Prayer*. There is no *Real Chriſtian*, but what *Prays in Faith*; his *Prayer* hath a General *Faith* in the *Power*, and *Wiſdom*, and *Goodneſs* of God, and the *Mediation* of Chriſt. But there is many a *Real Chriſtian*, who is a Stranger to the Meaning of this Thing; *A particular Faith for ſuch Mercies, without which a Man may get ſafe to Heaven at the laſt.* It is here and there a Chriſtian, whom the *Sovereign Grace* of Heaven, does Favour, with the Conſolations of a *Particular Faith:* Nor if a Chriſtian taſte of theſe Joys, may he expect more than a *Taſte* of them; they are *Dainties* that are not every Day to be *Feaſted* on: 'Tis not in every *Prayer*, that the King of Heaven will admit every one to ſo much of *Intimacy* with himſelf. Indeed, ſuch a *Particular Faith*, is not ſo much the *Duty* of a Chriſtian, as his *Comfort*, his *Honour*, his *Priviledge*. There is a *Praying in Faith*, incumbent on every *Chriſtian* in every *Prayer*; but this *Particular Faith* for the beſtowal of ſuch and ſuch deſired Mercies, is not incumbent on a Chriſtian; 'tis not required of him. 'Tis a vaſt Priviledge, for a Chriſtian to be *Aſſured*, that the Lord will do this or that individual Thing for him; however, 'tis no *Sin* for a Chriſtian to break off not *Aſſured* of it. But it is the *Holy Spirit* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that with a Singular Operation, does produce in a Chriſtian this *Particular Faith*; which indeed is near akin to the *Faith of Miracles.* Nor does the *Principal Efficiency* of the *Holy Spirit*, in theſe Illapſes, exclude and hinder, the Inſtrumentality of the *Holy Angels* in them: They are are no doubt the *Holy Angels*, that with an Inexpreſſible *Impulſe*, bear in upon the Mind, the *Particular Faith*, wherewith ſome Saints are at ſome Times irradiated. The *Wondrous Meltings*, the *Mighty Wreſtlings*, the *Quiet Waitings*, and the *Holy Reſolves*, that are Characters of a *Particular Faith*, which is no Deluſion, are the Works of the *Holy Spirit*, wherein His *Holy Angels* may be *Inſtruments.*

Eminent was Mr. *Brock*, for this *Myſterious Excellency*. This *Good Man*, was One *Full of the Holy Spirit, and Faith.* He had many of thoſe Things, which we may call (as the Martyr *Cyprian* call'd, thoſe Communications from Heaven, which often directed him in his Exigencies.) *Divine Condeſcenſions.* And there were many Notable Effects of his Faithful and Fervent *Prayers*, whereof the Exact Hiſtory is now loſt, becauſe it was not in the proper Seaſon thereof compoſed and preſerved.

Some few Remarkables, are not only ſtill remembred, but alſo well Atteſted.

One *Thomas Bancroft* lay very ſick of the *Small Pox*, his diſtreſſed Mother came drowned in Tears to Mr. *Brock*; ſhe told him, *She left her Son ſo ſick, that ſhe did not imagine ever to ſee him alive again*; he replied, *Siſter, Be of good Cheer; the Lord has told me nothing of your Son's dying, I'l again go with his Caſe unto the Lord.* The Young Man recovered, and is at this Day a Deacon of the Church in *Reading.*

A Child of one *Arnold*, about ſix Years old, lay ſick, ſo near dead, that they judg'd it really dead. Mr. *Brock* perceiving ſome Life in it, goes to Prayer; and in his Prayer uſed this Expreſſion, *Lord, wilt thou not grant ſome Sign, before we leave Prayer, that thou wilt ſpare and heal this Child? We cannot leave thee till we have it!* The Child ſneez'd immediately, Mr. *Brock* then gives Thanks, and breaks off. The very next Day, the Child viſited *Him*, and carried him a Preſent.

When Mr. *Brock* lived in the *Iſle of Sholes*, he brought the People into an Agreement, that, beſides the *Lord's-Days*, they would ſpend one Day every Month together in the Worſhip of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. On a certain Day, which by their Agreement belong'd unto the Exerciſes of Religion, being arrived, the Fiſhermen came to Mr. *Brock*, and ask'd him, that they might *Put by their Meeting*, and go a Fiſhing, becauſe they had loſt many Days by the Foulneſs of the Weather. He ſeeing, that without and againſt his Conſent, they reſolved upon doing what they had asked of him, replied, *If you will go away, I ſay unto you, catch Fiſh, if you can! But as for you,*

you, that will tarry, and worſhip the Lord Jeſus Chriſt this Day, I will pray unto Him for you, that you may take Fiſh till you are weary. *Thirty* Men went away from the Meeting, and *Five* tarried. The *Thirty* which went away from the Meeting, with all their Skill could catch but *Four* Fiſhes; the *Five* which tarried, went forth afterwards, and they took *Five Hundred.* The *Fiſhermen* after this readily attended, whatever Meetings Mr. *Brock* appointed them.

A Fiſher-man, who had with his *Boat*, been very Helpful, to carry a People over a River, for the Worſhip of God, on the *Lord's-Days*, in the *Iſle of Sholes*, loſt his *Boat* in a Storm. The poor Man laments his Loſs to Mr. *Brock*; who tells him, *Go home, Honeſt Man, I'l mention the Matter to the Lord, you'l have your Boat again to Morrow.* Mr. *Brock* now conſidering, of what a Conſequence this Matter, that ſeem'd ſo ſmall otherwiſe, might be among the untractable Fiſhermen, made the *Boat* an Article of his Prayers; and behold, on the Morrow, the poor Man comes rejoycing to him, That his *Boat* was found, the *Anchor* of another Veſſel, that was undeſignedly caſt upon it, having ſtrangely brought it up, from the Unknown Bottom, where it had been ſunk.

When K. *Charles* II. ſent One of his Infamous Creatures, whoſe Name was *Cranfield*, for to be Governor of *Hampſhire*, a Northern Province of *New-England*, one of the Illegal Outrages committed by that *Cranfield* was, the Impriſoning of Mr. *Moodey*, the Miniſter of *Portſmouth*. One, who then lived with Mr. *Brock*, ſeeing him one Morning very ſorrowful, ask'd him the Reaſon of his preſent Sorrow. Said he, *I am very much troubled for my Dear Brother* Moodey, *who is impriſoned by* Cranfield: *but I will this day ſeek to the Lord on his behalf, and I believe my God will hear me!* And on that very Day was Mr. *Moodey* (forty Miles off) by a marvellous Diſpoſal of Providence, delivered out of his Impriſonment.

Multitudes of ſuch Paſſages, whereof theſe are but ſome few *Gleanings*, cauſed our Mr. *John Allin* of *Dedham*, to ſay concerning Mr. *Brock*; *I ſcarce ever knew any Man ſo Familiar with the Great God, as His Dear Servant* Brock!

CHAP. II.

FRVCTVOSVS: OR, THE LIFE OF Mr. Samuel Mather.

Hâc caſti maneant In Religione Nepotes
Et Nati Natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis.

§ 1. IT is a Thing truly, and juſtly thought among the Churches of God, *Fœlix illa Anima, quæ Aliis eſt Forma Sanctitatis:* Thrice and Four Times *Happy* that Man, from whoſe *Example*, other Men may learn to be *Holy* and *Happy*. Now, for this *Happineſs*, not only were many among the firſt *Fathers* of *New-England*, with the Hiſtory of whoſe Exemplary *Lives*, the Faithful have been entertained, conſiderable; but ſome among the *Sons* of thoſe Fathers alſo, have bin ſo exemplary for their *Holineſs*, that their *Lives* alſo deſerve to fill the Pages of an *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.* One of thoſe is now going to be ſet before my Reader; and one, who, whether we conſider his *Early Sanctity*, or his *Fervent Miniſtry*, will appear ſo much of a *John Baptiſt* unto us, that I chooſe the Confeſſion of, *Joſephus* the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian (who, if he were admitted into the Diſcipline of *Banus*, a Diſciple of *John*, as, he ſays, he was, he might well make ſuch a Confeſſion) concerning that *John*, to expreſs the Character of this Worthy Man; *He was an Excellent Man, and One that ſtirred up the People to Piety and Virtue, Holineſs and Purity.* This was Mr. *Samuel Mather*.

§. 2. Mr.

§. 2. Mr. *Samuel Mather*, was Born *May* 13. A. D. 1626. at *Much-Wootton* in *Lancaſhire.* But was the Queſtion of *Saul* concerning *David*, *Whoſe Son is this Youth?* About the Meaning of which Queſtion, there may be ſome Wonder, becauſe *David* had already been ſerviceable, at the Court of *Saul*, ſome while before: And therefore ſome take the Meaning of the Queſtion to be, *What Manner of Man's Son is this?* It was Obſerved, that ſome of the Notableſt Men in the Land, were of this Family, and, among the reſt, *Joab* was of it, *Joab*, who for his Valour was made *General* of the Field, *Joab*, who never once in his Life miſs'd of the Victory; *He* was the Son of *Jeſſe*'s Daughter. Now *Saul* was inquiſitive, *What manner of Man this Jeſſe* was, that all his *Children* prov'd ſo Eminent. If my Reader, thereto excited by the Figure, which as well this Perſon, as divers of his Brothers have made in the Church of God, ſhall accordingly enquire *Whoſe Son was this Youth?* It muſt be anſwered, that his *Father* was the Famous Mr. *Richard Mather*, whoſe *Life* has been already a Conſiderable Part not only in our own *Church-Hiſtory*, but alſo in the laſt Volume of Mr. *Clark*'s Collections. Brought up, and brought over by this his Father, our *Samuel* came to *New-England*, in the Year 1635. delivered with the reſt of his Family, from as Eminent Danger of *Death*, as ever was eſcaped by *Mortal* Men, in a Fierce and Sore Hurricane on the *New-Engliſh* Coaſt.

§. 3. Let the Silly *Romaniſt* pleaſe himſelf with his *Romance* of St. *Rumald*, who as ſoon as he drew his *Firſt Breath*, cryed *Three* Times *I am a Chriſtian!* and then making a plain *Confeſſion of his Faith*, deſired, that he might be *baptized*: It is moſt certainly *True*, that *Samuel Mather*, did not ſuffer two Times *Three* Years to paſs him after his *Firſt Breath*, before he had, many times, manifeſted himſelf to be a *Chriſtian*, under the Regenerating Impreſſions of that *Spirit*, into whoſe *Name* and *Faith*, he had been *baptized*. The Holy *Spirit* of God made Early Viſits unto our *Samuel*, who from his Childhood was devoted unto the *Tabernacle*. He was in his *Early Childhood*, an Extraordinary Inſtance of Diſcretion, Gravity, Seriousneſs, Prayerfulneſs, and Watchfulneſs, which accompanied with a certain Generoſity of *Temper*, and an uſual Progreſs in *Learning*, wherein

——— *Rerum Prudentia Velox,*
Ante Pilos venit; ———

render'd him the *Delight* of all that part of *Mankind*, that know him; and as the Name of Παιδαριογέρων, was of Old given to *Macarius*, thus this *Bleſſed* Young Man was commonly called, *The Young Old Man*, by thoſe that mentioned him. *R. Eliezer*, the Son of *R. Azariah*, when made Preſident of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrin*, at ſixteen Years of Age, was not one of a more compoſed Behaviour. A certain *Arabian* Commentary upon the *Alchoran* reports, That when *John Baptiſt* was a Child, other Boys asked him to play with them; which he refuſed, ſaying, *I was not ſent into the World for Sport.* Such great Thoughts inſpired our *Samuel Mather*, while he was yet a Child! To Demonſtrate and Illuſtrate this Part of his Character, I ſhall only recite an Extract of a Letter, which he wrote from his Lodging in *Cambridge*, to his Father in *Dorcheſter*, when he was no more than Twelve Years of Age.

'—— Though (ſaith he) I am thus well in my *Body*, yet I queſtion whether my *Soul doth proſper as my Body doth*; for I perceive, yet to this very Day little *Growth* in Grace; and this makes me queſtion, whether *Grace* be in my Heart or no. I feel alſo daily Great *Unwillingneſs* to good Duties, and the Great Ruling of *Sin* in my Heart; and that *God is angry* with me, and gives me no *Anſwers to my Prayers*, but many times, He even throws them down as *Duſt* in my Face; and He does not Grant my Continual Requeſts for the *Spiritual Bleſſing of the Softning of my Hard Heart.* And in all this I could yet take ſome Comfort, but that it makes me to Wonder, What God's *Secret Decree* concerning me may be; for I doubt whether ever God is wont to deny *Grace* and Mercy to His *Choſen* (though *Uncalled*) when they ſeek unto Him, by *Prayer*, for it; and therefore, ſeeing he doth thus deny it to me, I think, that the Reaſon of it is moſt like to be, becauſe I belong not unto the *Election of Grace*. I deſire that you would let me have your Prayers, as I doubt not but I have them; and reſt

Your Son,

Samuel Mather.

Behold the Language of One, more able than the Famous *Cornelius Mus*, to have been a Preacher (as they ſay he was) when *Twelve Years* of Age! Now albeit, ſuch *Early Accompliſhments*, uſe to be threatned with *Cicero*'s, *Non poteſt in eo ſuccus eſſe diuturnus, quod nimis celeriter maturitatem eſt aſſecutus:* And with *Quintilian*'s, *Ingeniorum præcox Genius, non temerè unquam pervenit ad Frugem*; and with *Curtius*'s, *Nullus eſt et Diuturnus & Præcox Fructus*; which our Proverb has Engliſhed, *Soon Ripe, ſoon Rotten*; there was no ſuch Obſervation to be made of our *Samuel*, who ſtill continually grew in his Accompliſhments, and inſtead of loſing them, like the *Hermogenes* mentioned by *C. Rodiginus*, he kept advancing in all Wiſdom and Goodneſs, 'till he was found *Ripe* for Eternal Glory.

§. 4. In the Catalogue of the *Graduates* proceeding from *Harvard-Colledge*, our *Samuel Mather*, was the Firſt, who appears as a *Fellow* of that Happy Society; wherein his careful *Inſtruction*, and exact *Government* of the Scholars under his Tuition, cauſed as many of them as were *ſo*, to mention him afterwards with Honour, as long as they lived; and ſuch was the Love of *all* the Scholars to him, that, not only when he read his *Laſt Philoſophy-Lecture*, in the Colledge-Hall, they heard him with *Tears*, becauſe of it's being

being his *Laſt*, but alſo, when he went away from the Colledge, they put on the Tokens of *Mourning* in their very Garments for it. But by this his Living at *Cambridge*, under the Miniſtry of Mr. *Shepard*, he had the Advantage to conform himſelf, in his younger Years, more than a little, unto the *Spirit* and *Preaching* of that Renowned Man; (of whoſe Life, he afterwards publiſhed certain *Memoirs* unto the World) Of which Thing the Famous Mr. *Cotton* ſpeaking to this our young *Mather*, did Congratulate his Happineſs therein; adding, that in like manner, one Great Reaſon, why there came ſo many Excellent Preachers out of *Cambridge*, in *England*, more than out of *Oxford*, in ſome former Days, was the Miniſtry of Mr. *Perkins*, in that Univerſity. Our *Mather* being not only by Notable *Parts*, both *Natural* and *Acquired*, and by an Eminently *Gracious* Diſpoſition of Soul, but alſo by a certain Florid and Sparkling *Livelineſs* of Expreſſion, admirably fitted for the Service of the Goſpel, ſeveral Congregations in this Wilderneſs, applied themſelves unto him, for the Enjoyment of his Labours among them. In Anſwer to their Applications, he ſpent ſome time with the Church of *Rowly*, as an Aſſiſtant unto Old Mr. *Ezekiel Rogers*; where the Zeal of the People to have him ſettled, was the Cauſe of his not ſetling there at all; but when the *Temptations* ariſing from the Zeal of the People, cauſed him to chooſe a *Removal* from thence, it went ſo near unto the *Hearts* of ſome Good Men there, that it contributed, as 'twas thought, even unto ſhortning of their *Days*, in the World. Here, although in his Rich Furniture of Learning, from the Schools, the *Lamps* were lighted, before he did venture to bring his *Incenſe* unto the Altar, yet his Great Learning did not make his *Preaching* ſo obſcure, as to give the plain Country-People Occaſion for the Complaint, which they ſometimes made of another; *This Man may be a Great Scholar, but he wants Beetle and Wedges to hew our knotty Timber withal.* Afterwards a Church being to be gathered, in the North Part of *Boſton*, they had their Eyes upon *Him* to be their Paſtor, and accordingly *He* entertained a Vaſt Auditory of Chriſtians, with ſo incomparable a Sermon upon the Day, when that People publickly embodied themſelves into their *Eccleſiaſtical State*, that Old Mr. *Cotton*, with whom he then ſojourned, ſaid upon it, *Such a Sermon from ſo young a Man as this, is a Matter of much more Satisfaction, than ſuch an One from One of us Elder Men; for this young Man is,* **Spes Gregis.** And with this People he continued the Winter following; among whom, he was long after ſucceeded, by *One* of his Worthy Brethren.

§. 5. Having in him, the true Spirit of a *Witneſs* for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he did, even while he was a Young Man, in this Country ſet himſelf, with a prudent, but yet fervent *Zeal*; upon all Occaſions to bear a juſt *Witneſs*, againſt every thing which he judged contrary unto the Intereſts of *Holineſs*. But there was hardly any one thing, againſt which he uſed more of *Thunderbolt*, than that *Unholy Spirit of Antinomianiſm*, wherewith many People in thoſe Days were led aſide. It was with a particular *Agony* of Diſſatisfaction, that he would ſtill ſpeak of thoſe *Ungodly Men, who turned the Grace of God into Wantonneſs*. He would ſpeak of them in ſuch Words as theſe [*Reader*, they are of his *own* Words, in a Sermon about *Hardneſs of Heart*:] 'The ſame Word is uſed for *Blindneſs* and '*Hardneſs* (Eph. 4. 18. & Rom. 11. 7, 8.) when '*Ahaſhuerus* was offended with *Haman*, his *Face* '*was covered*; and amongſt us, when the Cloath 'is pulled over the Face, at an Execution, the 'Wretch is preſently to be turn'd off. Thus, 'when the *Eyes* of the Soul are covered, and 'the *God of this World blinds them*, and they are '*Given over to believe a Lye*, this is the Begin'ning of their utter *Hardneſs*, and Eternal Per'dition. There are now many *Principles of* '*Darkneſs*, whereby Mens Hearts are *Hardened* 'in Sin; whereof One is, *The Abrogation of the* '*Moral Law, as a Rule of Life unto a Chriſtian*: 'A Conceit that came out of Hell; and is di'rectly againſt the Cleareſt Light of Scripture; '*Mat.* 5. 17, 18, 19. And blaſphemouſly injuri'ous to the Blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; 'who dyed for this End, to make his People '*Zealous of good Works*, and therefore it makes 'him to *Dye in vain.* This Principle works 'extream *Hardneſs of Heart*; for when a Man 'hath drunk in this Poiſon, he may ſin without 'Sorrow, yea, and without any Check of Con'ſcience for it. If he be not bound to *Keep* 'to the Rule, why ſhould he be troubled for '*Breaking* of it? What are ſuch Errors but 'as *Calvin* ſpeaks, *Exundantis in Mundum* '*Furoris Dei Flagella*, the Scourges of the Over'flowing Fury of an Angry God againſt this 'Wicked World? Hence alſo there comes to 'be ſuch Extreme Blindneſs and Blockiſhneſs, 'and Blackneſs of Hell, upon the Spirits of ſome, 'as to Deny the Neceſſity of a *Broken Heart*, 'and *Sorrow for Sin*, in theſe Times. Miniſters 'muſt preach *Old Errors*, and call them by the 'Name of *New Light*. Why, becauſe they are '*Goſpel Times*, as if it were the Work of the 'Goſpel to *Harden* Mens Hearts, and make them 'Stocks or Stones, or like the Sturdy Oaks of '*Baſhan*, before the Words of the God of *Iſ*'*rael*.

Nor could he with eaſier Terms, at *any time*, ſpeak of the *Licentious Diſpoſition*, engendred by the *Antinomianiſm* broached and Rampant, at *that time*, among many Profeſſors of *Chriſtianity*.

§. 6. But he that *Holds the Stars in his Right Hand*, intending that a *Star* of this Magnitude, ſhould move in an Orb, where his Influences might be more Extended than they could have been by any Opportunities, to be enjoyed and improved in an *American* Wilderneſs, He inſpired our *Mather* with a ſtrong Deſire to paſs over into *England*, and by the Wiſdom of Heaven, there fell out ſeveral *Temptations* in this *Wilder-*

Wilderneſs, which occaſioned him to be yet more deſirous of ſuch a Removal. To *England* then he went, in the Year 1650. Where the Right Honourable *Thomas Andrews*, Eſq; then Lord Mayor of the City of *London*, quickly took ſuch Notice of his Abilities, as to make Choice of him, for his *Chaplain*; and by the Advantage of the Poſt, where he was now placed in that Chaplainſhip, he came into an Acquaintance, with the moſt Eminent Miniſters in the Kingdom; who much Honoured and Valued him, and, though of different Perſwaſions, Loved, *Chriſtum habitantem in Mathero.* Here his Inclination *To do Good*, produced Good and Great Effects; but yet *One* that had like to have proved fatal unto *himſelf*: For being a Man of ſuch Excellent Accompliſhments, he was Courted ſo often to preach in the Biggeſt Aſſemblies, that by *Overdoing* therein, he had like to have *undone* his Friends, and loſt his *Life*. The Famous Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, obſerving this Inconvenience, did with a *Brotherly*, yea, with a *Fatherly* Care, obtain of him a *Promiſe*, that he would not *Preach* abroad at all, except when *He* ſhould give his Conſent; and accordingly when any publick Sermons were asked of him, he would refer thoſe that asked unto Mr. *Sympſon*, who with a Wiſe and Kind Conſideration of this his Friend's Health, would give his Conſent, but when it ſhould be convenient.

§. 7. Mr. *Mather*, was after this, invited unto a Settlement, in ſeveral Places; and in Anſwer to thoſe Invitations, he did preach for a while, at *Graves-End*, and after that, at the *Cathedral*, in the City of *Exeter*. But having from his Childhood, a Natural and Vehement Affection to a *Colledge-Life*, he retired unto *Oxford*, where he became a Chaplain in *Magdalen-Colledge*; and he had therewithal an Opportunity, ſometimes at St. *Maries*, to preach the Goſpel of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which for the Sake of the Lord Redeemer, whom he loved always to preach, he gladly *took*. And having before this, proceeded *Maſter of Arts* in the only Proteſtant College of *America*, he was now admitted, *Ad Eundem*, not only in the Renowned Univerſity of *Oxford*, but in that of *Cambridge* alſo. But having been ſome time reſident in *Oxford*, the *Engliſh Commiſſioners*, then going into *Scotland*, were willing to carry with them ſome *Engliſh Miniſters*, whoſe Eminent Learning, Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Reputation, might be ſerviceable unto the Intereſts of *Truth* and *Peace* in that Nation. Accordingly Mr. *Mather* was one of the Perſons choſen for that Service; and there he continued at *Leith*, preaching the Goſpel of *God our Saviour*, for Two Years together.

§. 8. In the Year 1655. he returned into *England*: And the Lord *Henry Cromwel*, then going over Lord-Deputy for *Ireland*, there were ſeveral Miniſters of great Note pitched upon to go over with him, for the Service of the Chriſtian Religion there, whereof was Dr. *Harriſon*, Dr. *Winter*, Mr. *Charnock* and our Mr. *Mather*. When Mr. *Mather* came to *Dublin*, he was made a Senior Fellow of *Trinity-Colledge*; and from that Univerſity he had the Offer of a *Baccalaureatus in Theologiâ*, but he modeſtly declined it, and ſeemed inclinable to the *Jewiſh* Rule, about the Rabbinate, *Love the Work, but Hate the Rabbiſhip*; yet he that had already proceeded *Maſter of Arts*, in ſo many Univerſities, did here again proceed *Ad Eundem*. Of any further Degrees our *Mather* was ready to ſay with the Great *Melancthon*, who would not accept an Higher Title than that of *Maſter*; *Vides meum Exemplum*; *Nemo me perpellere potuit, ut illum quamlibet Honorificum Titulum* Doctoris *mihi decerni ſinerem. Nec ego Gradus illos parviſacio, ſed ideò, quià judico eſſe magna Onera, et neceſſaria Reipublicæ, verecundè petendos eſſe, et conferendos ſentio.* But now in preaching to that Renowned City, and in the *Paſtoral* Charge of the Church there, he was joined as a Colleague with Dr. *Winter*; and here preached every Lord's Day Morning at St *Nichol*'s Church; beſides his Turn which he took once in ſix Weeks, to preach before the Lord Deputy and Council. A *Preacher* he now was of Extraordinary *Eſteem* and *Succeſs*; and as the whole Kingdom took *Notice* of him, ſo he did *Service* for the whole Kingdom, in the Eminent Station, where God had placed him. The more ſpecial Excellencies for which his Miniſtry was here obſerved, were, *Firſt*, A moſt *Evangelical* Endeavour to make the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* the *Scope* and *Sum* of all that he said. *Secondly*, A moſt Angelical *Majeſty*, wherewith his Meſſages were ſtill uttered, as coming from the *Throne of God*; And *Thirdly*, Such a Clearneſs of *Reaſon* and *Method*, that it was commonly remark'd, Mr. *Charnock*'s Invention, Dr. *Harriſon*'s Expreſſion, and Mr. *Mather*'s Logick, meeting together, would have made the *Perfecteſt Preacher* in the World. And if the *Sloathful Man* in *Prov.* 19. 24. who *Will not ſo much as bring his Hand unto his Mouth*, were by the Ancients underſtood concerning the *Unholy Miniſter*, who will not bring *Voci ſuæ Vitam ſuam*, our Mr. *Mather* was no *Sloathful Preacher*; for beſides his being a *Preacher*, who, as *Melchior Adam* deſcribes *Jacobus Andreæ*, *Si quando opus erat, mera ſonabat Tonitrua*, he was alſo a Preacher very Eminent for *Holineſs*, and he *Taught* the People at other Times, beſides when he *Opened his Mouth*.

§. 9. A certain Writer, who does continually ſerve the *Romanizing Faction in the Church of England*, with all manner of Malice and Slander againſt the beſt Men in the World, that were in any meaſure free from the *Spirit of that Faction*, yet mentioning our *Samuel Mather*, in his *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, gives this Account of him; 'Tho' 'he was a *Congregational Man*, and in his Principles an *High Non-Conformiſt*, yet he was obſerved by ſome to be Civil to thoſe of the *Epiſcopal* Perſwaſion, when it was in his Power to do them a Diſpleaſure. And when the *Lord-Deputy* gave a Commiſſion to him, and others, in Order unto the Diſplacing of *Epiſcopal* Miniſters, in the Province of *Munſter*, he decli-

'ned it; as he did afterwards to do the like 'Matter in *Dublin*; alledging, that he was called 'into that Country, *To Preach the Goſpel, and* '*not to hinder others from doing it.* He was a Re-'ligious Man in the Way he profeſt, [*This Au-*'*thor confeſſes*] and was valued by ſome, who 'differ'd from him as to Opinion in Leſſer, 'and Circumſtantial Points of Religion. Thus *One of themſelves, even a Bigot of their own, has reported, and his Report is true!* For which Cauſe when the Storm of *Perſecution*, fell upon the *Non-Conformiſts* in *Ireland*, Mr. *Mather*, in his Addreſs to the Lord-Chancellor for his Liberty, uſed theſe, among many other Paſſages; *I can truly ſay, I deſire no more, not ſo much Favour for my ſelf now, as I have ſhewed unto others formerly, when they ſtood in need of it. But I will not ſay, how much cauſe I have to reſent it, and to take it a little unkindly, that I have met with ſo much of Moleſtation from thoſe of that Judgment, whom I have not provoked unto it, by my Example, but rather have obliged by ſparing their Conſciences, to another manner of Deportment. For indeed, I have always thought, that it is an* Irkſome Work, *to puniſh or trouble* any Man, *ſo it is an* Evil and Sinful Work, *to trouble any* Good Man *with* Temporal Coercions, *for ſuch* Errors *in Religion, as are conſiſtent with the Foundation of* Faith *and* Holineſs. *It is no* Good Spirit *in any* Form, *to fight with* Carnal Weapons; *I mean, by* External Violence, *to Impoſe and Propagate it ſelf, and ſeek by ſuch means, the ſuppreſſing of Contrary Ways, which by Argument it is not able to ſubdue.* But let the Merits of Mr. *Mather* have bin what they will, he could not avoid the Hardſhips, which the Hiſtorian proceeds to relate in theſe Terms 'After his 'Majeſty's Reſtauration, he was ſuſpended from 'Preaching, 'till his Majeſty's Pleaſure ſhould be 'known for *Two Sermons*, which were judged '*Seditious*. Thus writes the verieſt *Zoſimus*, that ever ſet Pen to Paper; even that *Zoſimus* the Younger, who cannot mention any Well-wiſher to the *Reformation* of the Church of *England*, without giving One Occaſion to think on Dr. *Howel*'s Obſervations upon the Old *Zoſimus*; *We know it to be the Practice, in all Reformations, of thoſe who are addicted unto the Old Way, to render Infamous ſuch, as have bin Inſtruments in the Alteration; and by a Prejudice againſt the Perſons moſt ridiculouſly to inſinuate an ill Opinion of the Thing, or Cauſe it ſelf.*

§. 10. One Principal Character upon the *Spirit* of Mr. *Mather*, and One Remarkable in the Studies and Sufferings of his *Life*, will be given to my Reader, in an Account of the *Two Sermons*, which were the pretended Occcaſions of his being ſilenced. Know then, that the *Epiſcopal* Party in *Ireland*, immediately upon the King's Reſtauration, haſtning to reſtore their *Spiritual Courts*, and ſummon the Miniſters of the Goſpel to appear before them, and ſubmit unto thoſe Unſcriptural Impoſitions, which many Years had bin laid aſide *Ratione Belli* (as they expreſſed it) *Rabieq; Hæreticorum & Schiſmaticorum*, and anſwer for the Breach of *Canons*, which (as the Others anſwered) *We bleſs God, we have never kept, to His Praiſe we ſpeak it, and we hope through His Grace, we never ſhall:* It was thought neceſſary on this Occaſion, that a Publick *Teſtimony* ſhould be born againſt the Revival of thoſe *Dead Superſtitions*. Accordingly Mr. *Mather*, being the fitteſt Perſon on many Accounts to be put upon that Service, *He* did in the Capital City of the Kingdom, in a Great Auditory, preach Two Sermons upon K. *Hezekiah*'s breaking in pieces the *Brazen Serpent*, and calling it *Nehuſtan*, and thence advance this Aſſertion, *That it is a Thing very pleaſing in the Sight of God, when the Sin of Idolatry, and all the Monuments, all the Remembrances and Remainders of it, are quite deſtroyed and rooted out from among His People:* Wherein his Note upon the Text, was indeed but the very ſame with what his Adverſaries, who are uſually Great Admirers of every thing ſaid by *Grotius*, might have read in the Commentary of that admirably Learned (though frequently *Socinianizing*, and at laſt *Romanizing*) Interpreter, upon the very ſame Text; *Egregium Documentum Regibus, ut quamvis benè Inſtituta, ſed non Neceſſaria, ubi* ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, *malè uſurpantur, è Conſpectu tollant, nè ponant Offendiculum Cæcis.* In the Proſecution of this Aſſertion, he offered many Arguments, why the *Ceremonies of the Church of England*, which were but the *Old Leaven* of *Humane Inventions* and *Popiſh Corruptions* remaining in the *Worſhip* of a Church, whoſe *Doctrine* he yet approv'd, as generally owned by Good Men, ſhould not be *reaſſumed*, and by the Old Cruel Methods of Pœnal Laws, *reinforced*. Againſt the *Ceremonies* in General, he argued, That the Preface to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, expreſly declared them to be *Myſtical* and *Significant*, and ſo they differed nothing from *Sacraments*, but that they wanted a *Divine Inſtitution*; and, ſaid he, *The Promoters of them do pretend only the Authority of the Church; but if the Second Commandment was given to the Church*, Thou ſhalt not make any Graven Image, or Form of Worſhip to thy ſelf; *They are a maniſeſt Breach of that Commandment.* He added, That, as they were the *Monuments* of the Old Papal and Pagan *Idolatry*, and Men did therein, but *Symbolize* with Idolaters, thus, by the *Greater Weight* almoſt perpetually laid upon them, than upon *Greater Things*, they were ſtill made further *Idols*. Particularly, he argued againſt the *Surplice*, That it was a Continuation of the *Superſtitious Garments*, wherein the *Falſe Worſhippers* did uſe to officiate; *That* the *Aaronical Garments* being *Typical* of the Graces attending the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they are by His Coming *antiquated*; *That* the *Scriptures* give not the leaſt Intimation of any *Garments*, whereby *Miniſters* are to be diſtinguiſhed. He added, *That* among the *Firſt Reformers*, the moſt Eminent were in their Undiſtreſſed Judgments, againſt the *Veſtment*; and that when the *Canons* of 1571. forbad the *Gray Amice*, or *Any other Garment defiled with the like Superſtition*, the Æquity of that *Canon* would exclude *This* alſo. He argued againſt the *Sign of the Croſs in Baptiſm*, *That* whatever was to be ſaid againſt *Oyl*, *Cream*, *Salt*, *Spittle*, therein, is to be

ſaid againſt the *Croſs*, which indeed never had bin uſed, in the Worſhip of God, as *Oyl* had bin of Old. *That* there is as much Cauſe to worſhip the *Spear* that pierced our Lord, as the *Croſs* which hanged him, or that it were as Reaſonable, to ſcratch a Child's Forehead with a *Thorn*, to ſhew that it muſt ſuffer for him, who wore a *Crown of Thorns*: *That* the *Croſs* thus employed is a Breach of the *Second Commandment* in the very Letter of it, being an *Image* in the Service of God of *Man's Deviſing*, and fetch'd, as Mr. *Parker* ſays, *From the Brothel-Houſe of God's greateſt Enemy*. He argued againſt *Kneeling at the Lord's Supper*, *That* it is contrary to the *Firſt Inſtitution*, which had in it none but a *Table-Geſture*; *That* it is groſs *Hypocriſie* to pretend unto more Devotion, Holineſs, and Reverence, in the Act of Receiving, than the *Apoſtles* did, when our Lord was there *Bodily* preſent with them; *That* it countenanced the Error of the *Papiſts*, who *Kneel* before their *Breaden God*, and profeſs; that *They would be ſooner torn in pieces than do it, if they did not believe that Chriſt is there Bodily preſent*: And, *That* ſince it was a Rule in the *Common-Prayer-Book*, ſet forth in K. *Edward's* Time, 1549. *As touching Kneeling and other Geſtures, they may be uſed or left, as every Man's Devotion ſerveth*, it was a ſhameful Thing to be ſo retrograde in Religion, as now to eſtabliſh that Geſture. He argued againſt *Bowing at the Altar, and ſetting the Communion-Table Altarwiſe*, *That* the *Communion-Table* is in the Sacred Oracles called a *Table* ſtill, and, no where, an *Altar*; and if it were an *Altar*, it would imply a *Sacrifice*, which the *Lord's Supper* is not; yea, it would be Greater, and Better, than the *Lord's Supper* it ſelf, and ſanctifie it; *That* if it were an *Altar*, yet it ſhould not be faſten'd unto the Wall, *Dreſſer-Faſhion*; but ſo ſtand, as that it might be *Compaſſed about*; *That* the placing of it at the *Eaſt-End* of the Church, with *Steps* going up to it, and eſpecially the Setting of *Images*, or other *Maſſing Appurtenances* over it, ſmells ranks of *Paganiſm*. And, *That*, whereas in the very Beginning of the *Reformation*, this Abuſe, was One of the *Firſt Things* put down, it were a moſt *Boyiſh* Vergency, *Now* to Conjure it up again. He argued againſt *Bowing at the Name of Jeſus*; *That* the Phraſe of *Bowing* ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι, in the Text, wreſted unto this purpoſe, is but very uncowardly tranſlated, *AT the Name of Jeſus*, inſtead of *IN the Name*; and it were as proper to ſpeak of, *Baptizing AT the Name of* the *Father*, *Son* and *Holy Spirit*, and of *Believing AT God the Father, and AT Jeſus Chriſt his Son our Lord, and AT the Holy Ghoſt*. *That* by the *Name of JESUS*, is not meant the Sound of the *Syllables* in the *Word* JESUS, but the Power, Majeſty, Dominion and Authority of the *Perſon* of the Lord Jeſus; and it is a Piece of Cabaliſtical *Magic*, to make an *Incurvation* at the Sound of this Name, without paying the like Reſpect unto other Names of the Bleſſed God, or particularly the Name *Chriſt*, which is more diſtinguiſhing for our Lord, than that of *JESUS*; or, why not at the *Sight* as well as the *Sound*? *That* the Apoſtle ſpeaks of ſuch a *Name* to be acknowledged with *Bowing*, as was given to our Lord after His *Reſurrection*, and as the *Effect* and *Reward* of his *Humiliation*, which the *Name* JESUS was not; it is the Name of *Chriſt Exalted*, or *Chriſt* the *Lord*; and by *Bowing the Knee*, is meant the Univerſal Subjection of all Creatures unto his *Lordſhip*, eſpecially at the *Day of Judgment*. He argued againſt *The Stated Holydays*, *That* being *Feaſts* which the *Jeroboam of Rome* had *deviſed of his own Heart*, yea ſome of them, eſpecially the *December-Feſtival*, an Imitation of an *Heatheniſh Original*, if the Apoſtle forbad the Obſervation of the *Jewiſh* Feſtivals, becauſe they were a *Shadow of Good Things to come*, it could not but be amiſs in us, to obſerve the *Popiſh* Ones, which were *Ethnic* alſo; *That* it was a deep Reflection upon the *Wiſdom* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our *Lawgiver*, the Lord of *Time*, and of the *Sabbath*, to add unto His Appointments, and it is an Infringement of our *Chriſtian Liberty*; *That* an Occaſional *Deſignation of Time* for *Lectures*, for *Faſtings*, for *Thankſgivings*, which are *Duties* required by God, is vaſtly different from the Stating of *Times* for Holy, ſo that the *Duties* are then to be done for the ſake of the *Times*. He added, the Wiſh of *Luther*, then ſevenſcore years ago, in his Book, *De Bonis Operibus*; *That there were no other Feſtival Days among Chriſtians, but only the Lord's Day*: And the Speech of K. *James*, to a National Aſſembly in *Scotland*, wherein, *He praiſed God, that he was King in the Sincereſt Church in the World; ſincerer than the Church of* England, *for their Service was an Ill-ſaid Maſs in Engliſh; ſincerer than* Geneva *it ſelf, for they obſerved* Paſche *and* Yoole, *that is* Eaſter *and* Chriſtmas; *and* (ſaid the King) *What Warrant have they for that?* Againſt *Holineſs of Places*, he argued, *That* they were the ſtanding *Symbols* of God's Preſence, which made ſtated *Holy Places* under the Law, and thoſe *Places* were *Holy* becauſe of their *Typical Relation* to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and there was a further *Inſtitution of God*, which did make them to be *Parts* of His Worſhip, and *Ways* and *Means* of Men's Communion with Himſelf, and to *Sanctifie* the *Perſons* and *Actions* approaching to them; which cannot be ſaid of any *Places* under the *New-Teſtament*; *That* under the *New-Teſtament*, God has declared Himſelf to be, both no *Reſpecter of Perſons*, and no *Reſpecter of Places*; and our *Meeting-Places* are no more ſacred, than the Ancient *Synagogues*: *That* ſome Excellent Men of the Epiſcopal Way it ſelf, have been above the Conceit of *any Difference in Places*; Dr. *Uſher* more particularly, who ſays, *In Times of Perſecution, the Godly did often meet in Barns, and ſuch Obſcure Places, which indeed were public, becauſe of the Church of God there; the Houſe or Place availing nothing to make it Public or Private; even, as whereſoever the Prince is, there is the Court, although it were in a poor Cottage.* He added, *That* yet the *Churches* (as they were *Metonymically*, and almoſt *Catechreſtically* called) in the *Engliſh* Nation, were not for the ſake of *Old Abuſes* to be demoliſhed, as were the *Temples* of the *Canaanites*, inaſmuch

as they were built for the *Worſhip of God*; and thoſe *Places* are no longer *polluted*, when they are no longer ſo *Abuſed*. He argued againſt *Organs* and *Cathedral Muſic*, *That* there was a *Warrant* of Heaven for *Inſtrumental Muſic* in the Service of God under the *Law*, when alſo this was not a *Part* of their *Synagogue-Worſhip*, which was *Moral*, but of their *Ceremonial Temple-Worſhip*, whereas there is no ſuch *Warrant* under the *Goſpel*: *That* the *Inſtrumental Muſic* under the Law, was intended for a *Shadow of good Things to come*, which being now come, it was aboliſhed; *That* even *Aquinas* himſelf, as late as four Hundred Years ago, pleaded againſt this *Inſtrumental Muſic*, as being uſed among the *Jews*, *Quia Populus erat magis Durus & Carnalis*; the Church of *Rome* it ſelf, it ſeems, had not then generally introduced it, as he ſays, *Ne videatur judaizare*. Finally, againſt the *Book of Common-Prayer*, he argued, *That* it is a *Setting* of *Mens Poſts by God's*, to introduce into the Public Worſhip of God, as a *ſtanding Part* thereof, and impoſe by Force, another *Book* beſides the *Books of God*; nor is there any *Præcept* or *Promiſe* in the Book of God, for the Encouragement of it, nor any *Example* that any Ordinary *Church-Officers*, impoſed any ſtinted *Liturgies* upon the Church: *That* K. *Edward* VI. in his Declaration acknowledged, *It ſeemeth unto you a New-Service, but is indeed no other, but the Old, the ſelf-ſame Words in Engliſh, that were in Latin, ſaving a few things taken out, which were ſo fond, that it had bin a ſhame to have heard them in Engliſh*: Yea, ſome of the *Biſhops* themſelves have reported, that Pope *Paul* IV. did offer Q. *Elizabeth* to ratifie it by his Authority, *Ut Sacra hæc omnia, hoc ipſo, quo nunc ſunt apud nos modo, procurari fas eſſet*; Now inaſmuch as the Church of *Rome* is the *Mother of Harlots*, let any *Proteſtant* judge, whether it be fit for us, to fetch the Form of our Worſhip from thence, and indeed a great part of the *Form* from that Old Conjurer *Numa Pompilius*: *That* for Miniſters, inſtead of uſing their own *Miniſterial Gifts*, to diſcharge the Work of their Miniſtry, by the Preſcriptions of *others*, is as bad as carrying the *Ark* upon a *Cart*, which was to have bin carried upon the *Shoulders* of the *Levites*; and it is a Sin againſt the *Spirit of Prayer*, for Miniſters in theſe Days to be diverted from the *Primitive Way* of *Praying*, which was according to *Tertullian*'s Account, *Sine Monitore, quia de Pectore*, in Oppoſition to the Præſcript *Forms of Prayer* amongſt the *Pagans*. He alſo touched upon the *Corruptions* in the very *Matter* of the *Common-Prayer*; the grievous Preference therein given unto the *Apocryphal* above the *Canonical* Writings; the Complementing of the Almighty *To give us thoſe things, which for our Unworthineſs we dare not preſume to ask*; the *Nonſence* of calling the Leſſons out of the Prophets, *Epiſtles*; and many more ſuch Paſſages, which he but briefly touched, though, he ſaid, *It would fill a Volume to reckon them*. He concluded theſe Diſcourſes with an Admonition to the *Biſhops* and *Epiſcopal Party*, that they would not now *Revive*, or, at leaſt, not *Impoſe*, the *Superſtitions* of the former Times: But among *Many things which he ſpake in his Exhortation*, I ſhall only tranſcribe theſe Words, ‘When you have ſtopt our Mouths ‘from *Preaching*, yet we ſhall *Pray*; and not ‘only *We*, but all the Souls that have bin Con‘verted, or Comforted and Edified by our Mini‘ſtry, *They* will all cry to the Lord againſt you ‘for *Want of Bread*, becauſe you deprive them ‘of thoſe that ſhould *Break the Bread of Life unto* ‘*them*. Now I had rather be environed with ‘Armies of Armed Men, and compaſſed round ‘about with Drawn Swords, and Inſtruments ‘of Death, than that the leaſt *Praying Saint* ſhould ‘bend the Edge of his *Prayers* againſt me, for ‘there is no ſtanding before the *Prayers of the* ‘*Saints*. Yea, I teſtifie unto you, that as the ‘*Saints* will *Pray*, ſo the *Lord* Himſelf will *Fight* ‘againſt you, and will take you into His own ‘Revenging Hand: I ſpeak it Conditionally, in ‘Caſe you *Perſecute*, and *I wiſh all the Biſhops in* ‘Ireland *heard me!* For in the Name, and in the ‘Love of Chriſt, I ſpeak it to you, and I beſeech ‘you ſo to take it. I ſay, if once you fall to the ‘Old Trade of *Perſecution*, the Lord Jeſus will ‘never bear it at your Hands, but He will bring ‘upon you a *Swift Deſtruction*. And your *Second* ‘*Fall* will be worſe than the *Firſt*; for, *Dagon*, ‘the firſt Time, did only *Fall* before the *Ark* ‘*of God*; but when the Men of *Aſhdod* had ſet ‘him up in his Place again the *Second Time*, than ‘he *Brake himſelf to pieces* by his *Second Fall*, inſo‘much that there was Nothing but the Stump of ‘*Dagon* left. *Perſecution* is a very *Ripening* Sin; ‘and therefore if once you ſuperadd the Sin of ‘*Perſecution*, to the Sin of *Superſtition*, you will be ‘quickly *Ripe* for final Ruine; and in the Day, ‘when God ſhall viſit you, the Guilt of all the ‘*Righteous Blood*, that hath bin ſhed upon the ‘Face of the Earth, from the Blood of *Abel*, to ‘the Blood of *Udal*, and unto this Day, will come ‘down the Hill upon your Heads, even upon the ‘*Perſecutors* of *this Generation*. The Lord Jeſus, ‘when the *Day of Vengeance is in his Heart*, and ‘when the *Year of His Redeemed is come*, which ‘is not far off, He will then Require all that ‘Blood, and Revenge it all upon *your* Heads, if ‘you juſtifie the Ways of former Perſecutors, by ‘Walking in the ſame Steps of *Blood* and *Vio*‘*lence*.

Mr. *Mather* having thus faithfully born his *Teſtimony*, his Perſecutors yet let him live quietly for more than *Five Months* after it; but *Then* they thought it their Time to call theſe *Two Sermons* (though there were not one Word therein, directly, or indirectly againſt the *King*, or His Government) *Seditious Preaching*; and thereupon they *ſilenced* him, though with ſo much *Noiſe*, that both *Engliſh* and *French Gazets* took Notice of it: But all the Notice, which he took of that Charge himſelf, was to ſay, ‘If it be *Sedi*‘*tion* to diſturb the *Devil's Kingdom*, who rules ‘by his Antichriſtian *Ceremonies*, in the *Kingdom* ‘*of Darkneſs*, as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt doth by ‘His own Ordinances, in His Chnrch, which is ‘the *Kingdom of Heaven*, I may ſay, *I did it be*‘*fore the Lord*, *who hath choſen me* to be a ‘Miniſter, *and if this be to be Vile*, *I will yet be*

more Vile than thus. Indeed there belong'd unto him the Character once given of *Eraſmus Sarcerius*; *Lucebat in hoc Viro commemorablis Gravitas & Conſtantia*; *non Minas, non Exilia, non ullam ullius Hominis Potentiam aut vim pertimeſcebat: pene dixeram, ſolem facilius de Curſu dimoveri potuiſſe, quam* Matherum, *à Veritatis Profeſſione.*

§. 11, Mr. *Mather* being ſo *ſilenced* by thoſe *Dwellers on the Earth, who had bin thus tormented* by him, he did with the Conſent of his Church, in the Latter End of the Year 1660. go over to *England*; where he continued a Publick Preacher in great Reputation, at *Burton-Wood* in *Lancaſhire*, until the General *Death* upon the Miniſtry of the *Non-Conformiſts*, at the Black *Bartholomew-Day*, Auguſt 24. 1662. The *Act* of which Day doubtleſs made the *Presbyterians* think on the *Bartholomew-Day*, which had been in another Kingdom Ninety Years before; after which, the *Deputies* of the Reformed Religion, treated with the *French King*, and the *Queen Mother*, and ſome others of the Council, for a *Peace*, and *Articles* were on both ſides agreed; but there was a *Queſtion* upon the *Security* for the Performance of thoſe Articles; whereupon the *Queen* ſaid, *Is not the Word of a King a ſufficient Security?* but one of the *Deputies* anſwered, *No, by St.* Bartholomew, *Madam, It is not!* Mr. *Mather* being one of the *Twenty Hundred* Miniſters, expelled from all Public Places, by that *Act*, which was compleated by the *Active Concurrence* (as that Excellent and Renowned Perſon, Dr. *Bates*, has truly obſerved) of *the Old Clergy from Wrath and Revenge, and the Young Gentry from their Servile Compliance with the Court, and their Diſtaſt of ſerious Religion*; His Church in *Dublin* ſent unto him, to Return unto his Charge of them; having, by this time, Opportunity to uſe that Argument with him, for his Return, *The Men are dead that ſought thy Life.* Accordingly, he ſpent all the Reſt of his Days with his Church in *Dublin*; but he preached only in his *Own Hired Houſe*, which being a very large One, was well fitted for that purpoſe. And there was *This* Remarkable concerning it; That although no Man living uſed a more Open and Generous *Freedom*, in Declaring againſt the *Corruptions of Worſhip*, reintroduced into the Nation, yet ſuch was his *Learning*, his *Wiſdom*, his known *Piety*, and the true *Loyalty* of his whole Carriage towards the Government, that he lived without much further Moleſtation; yea, the God of Heaven *recompenced* the *Integrity* of this his Faithful Servant, wherein he expoſed himſelf above moſt *other Men* for the Truth by granting him a *Protection* above moſt *other Men*, from the Adverſaries of it. For which Cauſe he did in the Year 1668. thus write unto his Aged Father in *New-England.* 'I have 'enjoy'd a Wonderful *Protecting Providence* in the 'Work of my *Miniſtry*. I pray Remember me 'daily in your Prayers, that I may *Walk worthy* 'of this Goodneſs of God, and be made uſeful 'by him, for the Good of the Souls of his People. 'If any had told me in *April* 1660. that I ſhould 'have exerciſed the Liberty of my Miniſtry and 'Conſcience, either in *England* or *Ireland*, and 'that without *Conforming* to the Corruptions of 'the Times; and this for ſeven or eight Years 'together; I ſhould not have believed it, I ſhould 'have thought it next to an *Impoſſibility*; but *With* '*God all Things are poſſible.*

§. 12. Although Mr. *Mather* was thus full of *Zeal* againſt *Corruptions in the Worſhip of God*, and in that *Juſt Zeal*, he alſo wrote a Treatiſe containing *Reaſons* againſt *Stinted Liturgies*, and the *Engliſh* One in particular, and Anſwers to the Lamentable *Conceſſions*, which a Reverend Perſon (whoſe Name, for Honours ſake he yet ſpared) had made, in his *Diſputations*, for them; nevertheleſs, like the Apoſtle *John*, whom he had, long before, imitated, when he was a *Young Diſciple*, upon other Accounts, he was full of *Love* towards the *Perſons* of Good Men, that were too much led away with thoſe *Corruptions*. Hence he carried it with all poſſible Reſpect unto *Godly*, and *Worthy* Men of that *Way*, which he ſo much diſliked; the *Epiſcopal*: However, while they excluded the *Scripture* from being the Rule of *Church-Adminiſtrations*, and made *Unſcriptural Rites*, with *promiſcuous Admiſſions* to the *Lord's Table*, and the Denial of *Church-Power* unto the proper *Paſtors* of the Churches, to be the *Terms of Communion*, he thought it impoſſible for *Non-Conformiſts* to coaleſce, in the ſame *Eccleſiaſtical Communion* with them. Albeit he had the *Union* of *Charity* and *Affection*, with all Pious *Conformiſts*, of whom his Words were, *There is Chriſtian Love and Eſteem due to ſuch, as perſonally conſidered, and we ſhould be willing and ready to receive them in the Lord*; yet for the *Union* of an *Eccleſiaſtical Combination*, with Men that were of ſuch Principles, and by ſuch Principles became the Authors of a *Schiſm*, he ſaid, *Unto their Aſſemtly, my Glory, be not thou United*; and he added, *The beſt Way for Union with them, is to labour to reduce them from the Error of their Way.* Nevertheleſs, Mr. *Mather* beholding, that they who appeared ſtudious of *Reformation* in the Nations, were unhappily ſubdivided into *Three Forms*, or Parties, commonly known by the Name of *Presbyterians*, *Independents*, and *Antipædo-Baptiſts*, he ſet himſelf to endeavour an Union among all the Good Men, of theſe three Perſwaſions. To this purpoſe, he did Compoſe a moſt Judicious *Irenicum* (afterwards Printed) wherein he ſtated the *Agreement* of theſe Parties: He found, That they were agreed in all the Fundamental Points of the *Chriſtian Faith*, and Rules of a *Chriſtian Life*: *That* they were agreed in the *Main Acts* of Natural Worſhip, namely *Prayer*, and *Preaching*, and *Hearing* of the Word; and in the *Special Time* for Publick Worſhip, namely, *The Lord's Days*: *That* as to Matters of *Inſtitution*, they were agreed in Declaring for the *Scriptures*, as the *Direction* of all; they were agreed, that the Lord hath appointed a *Miniſtry* in the Church, who are bound by *Office* to publiſh the Goſpel, and in His Name therewith to diſpence *Sacraments*, and the *Diſciplines* of the Goſpel, and that all *Ignorant* and *Ungodly* Perſons, are to be debarred from the *Holy Myſteries*; and finally, that the *Humane Inventions* uſed and urged in the Service of the Church of *England*, are unlawful. He proceeded then to Conſider the Articles of *Difference*

Difference, which were betwixt them; and he found thoſe Articles to be moſtly ſo meerly *Circumſtantial*, that if the ſeveral *Sides* would but patiently underſtand one another, or Act according to the *Conceſſions* and *Confeſſions* which are made in their moſt *Allowed Writings*, they might eaſily *Walk together*, wherein they were of *One Mind*, and wherein they were *not ſo*, they might willingly bear with One another, *Until God reveal unto them.* Only ſuch as *Unchurch* all others beſides themſelves, he found by the Severity of their own *Diſuniting Principle*, rendered uncapable of Coming into this *Union*: But unto all the Societies of theſe Chriſtians, that made *Union* and *Communion* with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Foundation of *Church-Communion*, he did, with a moſt *Evangelical Spirit*, offer, Firſt, That they ſhould mutually give the *Right Hand of Fellowſhip*, unto each other, as true Churches of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Secondly*, That they ſhould kindly *Adviſe* and *Aſſiſt* each other in their Affairs, as there ſhould be Occaſion for it: *Thirdly*, That they ſhould admit the *Members* of each other's *Congregations*, unto *Occaſional Communion*, at the Table of the Lord. In this *Uniting Scheme* of his, as there was a due *Tenderneſs* towards *Various Apprehenſions*, without *Scepticiſm* in Religion, ſo there was a Bleſſed *Eſſay* to remove the Greateſt *Stumbling-Blocks* of Chriſtianity. Indeed ſuch a Generous *Largeneſs of Soul* there was in our *Mather*, that he could with the *Excellent-ſpirited*, Mr. *Burroughs*, have written it as the *Motto*, upon his Study-Door, *Opinionum Varietas, et Opinantium Unitas, non ſunt* Ἀσύςατα.

§. 13. While Mr. *Mather* was fulfilling his Miniſtrry in *Dublin*, as One, who might juſtly have claimed the Name of the *Spaniſh* Biſhop, *Fructuoſus*, there were many *Salleys* to the *Doing of Good*, which he added unto the Weekly and Conſtant Services of his Miniſtry; whereof *One* was this. A certain *Roman Catholick* having publiſhed a ſhort, but ſubtil Diſcourſe, Entitled, *Of the One, Only, Catholick and Roman Faith*, whereby the Faith of ſome *Uncatechized Proteſtants* was not a little endangered. Mr. *Mather* was deſired by Perſons of Quality, to give the World an Anſwer to this *Diſcourſe*. And in Anſwer to their Deſire, he Compoſed and Emitted, a moſt Elaborate, Pertinent, Judicious, though Brief Treatiſe, Entitled, *A Defence of the Proteſtant, Chriſtian Religion againſt Popery, wherein the manifold Apoſtaſies, Hereſies, and Schiſms of the Church of* Rome, *as alſo the Weakneſs of their Pretenſions from the Scriptures and the Fathers are briefly laid open.* But there was *another* Thing, which gave the Studies of this Learned and Holy Man, a Conſiderable Exerciſe. There was one Mr. *Valentine Greatreats*, who felt a vehement *Impreſſion*, or *Suggeſtion* upon his Mind, of this Import; [*I have given thee the Gift of Curing the Evil!*] In Compliance with which *Impulſe*, he ſtroked a Neighbour grievouſly afflicted with the *Kings-Evil*, and a Cure ſucceeded. For about a Twelve-month he pretended unto the Cure of no other Diſtemper; but, then, the *Ague* being riſe in the Neighbourhood, the ſame ſort of *Impulſe* told him [*I have given thee the Gift of Curing the Ague!*] After which, when he laid his Hand, on People in their Fits, the *Ague* would leave them. About half a Year after this, the *Impulſe* became yet more General, and ſaid [*I have given thee the Gift of Healing*] and then our *Stroker* attempted the Relief of all Diſeaſes indifferently: But frequently with ſuch violent *Rubbing*, as from any One, would have had a Tendency to diſperſe *Pains* ariſing from Flatulencies. All this while, he doubted, whether there were any thing more in the *Cauſe* of the *Cure*, that followed this *Friction*, than the ſtrong *Fancy* of the feeble People that addreſſed him; Wherefore to convince his Incredulity, as he lay in his Bed, he had one *Hand* ſtruck *Dead*, and the uſual *Impulſe* then bid him, to make a Trial of his Virtue upon himſelf; which he did with his other *Hand*, and immediately it returned unto its former *Livelineſs*: This happened for two or three Mornings together. But after this, there were Thouſands of Perſons, who flockt from all Parts of *Ireland*, unto this Gentleman, for the *Cure* of their various Maladies, among whom there were ſome *Noble*, ſome *Learned*, and ſome very *Pious* Perſons, and even *Miniſters* of the Goſpel; and although it was obſerved, *That a Cure* ſeldom ſucceeded without *Reiterating Touches*; *That* the Patients often *relapſed*; *That* ſometimes he utterly fail'd of doing any thing at all, eſpecially, when there was a Decay of *Nature*; and that there were many Diſtempers, that were not at all Obedient unto the Hand of this Famous *Practitioner*: Nevertheleſs his *Touches* had Thouſands of Wonderful Effects. There were ſome *Philoſophical Heads*, who refer'd all this Virtue in the *Hand* of our New ſort of Chyrurgion, unto a particular *Complexion* in him, or a ſort of Sanative or Balſamic *Ferment*, which was in the *Spirits* of the Man; and who conceived the *Impulſe* upon him to be, but a *Reſult* of his *Temper*, and like *Dreams*, that are uſually according to our Conſtitution; or perhaps, there might be ſomething of a *Genius* they thought, alſo in the Caſe. But Mr. *Mather* apprehended the *Hand of Joab in all this*; and a Plot of *Satan*, that Μυριοτεχνίτης, *Generis Humani Hoſtis*, lying at the Bottom of all. Mr. *Greatreats* had confeſſed unto him, that before theſe things, he had bin a Student in *Cornelius Agrippa*, and had eſſay'd the Cure of Diſtempers, by his *Abra kat Abra*: And Mr. *Mather* now feared, that the *Devil*, with whom he had bin ſo far familiar, did not only now *Impoſe* upon the Man himſelf, but alſo *Deſign* upon multitudes of other People. Wherefore to rectifie the Thoughts of People, about the Danger of *Unaccountable Impulſes*, which had precipitated *Greatreats* into his preſent Way of *Cures*; and about the Nature and Intent of Real *Miracles*, whereof 'twas evident there were none in the *Cures* by *Greatreats* pretended unto; and moreover, to prevent the *Superſtitious* Neglect of *God*, and of *Means*, which People were apt, on this Occaſion, *Profanely*, to run into; and Finally, to prevent the Hazards, which might ariſe unto our Sacred Religion by our Popular *Apotheiſing* of a Blade, who made *Sceptiſm* in Religion, one part of his

his Character; Mr. *Mather* drew up a Diſcourſe relating thereunto. This Diſcourſe, being ſhown to ſome of the King's *Privy-Council* in *Ireland*, was approved and applauded, as moſt worthy to be printed; but the *Primate*'s Chaplain, at laſt, obſtructed it, becauſe forſooth; the *Geneva Notes*, and Dr. *Ames*, were quoted in it, and it was not convenient, that there ſhould be any Book printed, wherein any Quotations were made from ſuch *Dangerous Fanaticks*. However, God bleſſed this Manuſcript, for the ſetling of many *Unſtable Minds*, and the ſtopping of Miſchiefs that were threatned.

§. 14. It is reported, in the Life of Mr. *Rothwel*, that being adviſed by a Clergy-man more *Great* than *Wiſe*, to forbear medling with the *Types*, as *Themes* not convenient for him to ſtudy upon, he made that very *Prohibition*, but as an *Invitation*, to expect ſomething of an extraordinary Concernment in them; and accordingly falling upon the Study of the *Types*, he found no part of his Miniſtry moreadvantagiouſly employed for himſelf or others. Our Mr. *Mather* on the other Hand, was earneſtly deſired by the *Non-Conformiſt* Miniſters, in the City of *Dublin*, to preach upon the *Types* of *Evangelical Miſteries*, in the Diſpenſations of the *Old Teſtament*; in Compliance with which, he had not proceeded very far, before he ſaw Cauſe to Write unto One of his Brothers, *The Types and Shadows of the Old Teſtament, if but a little underſtood, how full are they of Goſpel-Light and Glory! Having gone through diverſe of them, I muſt acknowledge, with Thankfulneſs to the Praiſe of the Freeneſs of the Grace of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that I have ſeen more of Him, than I ſaw before.* With much Labour and Judgment, at length, he finiſhed his Undertaking, and in a *Courſe of Sermons*, from *March* 1666. to *Feb.* 1668. on firſt the *Perſonal Types*, and then the *Real* Ones, whether firſt, the more *Occaſional Types*, and, then, the more *Perpetual* Ones. And his Church after his Death, calling *another* of his Worthy Brothers, namely, Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, to ſucceed him, that Brother of his, in Imitation of what *Ludovicus Capellus*, did for *His* Brother, and what Mr. *Dyke*, Mr. *Culverwel*, and others have done for *theirs*, in Publiſhing the profitable Works of the Deceaſed, Publiſhed this *Courſe of Sermons* unto the World; with ſome Judicious Diſcourſes, againſt *Modern Superſtitions*, intermixed. Here, the *Waxen Combs* of the Ancient and Typical *Cells*, being melted down is (as One expreſſes it) *Rolled up into ſhining Tapers, to illuminate* the Students of thoſe Myſteries, *In finding out the Honey, that couches in the Carcaſe of the ſlain Lion of the Tribe of Judah.* All the Talents which *Cato* ſpent in Erecting a Tomb of *Thracian* Marble for his Dead Brother *Cæpio*, turned not unto ſo much Account, as the Care uſed by Mr. *Nathnael Mather*, thus to bring into the Light the Meditations of his Excellent Brother *Samuel*; upon a Subject wherein but few had ever waded before him. And if there be a Truth in that Opinion of ſome Divines, *That the Glory and Gladneſs of the Saints in Heaven, receives Additions, as the Good Effects of what they formerly did, on Earth are there increaſing*; his Action herein, was yet more Worthy, the Relation of a Brother. But Mr. *Mather* did not ſo converſe with *one* more *Obſcure* Part of the Sacred Scripture, as to leave *Another* Uncultivated with his Induſtrious, and Inquiſitive Studies thereupon: The Difficulties in the *Prophetical* Part of the *New-Teſtament*, as well as in the *Figurative* Part of the *Old*, were happily aſſail'd by his Learned Contemplations. When he had made a conſiderable Progreſs herein, he wrote unto his Youngeſt Brother, who was then a Miniſter in *New-England*, and ſince *Preſident* of the *Colledge* there; *I muſt needs tell you, how much I do rejoyce, that it hath pleaſed God to ſtir up your Spirit, to ſearch into the Prophetical Parts of the Scripture; of which I have often thought and ſtill do, That it is great pity, they are ſo little minded and ſeen into, by many, both Miniſters and others, who do deprive themſelves of much Satisfaction, which they might receive thereby. It is not good, to deſpiſe any part of the Mind and Counſel of God, revealed in his Word; there are Unknown Treaſures and Pleaſures there ſtored up, more precious than Gold and Silver; and ſhall we not, in the Strength of His Spirit ſearch for them?* And as the Brother to whom he thus wrote, gave in ſundry *Treatiſes*, and in diverſe *Languages*, unto the Church of God, ſeveral Happy Fruits of his Enquiries into the Inſpired *Prophecies*, which *Bleſſed are they that read and hear*; ſo our Mr. *Mather* himſelf arrived unto ſuch Attainments herein, that he had no Cauſe to make the Confeſſion (tho' ſuch was his Modeſty, that he was ready enough to do it) of ſome Eminent Perſons, *Nullus ſum in Propheticis.* When 'tis ſaid, *Bleſſed are they that Keep the things written in this Prophecy*, a Mathematician will tell us, that what we render *Keep*, is rather to be render'd *Obſerve*, or *Watch*, or *Mind*; for τηρεῖν, is uſed by the *Greeks*, as a *Term of Art*, expreſſing the Aſtronomical Obſervation of *Eclipſes*, Planetary *Aſpects*, and other Cœleſtial *Phænomena* Mr. *Mather* accordingly counted it his *Bleſſedneſs*, to take an *Obſervation* of what Fulfilment the Divine Books of *Prophecy* already had received, and thence make a *Computation* of the *Times*, that were yet before us, and of the *Things* to be done in thoſe Times. But of all his *Apocalyptical* Explications, or Expectations, I ſhall here take the Liberty to inſert no more, than this *One*, which may deſerve perhaps a little thinking on. *That whenever God ſets up in any of the ten Kingdoms, which made the ten Horns of the Papal Empire, ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, Soveraign and Independent, wherein Antichriſt ſhall have neither an* Ἐξουσία, *nor a* Δύναμις, *neither Power of Laws, nor Force of Arms, to defend him and his Corruptions; Doubtleſs, then, the Witneſſes of our Lord, are no more trodden down, to propheſy in Sackcloth, any longer. Then therefore expires the* 1260 *Years, and ſince that ſuch a Kingdom well may be called* The Lord's, *then will the ſeventh Trumpet begin to ſound. Which, that it is Near, even, at the Door, I may ſay, through Grace I doubt not.*

§. 15. While Mr. *Mather* was thus employ'd, it pleas'd the God of Heaven, to *Take away* from *him*

him the Deſire of his Eyes. He had in the Year 1656. married a moſt Accompliſhed Gentlewoman, the Siſter of Sir *John Stevens*, by whom he had Four or Five Children, whereof there lived but One, which was a Daughter. But in the Year 1668. this Gentlewoman fell into a Sickneſs, that laſted Five or Six Weeks; all which Time ſhe continued full of Divine Peace and Joy, and uttered many extraordinary Expreſſions of *Grace*, wherewith her pious Friends were extreamly ſatisfied. When ſhe drew near her End, her Husband, ſeeing her in much Pain, ſaid, *You are going where there will be no more Pain, Sighing or Sorrow:* Whereto ſhe anſwered, *Ay, my Dear, and where there will be no more Sin!* And her Siſter ſaying to her, *You are going to Heaven*, ſhe anſwered, *I am there already!* So ſhe went away, having thoſe for her laſt Words, *Come, Lord, Come, Lord Jeſus!* Not very long after this did Mr. *Mather* fall *Ill* himſelf, of an Impoſtume in his *Liver:* But as in the Time of his Health and Strength, he had maintained an *Even Walk with God*, without ſuch *Raptures* of Soul, as many Chriſtians have bin carried forth unto, ſo now in the Time of his *Illneſs*, he enjoyed a certain *Tranquility* of Mind, without any Approaches toward *Rapturous Extaſie.* He never was a *Man of Words*, but of a [illegible], and a *Thinking Temper*, a little tinged with *Melancholly*; and now he lay ſick, he did not *ſpeak much* to thoſe that were about him; yet, what he did ſpeak, was full of Weight and Worth, nor will his Friends ever forget, with what Solemnity, he then told them; *That he had preached unto them the Truths of the Great God, and that he now charged them to adhere unto thoſe Truths, in the firm and full Faith whereof, he was now entring into Glory: And that he did particularly exhort them to waſh every Day, in the precious Blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by Faith apply His perfect and ſpotleſs Righteouſneſs unto their own Souls.* It has indeed bin commonly obſerved, that Children, *Who honour their Father and their Mother*, according to the *Firſt Commandment*, in the *Second Table* of the Law, which has a peculiar *Promiſe* annexed unto it, have the Recompence of a *Long Life upon Earth.* And I take Notice, that in the Commandment, what we Tranſlate, *That thy Days may be long*, is to be Read, *That they may prolong thy Days*; that is, Thy *Father* and thy *Mother*, *They ſhall prolong thy Days*, by Bleſſing of thee, in the Name of God, if thou carry it well unto them. But when the *Sovereign Providence* of Heaven makes *Exceptions unto this General Rule*, we may believe, that what is not fulfilled in the *Letter*, is fulfilled in the *Better*; and ſome, that *Live long in a little time*, alſo have their *Days prolonged* in the Enjoyment of *Life* with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our *Life*, throughout Eternal Ages. Thus our Mr. *Mather* had bin as Dutiful a *Joſeph*, as perhaps ever any Parents had; and by his Yearly and Coſtly Preſents to his Aged Father, after he came to be a *Maſter* of Poſſeſſions in *Ireland*, he continued the Expreſſions of his Dutifulneſs unto the laſt; nevertheleſs he now dyed, *Octob.* 29. 1671. When he wanted about ſix Months of being *Six and Forty Years Old:* And yet as they, who have gone to prove *Adam*, a longer-lived Perſon than *Methuſelah*, uſe to urge, that *Adam*, was to be ſuppoſed Fifty or Sixty Years old, being in the *Perfect Stature of Man*, at his Firſt Creation, ſo, if it be conſider'd how much of a Man, our *Mather* was, while he was yet a Child, and if it be further conſidered how much *Work* he did for the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, after he came to the *Perfect Stature of Man*, he muſt be reckoned, *An Old Man full of Grace, though not full of Days*; and that *Epitaph*, which was once the Great *JEWEL's*, may be Written on his Grave, in the Church of St. *Nicholas*, in the City of *Dublin*, where his Aſhes lye covered.

Diù vixit, licet non diù fuit.

But now,

Gone where the Wicked ceaſe from Troubling, and where the Weary are at Reſt.

CHAP. III.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Samuel Danforth.

§. 1. MOſt *Chriſtian* and *Candid*, is the Speech of a Certain Author, who yet writes himſelf, *A Beneficed Miniſter, and Regular Son of the Church of England*, when he ſays, *I never thought them good Painters, who draw the Pictures of the Diſſenting Brethren with Dirt and Soot; but I, knowing them to be unlike thoſe Pictures, have with juſt Offence beheld their Injuries, and would have been pleaſed to have ſeen them deſcribed by ſome Impartial and Ingenious Maſter*,

Maſter, as fit to adorn the Palaces of Princes. Reader, I am going to draw the *Picture* of another Miniſter, who was a *Nonconformiſt* unto *Emendables*, in the Church of *England*; wherein tho' I am not *Ingenious*, yet I will be *Impartial*, and therefore inſtead of the *Dirt* and *Soot*, which the Perſecuting *Bigots* for a few *Ceremonies*, would employ upon the Memory of ſuch Men, I will with an Honeſt and Modeſt Report of his Character cauſe him to be remembred next unto the *Firſt Fellow* of that Colledge, whereof *He* was the Next.

§. 2. This was Mr. *Samuel Danforth*, Son to Mr. *N. Danforth*; a Gentleman of ſuch Eſtate and Repute in the *World*, that it coſt him a Conſiderable Sum to eſcape the *Knighthood*, which K. *Charles* I. impoſed on all of ſo much *Per Annum*; and of ſuch Figure and Eſteem in the *Church*, that he procured that Famous Lecture at *Framlingham* in *Suffolk*, where he had a fine Mannour; which Lecture was kept by Mr. *Burroughs*, and many other Noted Miniſters in their Turns; to whom, and eſpecially to Mr. *Shepard*, he prov'd a *Gaius*, and then eſpecially when the *Laudian* Fury ſcorched them. This Perſon had *Three Sons*, whereof the Second was our *Samuel*, born in *September* in the Year 1626. and by the Deſire of his Mother, who died Three Years after his Birth, earneſtly Dedicated unto the *Schools of the Prophets*. His Father brought him to *New-England* in the Year 1634. and at his Death, about four Years after his Arrival here, he committed this Hopeful Son of many Cares and Prayers, unto the Paternal Overſight of Mr. *Shepard*, who proved a kind Patron unto him. His *Early Piety*, anſwered the pious Education beſtowed upon him; and there was One Inſtance of it ſomewhat ſingularly circumſtanced: When he was reciting to his *Tutor*, out of the *Heathen Poets*, he ſtill made ſome Ingenious Addition and Correction, upon thoſe Paſſages, which aſcribed thoſe Things unto the *Falſe Gods* of the *Gentiles*, that could not without *Blaſphemy* be aſcribed unto any, but the *Holy One of Iſrael*: His Tutor gave him a ſharp Reprehenſion for this, as for a meer *Impertinency*; but this Conſcientious Child reply'd, *Sir, I can't in Conſcience recite the Blaſphemies of theſe Wretches, without Waſhing my Mouth upon it!* Nevertheleſs, a freſh Occaſion occuring, his Tutor gave him another ſharp Reprehenſion, for his doing once again as he had formerly done; but the Tutor to the Amazement of them all, was terribly and ſuddenly ſiezed with a Violent *Convulſion-Fit*; out of which when he at laſt recovered, he acknowledg'd it as an Hand of God upon him, for his Harſhneſs to his Pupil, whoſe *Conſcientiouſneſs* he now applauded.

§ 3. His *Learning* with his *Virtue*, e're long brought *Him* into the Station of a *Tutor*; being made the Second *Fellow* of *Harvard-Colledge*, that appears in the Catalogue of our *Graduates*. The *Diary*, which even in thoſe Early Times, he began to keep of Paſſages belonging to his *Interior State*, gave great Proof of his Proficiency in *Godlineſs*, under the Various *Ordinances* and *Providences* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; the Watchfulneſs, Tenderneſs and Conſcientiouſneſs of *Aged Chriſtianity* accompanied him, while he was yet but *Young* in Years. His Manner was to *Riſe* before the *Sun*, for the Exerciſes which *Iſaac* attended in the *Evening*; and in the *Evening* likewiſe he withdrew, not only from the Converſation then uſually maintained, which he thought hurtful to his Mind by its *Infectious Levity*, but from *Supper* it ſelf alſo, for the like Exerciſes of Devotion. Although he was preſerved free from every Thing *Scandalous*, or *Immoral*, yet he ſeem'd as *Tertullian* ſpeaks, *Nulli Rei natus niſi Pœnitentiæ*; and the Sin of *Unfruitfulneſs* gave as much Perplexity to him, as more Scandalous and Immoral Practices do to other Men; for which *Comprehenſive Sin*, keeping a *Secret Faſt*, once before the Lord, the Holy Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſo powerfully and rapturouſly comforted him, with thoſe Words, *He that abideth in me, and I in him, the ſame bringeth forth much Fruit; without me ye can do nothing*: That the Remembrance thereof, was all his Days, afterwards Comfortable unto him.

§. 4. Mr. *Welds* returning for *England*, the Church at *Roxbury* invited Mr. *Danforth*, to become a Colleague to Mr. *Eliot*, whoſe Evangelical Employments abroad among the *Indians*, made a Collegue at Home to be neceſſary for him. The Paſtoral Charge of that Church he undertook in the Year 1650. and no Temptations ariſing, either from the *Incompetency* of the *Salary*, allow'd him to ſupport an Hoſpitable Family, or from the *Provocation*, which unworthy Men in the *Neighbourhood* ſometimes tried him withal, could perſwade him to accept of Motions, which were made unto him, to remove unto more Comfortable Settlements; but keeping his Eye upon the Great Man's Motto, *Prudens, qui patiens*, he continued in his *Roxbury* Station, for *Three Years* more than *Thrice ſeven* together. All this time, as he ſtudied *Uſe*, by Endeavours to *Do good*, not only in that particular Town, but with Influences more General and Extenſive, ſo he did endeavour to ſignalize himſelf, by ſtudying of *Peace*, with a Moderating and Interpoſing Sort of *Temper*, in riſing Differences; being of the Opinion, *That uſually they have little Peace of Conſcience, who do not make much Conſcience of Peace.* And when he then came to *Dye*, ſpending one whole *Sleepleſs Night*, in a Survey of his paſt Life, he ſaid, *He could find no Remarkable Miſcarriage* (*through the Grace of Chriſt*) *in all this time, to charge himſelf withal, but that with* Hezekiah, *he had ſerved the Lord with a perfect Heart all his Days.*

§. 5. The *Sermons* with which he fed his Flock, were Elaborate and Subſtantial; He was a Notable *Text-Man*, and one who had more than Forty or Fifty *Scriptures* diſtinctly quoted in One Diſcourſe; but he much recommended himſelf by keeping cloſe to his Main Text, and avoiding

avoiding of all remote Excurſions and Vagaries; and there was much Notice taken of it, that though he were a very *Judicious Preacher*, yet he was therewithal ſo *Affectionate, that he rarely, if ever ended a Sermon without Weeping*. On the Lord's Days in the *Forenoons*, he expounded the Books of the *Old-Teſtament*; in the *Afternoons*, he diſcourſed on the *Body of Divinity*, and many Occaſional Subjects, and ſome Chapters in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, until the Year 1661; and then he began to handle the *Harmony of the Four Evangeliſts*, proceeding therein to thoſe Words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in *Luke* 14. 14. *Thou ſhalt be recompenced at the Reſurrection of the Juſt*: On which, having preached his *Laſt* Sermon, it proved indeed his *Laſt*; and from thence he had no more to do, but now *Waits all the Days of his appointed time, until his Change come*, at that *Reſurrection*, when our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall *Call*, and he ſhall *Anſwer* that Call, and the Lord ſhall have a *Deſire to the Work of His Hands*. He alſo preach'd a *Monthly Lecture*, and on many *Private* Occaſions, at Meetings of Chriſtians, in the Families of the Faithful. But inſtead of ever venturing upon any *Extemporaneous Performances*, it was his Manner to write his Sermons *twice* over; and it was in a fair long Hand that he wrote them. His *Utterance* was free, clear, and giving much in a little time; his *Memory* very tenacious, and never known to fail him, though he allow'd it no Aſſiſtances. And unto all the other Commendable Things obſerved in the Diſcharge of his Miniſtry; he added that of a moſt Paſtoral *Watchfulneſs* over his Flock. Hence he not only viſited the *Sick*, as a *Meſſenger* from Heaven to them, *One among a Thouſand*, but when he met Perſons recovered from *Sickneſs*, he would, at this Rate accoſt them, *Well, you have been in God's School, but what have you learnt? What Good have you got?* And notable were the Effects of theſe his Applications. Hence alſo he took much Care, that none ſhould keep an *Houſe of Publick Entertainment* in his Town, but ſuch as would keep Good Orders and Manners in their Houſe; and the Tavern being in View of his own Study-Window, when he ſaw any Town-Dwellers tipling there, he would go over and chide them away. Hence likewiſe he would animadvert upon Miſcarriages that came in his Way, with all Watchful and Zealous Faithfulneſs, and One Inſtance of his Doing ſo, had ſomething peculiar in it. A *Day of Humiliation* was to be attended, and a Man of another Town, by unſeaſonable Driving a *Cart* through the Street, cauſed this good Man to come out and reprove him, for the Affront he thereby put upon the Devotions of the People in the Neighbourhood: The Man made him an Obſtinate and Malapert Anſwer, but when he came home, he found One of his Children ſuddenly *Dead*; upon this he could have no Reſt in his Mind, until he came to this *Reprover in the Gate*, with Humble and many Tokens of Repentance.

§. 6. After his *Contraction*, according to the *Old Uſage* of *New-England*, unto the Virtuous Daughter of Mr. *Wilſon* (whereat Mr. *Cotton* preached the Sermon) he was married unto that Gentlewoman, in the Year 1651. Of *Twelve* Children by her, there are *Four* now at this Day, ſurviving; whereof Two are now Worthy Miniſters of the Goſpel. When his Wife was under Diſcouragements at any time, through Domeſtick Straits, he would reply, *Ben't you diſcouraged; if you undergo more Difficulties than other Gentlewomen, ſtill we have the Lord's part, and at laſt you ſhall have an Ample Recompence, a Prophet's Recompence!* As his End approached he had ſtrong Apprehenſions of its Approach; and the very Night before he fell ſick, he told his Wife, *He had been much concerned, how ſhe with her Children would ſubſiſt, if he ſhould be removed; but now he had got over it, and firmly believed in the Covenant of God for them, that they ſhould be, by the Divine Providence, as well provided for, as they could be, if he were alive*: Which has been ſince accompliſhed unto Admiration! Immediately after this, he fell ſick of a putred Fever, occaſioned by a Damp, Cold, Nocturnal Air, on a Journey; and in the Space of ſix Days, paſſed from *Natural Health*, to *Eternal Peace*, Nov. 19. 1674. Of his Dying Prayers for his Conſort, one of the moſt Lively was, that her Daughter (now the Wife of *Edward Bromfield*, Eſq;) might be made a Rich Bleſſing and Comfort unto her; and this alſo hath not been without its Obſervable Accompliſhment! But if we now Enquire after an *Epitaph*, to be Incribed on the Tomb, where his Aſhes now lye, with thoſe of our Governour *Dudley*, for whoſe Honourable Family he always had a Great Friendſhip, I know not, whether One might not be taken out of the Words of his Venerable Old Collegue Mr. *Eliot*, who would ſay, *My Brother* Danforth *made the moſt Glorious End, that ever I ſaw!* Or, from a Poem of Mr. *Weld*'s upon him, which had a Clauſe to this purpoſe.

Mighty in Scripture, ſearching out the Senſe,
All the Hard Things of it, unfolding thence:
He Liv'd *Each Truth; His Faith, Love, Tenderneſs*
None can to th' Life, *as did* his Life *expreſs:*
Our Minds with Goſpel, his Rich Lectures fed;
Luke, *and his* Life, *at once are finiſhed:*
Our New Built Church *now ſuffers too by this,*
Larger its Windows, *but its* Lights *are leſs.*

§. 7. The leaſt *Pupils* in *Aſtronomy*, cannot now without ſome Diverſion, reflect upon the *Aſtronomy* of the *Ancients*, when we read them declaiming againſt the *Sphærical Figure* of the Heavens: The many Paſſages to this purpoſe in *Juſtin Martyr*, and *Ambroſe*, and *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact*, and the Great *Auſtin* himſelf, I will not recite, leaſt, Reader, we ſhould, before we are aware, play too much with the *Beards* of the *Fathers*: Nor would we lay aſide our Value for Good Old *Chryſoſtom*'s Theology, becauſe we we find him in a Confident and a Triumphing Manner upbraiding the World with ſuch an Opinion as, Πȣ̃ ἔισιν ὁι σφαιροειδῆ ὀυρανὸν ἐιναὶ ἀποφαινόμενοι; *Where are thoſe Men that imagine, that the Heavens*

have a Sphærical Form? Since the Scripture ſaith, *God ſtretched forth the Heavens as a Curtain, and he ſpread them as a Tent to Dwell in,* which are not *Sphærical.* We will not call them *Fools* for theſe Harangues; but leave it unto One of themſelves, even *Jerom,* to paſs his Cenſure upon them, *Eſt in Eccleſiâ ſtultiloquium, ſi quis Cœlum putet fornicis modo curvatum, Eſaiæ, quem non intelligit, Sermone deceptus.* 'Tis *Fooliſh Speaking in the Church, if any through Miſapprehenſions of the Words of Iſaiah, ſhall affirm, That the Heavens are not round.* The Divines of the Latter Ages, are (though to our Surprize, the Voluminous *Toſtatus* was not!) better *Aſtronomers,* than thoſe of the former; and among the Divines that have been *Aſtronomers,* our Mr. *Samuel Danforth,* comes in with a Claim of ſome Conſideration. Several of his *Aſtronomical* Compoſures have ſeen the Light of the *Sun*; but one eſpecially on this Occaſion. Among the *Four Hundred and Odd Comets,* the Hiſtories whereof have preſerved in the Records of Learned Men, a ſpecial Notice was taken of that, which *Alarum'd* the Whole World in the Year 1664. Now although our *Danforth* had not the Advantages of *Hevelius,* to diſcover how many Odd Clots, compact and lucid, there were in the Head of that *Blazing-Star,* with One thicker than the reſt, until it was grown to Twenty four Minutes *Diameter,* nor to determine that it was, at leaſt, *ſix* Times as big as the *Earth,* and that its *Parallax* rendred it at length, as Remote from the *Earth,* as *Mars* himſelf; nevertheleſs, he diligently obſerved the Motions of it, from its firſt Appearance in *Corvus,* whence it made a Deſcent, croſſing the Tropick of *Capricorn,* till it arrived unto the Main Top-ſail of the *Ship,* and then it returned through *Canis Major,* and again croſſed the Tropick of *Capricorn,* paſſing through *Lepus, Eridanus*; and the *Equinoctial,* and entred into the Mouth of the *Whale,* and ſo into *Aries*; where it retired not leaving any Philoſopher able to fulfil the Famous Prophecy of *Seneca,* in predicting the *New Appearance* of it. He therefore publiſhed a little Treatiſe, Entitled, *An Aſtronomical Deſcription of the late Comet, with a Brief Theological Application thereof*; In which Treatiſe he not only *proves,* that a *Comet* can be no other than *a Cœleſtial Luminary moving in the Starry Heavens,* whereof eſpecially the *Largeneſs of the Circle,* in which it moves is a Mathematical and Irrefragable *Demonſtration,* but alſo he improves the Opinion of a *Comet*'s being *portentous,* endeavouring as it became a *Devout Preacher,* to awaken Mankind by this Portent, out of a ſinful Security. Now, though for my own part, I am ſometimes ready to ſay, with a Learned Man, *Tædet me Divinationis in Rᵉ tam incertâ*; yet when I conſider, how many *Learned Men* have made Laborious Collections of Remarkable and Calamitous Events, to render *Comets* ominous, I cannot reproach the *Eſſays* of *Pious* Men, to perſwade us, *That when the Hand of Heaven is thus writing* MENE TEKEL, *it is not amiſs for us Mortals to make ſerious Reflections thereupon.* But beſides this, there are Two other Diſcourſes of this Worthy Man printed among us. One is, *The Cry of Sodom, enquired into,* or, a Teſtimony againſt the Sins of *Uncleaneſs,* which with much Wonder and Sorrow, he ſaw too many of the Riſing Generation, in the Country carried away withal. Another is, *A Recognition of* New-England's *Errand into the Wilderneſs,* or a Sermon preached unto the General Aſſembly of the Colony, at their Anniverſary *Election*; the Deſign of which was to remind them, of what he ſummarily thus expreſſes, *You have ſolemnly expreſſed before God, Angels and Men, that the Cauſe of your leaving your Country, Kindred and Father's Houſes, and tranſporting your ſelves, with your Wives, Little Ones, and Subſtance over the Vaſt Ocean, into this Waſte and Howling Wilderneſs, was your Liberty to walk in the Faith of the Goſpel with all good Conſcience, according to the Order of the Goſpel, and your Enjoyment of the pure Worſhip of God, according to his Inſtitution, without Humane Mixtures and Impoſitions.*

EPITAPHIUM.

Non dubium eſt, quin eò iverit, quò Stellæ eunt,
DANFORTHUS, *qui* Stellis *ſemper ſe aſſociavit.*

In *December* 1659. the (until then unknown) Malady of *Bladders in the Windpipe,* invaded and removed many Children; by Opening of one of them the Malady and Remedy (too late for very many) were diſcovered. Among thoſe many that thereby expired, were the Three Children of the Reverend Mr. *S. D.* the Eldeſt of whom (being upward of five Years and half; ſo Gracious and Intelligent were her Expreſſions and Behaviour both living and dying, and ſo Evident her Faith in Chriſt) was a Luculent Commentary on that Marvellous Prophecy, that the Child ſhould dye an Hundred Years old. How the Sorrowful Father entertained this Solemn Providence may be partly gathered from what he expreſſed unto ſuch as came to attend his Branches unto their Graves; of which may be ſaid, as was ſaid of *Job, In all this he ſinned not* He ſaw meet to pen down the Minutes of what he ſpake, and they are faithfully taken out of his own Manuſcript.

My Friends,

If any that ſee my Grief ſhould ſay unto me as the *Danites* unto *Micah, What aileth thee?* I thank God, I cannot anſwer as he did, *They have taken away my Gods.* My Heart was indeed ſomewhat ſet upon my *Children,* eſpecially the Eldeſt; but they were none of my Gods, none of my Portion; my Portion is whole and untoucht unto this Day. To underſtand my ſelf, and to communicate unto my Hearers, the Spiritual Meaning and Compaſs of the Law and Rule, and the Nature of Goſpel Obedience hath been my Deſign and Work, upon which I have employ'd much Reading and Study, and what Faith, Hope, Love, Patience, *&c.* the Glorious Wiſdom, Power and Mercy of God do oblige us to render. I have endeavoured to ſet forth before you, what if God will now try whether they

they were meer Notions and Speculations that I ſpake, or whether I believed as I ſpake, and whether there be any Divine Spark in my Heart? I remember him that ſaid to *Abraham*, *Hereby I know that thou feareſt me, in that thou haſt not with-held from me thy Son, thine only Son.* It is the Pleaſure of God, that (beſides all that may be gain'd by Reading, and Studying, and Preaching) I ſhould learn and teach Obedience by the Things that I ſuffer. The Holy Fire is not to be fetcht for you, out of ſuch a Flint, as I am, without ſmiting. Not long before theſe Stroaks light upon us, it pleaſed God marvelloully to quicken our Hearts (both Mine and my Wife's) and to ſtir up in us moſt Earneſt Deſires after Himſelf: And now he hath taken our Children, will he accept us unto freer and fuller Communion with Himſelf, Bleſſed be his Holy Name. I truſt the Lord hath done, what he hath done in Wiſdom, and Faithfulneſs, and Dear Love, and that in taking theſe pleaſant Things from me, He exerciſeth and expreſſeth as Tender Affection unto me, as I now expreſs towards them in Mourning for the Loſs of them. I deſire with *Ephraim, to bemoan my ſelf*, &c. Jer. 31. 18, 19. O that I might hear the Lord anſwering me, as he did *Ver.* 20. It is meet to be ſaid to God, *We have born Chaſtiſement, we will not offend; What we ſee not, teach thou us; and if we have done Iniquity, we will do ſo no more*, We know, and God much more knows enough in us, and by us to Juſtifie his repeated Stroaks, tho' we cannot tax our ſelves with any known Way of Diſobedience. My Deſire is, that none may be overmuch diſmayed at what hath befallen us; and let no Man by any means be offended. Who may ſay to the Lord, *What doſt Thou?* I can ſay from my Heart, tho' what is come upon us is very dreadful and amazing, yet I conſent unto the Will of God that it is good. Doth not the Goldſmith caſt His Metal into the Furnace? And you Husbandmen, do you not cauſe the Flail to paſs over your Grain, not that you hate your Wheat, but that you deſire Pure Bread? Had our Children replyed when we Corrected them, we could not have born it: But, poor Hearts, they did us Reverence; how much rather ſhould we be ſubject to the Father of Spirits and live. You know, that Nine Years ſince, I was in a deſolate Condition without Father, without Mother, without Wife, without Children: But what a Father, and Mother, and Wife have been beſtow'd upon me, and are ſtill continued tho' my Children are removed. And above all, although I cannot deny, but that it pierceth my very Heart to call to Remembrance the Voice of my Dear Children, calling *Father, Father!* a Voice, now not heard: Yet I bleſs God, it doth far more abundantly refreſh and rejoyce me, to hear the Lord continually calling unto me, *My Son, my Son! My Son, deſpiſe not the Chaſtening of the Lord, nor faint thou when thou art corrected of Him.* And bleſſed be God, that doth not deſpiſe the Affliction of the Afflicted, nor hides his Face from Him. 'Twas the Conſideration that God had ſanctify'd and glorify'd Himſelf, by ſtriking an Holy Awe and Dread of his Majeſty into the Hearts of his People, that made *Aaron* hold his Peace: And if the Lord will glorifie himſelf by my Family, by theſe Awful Stroaks upon me, quickning Parents unto their Duty, and awakening their Children to ſeek after the Lord, I ſhall deſire to be content, tho' my Name be cut off: And I beſeech you be earneſt with the Lord for us, that he would keep us from ſinning againſt him; and that he would teach us to ſanctifie his Name, and tho' our Dear Branches have forſaken us, yet that He that hath promiſed to be with his Children in ſix Troubles and in ſeven, would not forſake us. My Heart truly would be conſum'd, and would even dye within me, but that the Good Will of Him that dwelt in the Burning Buſh, and His good Word of Promiſe are my *Truſt* and *Stay*.

CHAP. IV.

ECCLESIASTES.

The LIFE *of the Reverend and Excellent* Jonathan Mitchel; *a Paſtor of the* Church, *and a Glory of the* Colledge, *in* Cambridge, New-England.

Written by COTTON MATHER.

—— Simul et Jucundà et Idonea
dicère Vitæ,
Lectorem Delectando Simul atque monendo.

The Second Edition.

The EPISTLE Dedicatory.

To the Church at Cambridge *in* New-England, *and to the* Students *of the* Colledge *there.*

Right Worſhipful, Reverend, and Dearly Beloved,

THERE have been few Churches in the World ſo *Lifted up to Heaven*, in reſpect of a Succeſſion of Supereminent Miniſters of the Goſpel, as the Church in *Cambridge* has been. *Hooker, Shepard, Mitchel, Oakes* (all of them *yours*) were *Great Lights*. You know that if *Light* has been brought into a Room, when it is removed, the Place becomes *Darker*, than if never any ſuch *Light* had been there. A Learned Pen in an *Epiſtle Dedicatory* to the Inhabitants of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, puts them in Mind what an Happy People they once were, while under the Teaching of Mr. *Cotton*, who was from them removed to plant Churches for Chriſt, in this *American Deſart*: And prays them to conſider, 'That as Empires and Kingdoms, ſo particular Churches have had their Periods. *Bethel* has prov'd a *Beth-haven*: In after times 'we find young profane Mockers in *Bethel*, and 'ſcornful Neuters in *Penuel*. Go to *Shiloh*; 'think of the ſometimes Glorious Churches in '*Aſia*, ſays he. And he adds, That he had on 'purpoſe viſited ſome Places, where God had 'before planted his Church, and a Faithful Miniſtry, to ſee, if He could diſcern any Footſteps and Remembrances of ſuch a Mercy, and '*Lo, they were were all overgrown with Thorns, and Nettles had over-covered the Face thereof, and the Stone-wall thereof is broken down.* And 'as he further well obſerves, when the Lord has 'been provoked to remove the Candleſtick, 'He is very hardly induced to reſtore it again. 'The *Ark* never returned to the ſame Place, 'from whence it was in a Way of Judgment removed, and the *Glory of the Lord*, when after 'its Gradual Removes, was at laſt quite gone 'from the *Firſt Temple*, was not reſtored in the '*Second*, till Chriſt's *Firſt Coming*, nor will it be 'in this their Rejection, till His *Second*. Mercy forbid that ſuch Things as theſe ſhould be verified in *New-England*, or in *Cambridge*! That this may not be your Caſe, it concerns you not wantonly to *Play* or *Fight* by the *Light* yet remaining, but to make the beſt Improvement of your preſent Advantages, giving all due Encouragement to that Worthy Perſon, who is now over you in the Lord.

Dr. *Tuckney*'s Epiſtle prefixed to Mr. *Cotton* on *Eccleſiaſtes*.

Concerning your Famous Paſtor, **Mitchel**, I confeſs, I had the Happineſs of a ſpecial Intimacy with him, in his *Life* time, nor do I know any one *Death* (that of Natural Relations excepted) that ever has been ſo Grievous and Afflictive to my Spirit, as was *his*. By reaſon of his Eminent Parts and Piety, he had an happy Influence on all theſe *Churches*. Many of them fare the better at this Day, becauſe the Preachers whom they are now inſtructed by, whilſt *Students* at the *Colledge*, lived under his Miniſtry. The *Colledge, Cambridge, New-England* may Glory, that ever ſuch an One had his Education there! As for the Deſcription of his *Life*, by my SON Emitted herewith, I have nothing

thing to ſay concerning the *Writer*, or this Endeavour of his, becauſe of my Relation to him; Only, that it is what he could Collect, whether by Informations from thoſe that knew that Excellent Man, or from his private Manuſcripts, which he had the Peruſal of. It is not without the Providence of Chriſt, that it ſhould be committed to the **Preſs**, *at ſuch a Time*, when there are Agitations about ſome *Diſciplinary Queſtions* amongſt your ſelves. What the Judgment of that *Man of God* was, you have in the ſubſequent Relation of his Life preſented to your View.

The Original Manuſcript written by Mr. **Mitchel**'s own Hand, I have by me. Whether he committed his Thoughts to Writing, with any Deſign of Publication, or for the Satisfaction of ſome Perſons in a more private Way, I know not; but it is now Evident, that when his Spirit was inclined thereunto, Heaven deſigned his Meditations ſhould be brought into *Publick View*. Whilſt he was Living, you that were of his Flock, had (and conſidering his Great Worth and Wiſdom, it would have been a Reproach to you, if you had not had) an High Eſteem of his Judgment. *Being Dead he yet ſpeaketh to you*, out of his Grave. Thoſe of you that retain a Living Remembrance of him, in your Hearts, will eaſily diſcern ſomething of Mr. **Mitchel**'s Spirit, in the way of his Arguing. He does therein (according to his wonted Manner) expreſs himſelf with great *Caution* and *Prudence*, avoiding *Extreams*, in the Controverted Subject. It cannot be denied; but that there has been an Error in ſome Churches, who have made this or that *Mode* to be a *Divine Inſtitution*, which Chriſt has not made to be ſo: And that there has been an unjuſtifiable *Severity*, in Impoſing *Circumſtantials* not inſtituted, whereby ſome truly Gracious Souls have been diſcouraged from Offering themſelves to joyn in Fellowſhip with ſuch Churches. Thus it has been, when an Oral Declaration of *Faith* and *Repentance* has been enjoyned on all Communicants, and that before the *whole Congregation*; when as many an Humble Pious Soul has not been Gifted with ſuch *Confidence*. So likewiſe has it been, when the Exact Account of the *Time* and *Manner* of *Converſion* has been required: Whenas there have been multitudes of true Believers (ſuch eſpecially as have been advantaged with a *Religious Education*) that the Seed of *Grace* has ſprung up in their Souls, *they know not how* Mark 4. 27. Mr. *Baxter* relates, that he was once at a Meeting of many Chriſtians as Eminent for *Holineſs*, as moſt in the Land, of whom divers were *Miniſters* of Great Fame; and it was deſired, that every one ſhould give an Account of the *Time* and *Manner* of his Converſion, and there was but *One* of them all, that could do it. And (ſays he) *I averr from my Heart, that I neither know the Day nor the Year, when I began to be ſincere.* For Churches, then to expect an Account of *that* from all, that they receive into their Fellowſhip, is *Unſcriptural* and *Unreaſonable*. Nevertheleſs, it concerns them to Beware of the other *Extream* of *Laxneſs* in Admiſſion unto the Lord's *Holy Table*. You know that your Paſtor **Mitchel** had a *Latitude* in his Judgment as to the Subject of *Baptiſm* (as alſo Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *Cotton*, and others of the *Congregational Perſwaſion* had) but as to Admiſſions to the Sacrament of the *Lord's-Supper*. I know no Man, that was more Conſcientiouſly careful to keep *unqualified Perſons* from partaking therein than was *he*. As for this or that *Mode* in *Examining* of Perſons, that offer themſelves to be Communicants in our Churches, whether it ſhall be by a more continued *Relation* of the Work of Grace, in their Hearts, or *by Queſtions* and *Anſwers* (as was practiſed in the Church at *Hartford* in Mr. *Hooker*'s Time, and which may poſſibly be as Edifying a Way, as the former) or whether the Perſons deſigning to partake in the *Lord's-Supper*, ſhall Declare their Experiences *Orally*, or in Writing, are *Prudentials*, which our Lord has left unto Churches to Determine as they ſhall find moſt Expedient for their own Edification. Nevertheleſs the *Subſtance* of the Thing (viz. *Either a Relation, as 'tis called, or an Equivalent*) ought to be inſiſted on. Churches are bound in Duty to Enquire, not only into the *Knowledge* and *Orthodoxy*, but into the *Spiritual Eſtate* of thoſe whom they receive into full Communion in all the Ordinances of Chriſt. Some have thought, that ſuch Qualifications are not to be expected from *Children* born in the Church, as from *Strangers*; but they never had that Opinion out of the Scripture, which ſays expreſly concerning them that would Eat the Paſſoever, that, *There is One Law to him that is Home-born, and to the Stranger*. Exod. 12. 49. Numb. 9. 14. Wherefore in the Platform of Diſcipline it is ſaid, *The like Trial is to be Required of ſuch Members of the Church as were born in the ſame, or Received their Memberſhip, and were baptized in their Infancy, or Minority, by virtue of the Covenant of their Parents, when being grown up to years of Diſcretion, they ſhall deſire to be made Partakers of the Lord's Table, unto which, becauſe Holy Things are not to be given to the Unworthy, therefore it is requiſite, that thoſe as well as others ſhould come to their Trial and Examination, and manifeſt their Faith and Repentance by an open Profeſſion thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwiſe not to be admitted thereunto*; Theſe are the Words, in the *Platform of Diſcipline*, agreed unto by the Elders and Meſſengers of the Churches in the Synod at *Cambridge*; In which *Synod*, were Mr. *Cotton*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Norton*, Learned and Aged Divines, beſides many others of Great Eminency. It is not the Opinion of *Men*, but the *Scripture* which muſt decide the Controverſie. Nevertheleſs, the Judgment of thoſe *Eminent Divines* who had deeply ſearched into theſe Matters, is not to be ſlighted. Nor is the *Private Sentiment* of this or that Perſon, to be laid in the Ballance, with the Judgment of a *Synod*, conſiſting of Perſons, of far greater Authority than any younger Ones pretended to be of a Contrary Opinion. Nor is there Weight in that Allegation, that when a Man

Mr. *Baxter of Infant Baptiſm*, p. 129, 133.

Capt. 12. §. 7.

Man declares his own *Experiences*, he *Teſtifies concerning himſelf*, and therefore his Teſtimony is of no Validity. By the ſame reaſon it may be ſaid, Churches are not to Examine thoſe, that eſſay to joyn themſelves to them, about the ſoundneſs of their *Faith.* For they may (as *Arius* did) profeſs, that they *Believe* Articles of Faith, which God knows, they do not *Believe*, nor is there any thing but their *own Teſtimony* to prove that they do *believe* as they *profeſs.* But above all, their Notion is to be rejected, as a *Church-corrupting Principle*, who aſſert that the *Sacrament* is a *Converting Ordinance. Papiſts, Eraſtians*, and ſome others, whom I forbear to mention have ſo taught; but their *Heterodoxy* has been abundantly Refuted, not only by *Congregational* Writers, ſuch as Mr. *John Beverly* againſt *Timpſon*, but by Worthy Authors of the *Presbyterian* Perſwaſion, particularly by Mr *Gelaſpy* in his *Aarons Rod*, Dr. *Drake* in his Anſwer to Mr. *Humphrys*, and Mr. *Vines*, in his Treatiſe of the *Lord's-Supper*. If the Sacrament were appointed to be a *Converting-Ordinance*, then the moſt *Scandalous* Perſons in the World, yea, *Heathen* People ought to have it Adminſtred unto them, for we may not with-hold from them the Means appointed for their *Converſion.* The Scripture ſays, *Let a Man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that Bread.* 1 Cor. 11. 28. which clearly intimates, that if upon *Examination*, he finds himſelf in a State of *Sin* and *Unregeneracy*, he ought not to *Eat of that Bread.*

Bleſſed Mr. **Mitchel** would frequently aſſert, That if it ſhould paſs for Current Doctrine in *New-England*, That all Perſons *Orthodox in Judgment*, as to Matters of *Faith*, and *not Scandalous in Life*, ought to be admitted to partake of the *Lord's-Supper*, without any Examination, concerning the *Work of Saving Grace in their Hearts*, it would be a *Real Apoſtacy* from former Principles, and a *Degeneracy* from the *Reformation*, which we had attained unto. I am willing upon this Occaſion, to bear my Teſtimony to the *preſent Truth*, and to leave it upon Record unto Poſterity; not knowing how ſoon the Lord Jeſus may by one Providence or other (of which I have had ſeveral Warnings) remove me from my *preſent Station* among theſe Churches. The Arguments which have induced me to believe and teſtifie, as now I do, are ſuch as theſe.

1. Time was when Churches in *New-England*, believed there was *Clear Scripture Proof* for the Practice we plead for. Particularly that Scripture, Pſal. 4. 10. *I have not hidden thy Righteouſneſs from the great Congregation.* And that, Pſal. 66. 16. *Come and Hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he has done for my Soul*, And that Scripture, 1 Pet. 3. 15. *Be ready always to give an Anſwer to every Man, that asks you a Reaſon of the Hope that is in you*, does by juſt Conſequence intimate as much as what we aſſert. Some have been bold to ſay, that ſince the Apoſtle in the Place alledged, ſpeaks of Believers *Apologizing* for their Hope before Perſecutors, it is an Abuſe of Scripture from thence to infer, that any thing of that Nature ought to be done for the Satisfaction of Churches. But Renowned Mr. *Hooker* in a Manuſcript, which I have ſeen, anſwering the Objections of ſome who diſliked the Practice of theſe Churches, in Examining and Inquiring into the Spiritual Eſtate of their Communicants (eſpecially their requiring an Account from the Children of the Church) argues Judiciouſly that if Chriſtians are bound to give an Account of the Grounds of their Hope to Perſecutors, much more to Churches that ſhall deſire it. So Mr. *Shepard*, the Faithful and Famous Paſtor of the Church in *Cambridge*, in his Anſwer to Mr. *Ball.* And to the ſame purpoſe, in the Platform of Diſcipline it is inferred, that Men muſt declare and ſhew their Repentance, and Faith, and Effectual Calling, becauſe theſe are the Reaſon of a Well-grounded Hope. Now for any Man to charge theſe Worthies of the Lord, and the *Platform of Diſcipline*, with abuſing Scripture when they made ſuch an Inference, is a very unbecoming Preſumption. It was formerly thought, that Scripture Examples are not wanting, to Warrant the Practice of our Churches in this Matter, ſince *John* required thoſe whom he admitted to his Baptiſm, to make a Confeſſion of their Sins. And the Apoſtles expected a Declaration of their Repentance from ſuch as they admitted into the Primitive Church. *Acts* 2. 38. And *Philip* examined the *Eunuch* concerning the Sincerity of his Faith. *Acts* 8 37.

2. *That Principle which tends to bring Perſons not duly qualified, to partake in Holy Things, muſt needs be diſpleaſing to the Holy Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* He would have his Servants to *Diſtinguiſh betwixt the Precious and the Vile.* Jer. 15. 19. And to *Turn away* from ſuch as have only *the Form, and not the Power of Godlineſs* in them, 2 *Tim.* 3. 5. they that have only a *Doctrinal Knowledge*, and an *External Converſion* free from Scandal, without Regeneration, have no more than a *Form of Godlineſs.* If Chriſtians ſhould not make ſuch Perſons their *Familiars*, certainly they ought not admit them to their *Sacred Communion.* It is a very ſolemn Word, which the Lord has ſpoken, ſaying, *You have brought into my Sanctuary Uncircumciſed in Heart, to be in my Sanctuary to pollute it; even in my Houſe, when you Offer the Bread and the Blood. No Stranger uncircumciſed in Heart, ſhall enter into my Sanctuary.* Ezek. 44. 7, 9. That Man does but *defile* the Sanctuary of the Lord, that has not the *Water of Separation* (the Blood of Chriſt through Faith) *Sprinkled upon him.* Numb. 19. 20. But this Principle or Poſition, That Perſons are to be admitted to the *Table* of the Lord, without Enquiring into their **Regeneration**, tends to bring the *Uncircumciſed in Heart*, into the *Sanctuary.* If Churches ſhould neglect all Examinations concerning the *Orthodoxy* of thoſe they receive into their Communion; would not that have a Natural Tendency to bring *Heterodox*, and it may be *Heretical* Perſons into their Communion? By a *Parity of Reaſon*, the Omitting all *Enquiries*, as to the *Spiritual Experience* of them that come to the Table of the Lord, has a Tendency to fill the Sanctuary with thoſe, who never had any *Experimental Knowledge* of the Things of God.

3. *The*

3. *The Church ought to know, as far as Men can judge, that the Perſons whom they admit to the Lords Table are fit, and have a right to be there.* Now none are meet to partake of the *Lord's Supper*, excepting ſuch as have experienced a *Saving Work of Grace.* They muſt be ſuch as can and will, *Examine themſelves.* 1 Cor 11. 28. And therefore muſt have the *Matter* of *Self-Examination*, which is *Faith*, *Repentance*, *and Love*, and *other Graces.* Thus it was in the Primitive Apoſtolical Church, Acts 2. 47. *The Lord added to the Church daily, ſuch as ſhould be ſaved,* Churches are to receive ſuch as the *Lord has received,* Rom. 14. 1, 2, 3. Such as are *United to Chriſt*, 1 Cor. 12. 27. 1 Theſ. 1. 1. *Living Stones* muſt be in that *Building*, 1 Pet. 2. 5. Made ready by a Work of Divine Grace on and in them, before they are laid there; of which the *Prepared Materials* in *Solomon*'s Temple were a Type, 1 *Kings* 6. 7. They ought to be *Saints* and *Faithful in Chriſt Jeſus.* Eph. 1. 1. How ſhall the Churches *know*, that the Perſons who offer themſelves to their Communion are ſuch, unleſs they paſs under their *Trial.* Rev. 2. 2. If a Man claim *Right* to a Priviledge, and yet ſheweth no ſufficient *Reaſon*, he ought to be debarred until he can ſome way or other prove his *Claim.* It is true, the Judgment of Churches is *fallible :* Grace being a *Secret Thing*, hid in the Heart; only *Chriſt* ſeeth it: Churches cannot always diſcern the *Tares* from the *Wheat.* Nevertheleſs, they may not *willingly* receive in *Hypocrites. Bellarmine* himſelf is fain to Confeſs, as much as that comes to. When ſuch were found in Churches in the Apoſtolical Times, it is ſaid, that they *Crept in privily and unawares.* Gal. 2. 4. Jude *v.* 4. Which intimates unto us, that they did not *willingly* admit ſuch into their Fellowſhip. When the Enemy ſowed *Tares* in the Field, a Culpable *Sleeping* in thoſe, that ſhould have been more Watchful was the Cauſe of it. *Math.* 13. 25. They who object, that we are bound in *Charity* to believe, that the Perſons, who offer themſelves to our Communion, are Regenerate, without ever making any *Enquiry* into their Spiritual Eſtate, may with as good Reaſon affirm, that we are bound in Charity to believe, that they are *ſound in the Faith*, without *Examining* them about that Matter. A *Rational Charity*, grounded upon *Evidence*, and not a *Blind Charity* is the Rule according to which Churches are to proceed.

4. *That Practice, which Chriſt has owned with His ſpecial Bleſſing and Preſence, ought not to be decryed as an Humane Invention, but rather owned as a Divine Inſtitution.* Was not the Lord's Bleſſing *Aaron*'s Rod an Effectual Demonſtration, that his Miniſtry had a Divine Approbation? Is not *Paul*'s calling to the Miniſtry, and *Peter*'s alſo, proved from this Argument, that God owned and *Bleſſed* them both? 1 *Cor.* 9. 1, 2. Gal. 2. 7, 8, 9. That Chriſt has owned His Churches, in their *Enquiries* into the Spiritual Eſtate of ſuch as they admit into their Communion with His ſpecial Gracious Preſence, is moſt certain. Have not *ſome* been *Converted* by hearing *others* give an Account of their Converſion? How *many* have been Comforted, and how *many* Edified thereby! which proveth, that this Practice is Lawful and Laudable, and that to *Stigmatize* it ſo, as ſome have done is not pleaſing to the Lord.

5. *To uſe all Lawful Means to keep Church Communion pure, is a Duty incumbent upon all Churches, and moſt eminently on Churches in* New-England. It is known to all the World, that *Church Reformation*, and *Purity* as to all Adminiſtrations therein, was the Thing deſigned by our Fathers, when they followed the Lord into this Wilderneſs: And therefore Degeneracy in that Reſpect would be a greater Evil in us, than in any People. We ſhall not act like *Wiſe Children*, if we ſeek to *pull down with our Hand*, That Houſe (or any *Pillar*-Principle, whereon it is founded) which our Wiſe Fathers have built. The *Debaſing the Matter of Particular Churches* muſt needs Corrupt them. A Learned and Renowned Author has Evinced, *That the Letting go this Principle, That Particular Churches ought to Conſiſt of Regenerate Perſons, brought in the Great Apoſtacy of the Chriſtian Church.* (Owen Theol: Lib. 6. Cap. 8.) The Way to prevent the like *Apoſtacy* in theſe Churches, is to Require an *Account* of thoſe, that offer themſelves to Communion therein, concerning the Work of God on their Souls, as well as concerning their *Knowledge* and *Belief.* If once this Practice and Principle of Truth be deſerted, *A World of unqualified Perſons* will ſoon fill, and peſter and corrupt the Houſe of God, and cauſe Him to *Go far off from His Sanctuary.* We may then juſtly fear, that theſe *Golden Candleſticks*, will be no longer ſo, but become *Droſs* and *Tin*, and *Reprobate Silver*, until *the Lord has rejected them.* Let us Dread to have an Hand, in cauſing it to be ſo! It is a ſolemn Paſſage which Mr. *Cotton* (whom Dr. *Goodwin* calls the *Apoſtle of this Age*) has in his Judicious Treatiſe of *the Holineſs of Church Members.* p. 60. *Methinks* (ſays he) *the Servants of God ſhould Tremble to Erect ſuch a State of the viſible Church, in Hypocriſie and Formal Profeſſion, as whoſe very Foundation threateneth certain Diſſolution and Deſolation.* True it is, That we may not *Do Evil*, that *Good may come of it.* We may not Uſe any *unlawful Practice* to prevent Impurity, as to the Matter of our Churches. But no Man can ſay, That the Practice we plead for is *Sinful.* If then the Uſe of it may (by the Bleſſing of Chriſt) be a Means to keep our Churches and Communion pure, why ſhould it be laid aſide? Mr. **Mitchel** in a Manuſcript of his, which I have ſeen, has theſe weighty Words, 'The Over-enlarging 'of full Communion or Admiſſion of Perſons 'thereunto, upon ſlight Qualifications, without 'inſiſting upon the Practical and Spiritual Part 'of Religion, will not only loſe the Power of 'Godlineſs, but in a little time, bring in Profaneneſs, and Ruine the Churches theſe two 'Ways. 1. Election of Miniſters will ſoon be 'carried by a formal, looſer Sort. 2. The 'Ex-

'Exerciſe of Diſcipline, will by this means be 'rendred impoſſible. Diſcipline falling, Profaneneſs riſeth like a Flood. For the Major 'Part wanting Zeal againſt Sin, will foſter Licentiouſneſs. It is not ſetting down good 'Rules and Directions, that will ſalve it: For 'the Specification of Government is from Men, 'not from Laws. Let never ſo good a Form 'of Government be agreed upon, it will ſoon 'degenerate, if the Inſtruments (or Men) that 'manage it, be not Good. Bleſſed **Mitchel**! Theſe are thy Words; This was thy Spirit!

6. *In the Primitive and Pureſt Times of the Church, there was great Strictneſs uſed in Examining ſuch as were admitted to Sacraments, concerning the Sincerity of their Repentance towards God, and their Faith in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* There are who pretend, That this is a *New Practice*, begun by a few *Separatiſts* in *Amſterdam*, not an Hundred Years ſince. But ſuch Perſons diſcover their *Ignorance*, and that they are unacquainted and unſtudied in *Eccleſiaſtical Story. Juſtin Martyr* (who lived 150 Years after Chriſt) in his Second Apology for the Chriſtians, writeth, That they did *Examine ſuch as were admitted to their Communion, whether they were able to conform themſelves in all things to the Word and Will of God.* If we would know what Things were practiſed by the Churches in the Primitive Times, the Writings of *Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, (as Learned *Uſher* has truly obſerved) give us the cleareſt Diſcovery thereof. It is evident from them, that in thoſe Days, there was rather too much *Rigidity*, than too much *Laxneſs*, in their Admiſſion to Sacraments. They would keep Men, who were *Catechumens* and *Competentes* a long time, before they did receive them into full Communion in the Church. They required not only a Profeſſion of *Faith*, and a Confeſſion of *Sins*, but a Submiſſion to a Severe *Scrutiny* concerning their *Sincerity* therein. *Fiant Scrutinia, ut ſæpius explorentur, an poſt Renunciationem Satanæ ſacra verba datæ Fidei radicitus Corde defixerint.* They were to be Examined again and again, to find out, whether the *Words* of the Faith they profeſſed, were indeed fixed in their *Hearts. Cyprian* in his third Epiſtle ſays, *Mihi labor eſt perſuadere fratribus ut recipiendis Conſentiant, Vix Plebi perſuadeo, ut tales patiantur admitti, quia nec cum vera pænitentia venerant.* That he could not eaſily perſwade the *Brethren* in *Churches*, to conſent to the Admiſſion of ſuch Perſons to their Communion, of whoſe *Sincere Repentance*, there was any doubt. *Origen* declares, as much as that amounts to. When in after Ages, Churches degenerated, *Chryſoſtom* complains, that by Admitting ungodly Men into the Church, they had *filled the Temple with Beaſts*, and he profeſſed, that he would ſooner chooſe to have his *Right Hand* cut off, than Adminiſter the Sacrament to a *Known wicked Man.* It is well known, that the *Waldenſes*, amongſt whom Religion was preſerved, during the Reign of *Popery*, were ſtrict in this matter. And ſo were the *Bohemian* Brethren: *Commenius* teſtifies concerning them, that they uſed a *Diligent Exploration* concerning the *Faith* and *Repentance* of their Communicants, leſt haply it ſhould be only *Superficiary* and *Fallacious*. There was an *Examen Conſcientiarium* uſed amongſt them. It muſt be acknowledged, that in the *Proteſtant Reformation*, there has been a great *Neglect* and *Defect*, as to what concerns the Diſcipline and Government of Chriſt in His Church. As the *Apoſtacy* was gradual, ſo has the *Reformation* been. And there was (as Dr. *Owen* well obſerves) a Wiſe Providence in ordering it to be ſo. 'For had the *Firſt Reformers* 'ſet themſelves to remove out of the Church all 'ſuch as were unmeet for its Communion, and 'to have reduced Things to their *Primitive Inſtitution*, by Reaſon of the *Paucity* of the Number of ſuch Church Members, the Endeavour 'for a *General Reformation* of Doctrine and 'Worſhip would have been obſtructed. Hence 'it comes to paſs, That the *Reformation* of the 'Church, as unto the *Matter* of it, was not 'attempted, until *Calvin* ſet up his Diſcipline 'in *Geneva*, which has filled the World with 'Clamours againſt him to this Day. In moſt 'other Places the *Matter* or *Members* of 'Churches were, as to their Lives and Converſation as bad as the *Papiſts*. Nevertheleſs, Eminent Divines of the *Reformation*, in this and the laſt Century, have approved of that which we are pleading for. *Beza* laments the *Remiſsneſs* of *Proteſtant Churches* in not taking more Care about the Qualifications of their Members; concluding, that there will never be ſuch a *Reformation* as ought to be endeavoured after, *niſi a Converſione Cordium Initium Inſtaurationis ſumatur*, except Men with *Converted Hearts*, be laid in the *Foundation. Bucer* finds fault with the *Engliſh Churches* for Admitting Children who had been baptized, unto the *Lord's Supper*, upon too *low Terms.* He ſays, there ſhould be *manifeſt Signs of Regeneration in them firſt: That they ſhould appear to be ſuch as had upon their Hearts a Senſe of the Word of God, and that they did uſe Secret Prayer*, &c. But how ſhould ſuch Things be known concerning them without Enquiry into their *Spiritual State*! *Chamier* commends the Strictneſs uſed in the *Primitive Times*, in *Examining* thoſe that deſired to joyn to the Church, *ne quantum fieri poterit lateant Simones*, that ſo *Simon Magus* may not creep into the Church, if it were poſſible to prevent it. *Luther* did at laſt ſorrowfully bewail it, That he began his *Reformation* with ſuch *Promiſcuous Admiſſions* to the *Table* of the Lord, heartily wiſhing, that he had taught and practiſed ſuch a *Church Diſcipline*, as that which was profeſſed by the *Bohemian Brethren. Chemnitius* wiſheth, that the *Strictneſs* uſed among the Ancients in the *Probation* of Communicants were reſtored, and reviv-

Alcuinus.

Ratio diſciplin. Fratrum. Bohem. p. 44, &c.

Dr. Owen, *of the Nature of a Goſpel Church.* p. 13.

Beza Epiſt. 14.

Bucer Script. Anglio Cap 17 *p.* 482, 483.

Chamier de Baptiſmo. l. 5. *cap.* 15.

revived in the Churches of the *Reformation.* His Godly Deſire and Hope that in Time it will be ſo, is approved of by *Gerhard* in his Common Place, *de Sacra Cœna.*

Some of thoſe that are called *Presbyterians* fully concur with us, as to the *Subſtance* of what we plead for. When Mr. *Norton* in his Anſwer unto *Apollonius*, does aſſert, That four Things are to be required of thoſe, that deſire Admiſſion into Church Fellowſhip. 1. A Confeſſion of *Faith.* 2. *A Declaration of their Experience concerning a Work of Faith.* 3. A Blameleſs *Converſation.* 4. Profeſſed *Subjection* to the Goſpel, and the Order of it. That Learned and Worthy Profeſſor of Divinity, in the Univerſity of *Leyden*, Dr. *Hornbeck* declares his Concurrence with him therein, and that in theſe Particulars, thoſe of the *Congregational Way*, agree with ſome other *Reformed Churches.* To my certain Knowledge, Eminent Miniſters of the *Presbyterian* Perſwaſion, in *London*, Examine their Communicants (before they admit them to partake with them, at the Lord's Table) concerning their *Faith* and *Repentance.* And ſo (notwithſtanding what is *pleaded* for by the Godly Learned Mr. *Rutherford*) ſome do in *Scotland*, as divers Worthy Miniſters of that Nation, have aſſured me.

Hornbeck Epiſtola ad Duræum p. 299.

The Difference as to this Matter, between a *Presbyterian* and a *Congregational* Man, (who are nevertheleſs *United Brethren*) is this. There is no *Congregational* Man but he *reports to the Church* ſomething of what the Perſon deſiring Communion with them, has related to him; which the *Presbyterian* does not, only Declares his own Satisfaction, and giveth the Brethren a Liberty to object againſt the Converſation of the *Admittendi.* I know *Presbyterians*, who are ſtricter in their Examinations and Admiſſions, than ſome *Congregational* Men. It appears therefore, that ſuch *Enquiries* into the *Spiritual Eſtate* of them, who are to be admitted unto full Communion, in all the Ordinances of the Goſpel, is no *Singular* or *Novel* Practice: Nothing but what is confirmed by *Reverend Antiquity*, and has been ingenuouſly aſſerted by the Great *Reformers*, both of the former, and this preſent Age. Whether the *Brethren*, as well as the *Elders* ſhould not be concerned as *Judges*, concerning the Qualifications of thoſe whom they Receive into their Communion, is another *Queſtion*, which I ſhall not here enlarge upon. It is certain, that in the *Primitive Ages* of the Church, they had that Liberty; otherwiſe *Cyprian* would never have ſaid, *Vix Plebi perſuadeo ut Tales patiantur admitti*, &c. And elſewhere confeſſed his Obligations, and Reſolutions, *Nihil ſine conſenſu plebis, privata ſententia genere.*

It is alſo certain, that this is an avowed Principle of all who are eſteemed *Congregational.* In the Declaration of the *Faith* and *Order* owned and practiſed in *Congregational Church* in *England*, agreed and conſented unto, by their Elders and Meſſengers, in their Meeting at the *Savoy*, *Octob.* 12. 1658. They declare, *That the Members of Particular Churches are Saints by calling, viſibly manifeſting their Obedience to the Call of Chriſt, who being further known to each other by their Confeſſion of Faith wrought in them by the Power of God, declared by themſelves, or otherwiſe manifeſted, conſent to walk together according to the appointment of Chriſt.* I have known many in *England* of that way; but never any that did not concern the *Brethren* as well as themſelves, to be *Judges* of the fitneſs of thoſe who have deſired to be received into their Communion. It is evident, that the Church, (and not the Officers only) have Power given them by Chriſt, to Judge who are meet to be *put out* of their Communion. *Mat.* 18. 17. 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. Then they muſt needs have the like Power as to thoſe that are to be *taken into* their Communion. *Ejuſdem eſt poteſtatis conſtituere et deſtituere*, is a known received *Axiom.* If the *whole Church* has power to *Judge* of the Repentance of one that is to be *Re-admitted*, then of the Repentance of one that is to have his *firſt Admiſſion.* But the Apoſtle ſpeaks to the *Church*, and not to the *Officers* only to reſtore the penitent *Corinthian* to their Communion. 2 *Cor.* 2. 8. Again, If the *whole multitude of Diſciples* have Power to Judge, whether Perſons are qualified with that Wiſdom and Grace, as to be meet for *Office-Relation* in the Church, then they have Power to Judge concerning the Knowledge and Grace of *Communicants.* The Argument is *a majori ad minus.* They that are meet *Judges* in a *greater Matter*, much more in that which is *leſs.* But the former is clear from the Scripture. *Acts* 6. 2, 3, 4. For further Satisfaction in this point, Mr. *Norton*, and Mr. *Shepard* may be conſulted, with that Man of vaſt Reading and Learning, Mr. *Robert Parker.*

Theſe Things I have ſuppoſed to be proper for me to Write to you the Church of Chriſt in *Cambridge*; not as doubting of your Stedfaſtneſs in the Truth to this day profeſſed and practiſed by you, but as deſiring that thoſe who ſhall ſucceed you, may continue to walk therein; and that ſo I might teſtifie, the peculiar Reſpect, that I do (and ought to) bear unto you, on the Account of the Undeſerved Love, which all of you have manifeſted towards me. Five Years are not expired, ſince you were pleaſed unanimouſly to Invite me to Accept of the *Paſtoral Office* over you. But the Unwillingneſs of the Dear People, among whom I have been Labouring in the Goſpel for the Space of Thirty ſix Years, that I ſhould leave them, in Conſideration with ſome other Obſtacles, kept me from complying with that your Loving Motion. Neverthleſs, I cannot but whilſt I Live, have a Dear Affection for you, and know not how to expreſs it more, than by Endeavouring what in me lies, that you and your Children after you, may be confirmed in thoſe Ways of the Lord, which your Fathers, and your ſelves too, have experienced ſo much of His Preſence in. And I have alſo conſidered, that you are ſingularly circumſtanced, in that there are Reſiding with you, the *Sons of the Prophets*, whoſe Eſtabliſhment *in the preſent Truth*, I am more than any Man in the World, under an Obligation to promove,

and I certainly know (not altogether without an Awful Senſe of it) that the *Son of God*, will e're long Enquire of me, whether I did in this Matter, Diſcharge my Duty, according to his Expectation, to whom I muſt be accountable concerning the Improvement of whatever *Talents* or Opportunities to Serve His Intereſts, He has or ſhall Truſt me with, whilſt I am in this World.

A few Words let me further ſpeak to you, who belong to that *Nurſery*, for Religion and Learning, which has for a long time been the *Glory*, not of *Cambridge* only, but of *New-England*. Sixteen Years will this *Summer* be lapſed, ſince God, by his Providence, devolved the *Præſidentſhip* of that Society into my Hands, to manage it (ſo far as my *Inſufficiencies* for ſuch a Service will permit) for the Ends, which He (and our *Fathers*, as his *Inſtruments*) did at firſt Erect a *Colledge* in *New-England* upon; which was chiefly, that ſo *Scholars* might there be Educated for the Service of Chriſt and His Churches, in the *Work of the Miniſtry*, and that they might be ſeaſoned in their Tender Years with ſuch *Principles* as brought their Bleſſed Progenitors into this Wilderneſs. What my Sollicitudes for this have been in both *Englands*, is known to to Him, who ſaid to the Churches, *I know your Works*. There is no One Thing of Greater Concernment to theſe Churches, in preſent and after-times, than the Proſperity of that *Society*. They cannot ſubſiſt without a *Colledge*. There are are at this day not above Two or Three of our Churches but what are ſupplyed from thence. Nor are the Churches like to continue *pure Golden Candle-ſticks*, if the *Colledge*, which ſhould ſupply them, prove *Apoſtate*. If the *Fountain* be corrupted, How ſhould the *Streams* be pure, which ſhould *make Glad the City of God?* How ſhould *Plants of Renown* ſpring up from thence, if the *Colledge* it ſelf become a *Degenerate Plant?* You that are *Tutors* there, have a Great Advantage put into your Hands (and I pray God give you Wiſdom to know it!) to prevent it. The Lord hath made you *Fathers* to many *Pupils*. You will not deny, but that He has made *me* a *Father* to *you*. It was my Recommendation, that brought you into that *Station*. And therefore, as my *Joy* will be Greater to ſee you Acquit your ſelves *Worthily*, ſo my earneſt Sollicitudes for it muſt needs be the more, on *that* Account. There are many (I believe, you wiſh you could ſay ſo of all of them) who were once under your *Tuition*, that do worthily in *Ephratah*, and are like to be famous in *Bethlehem*, for which you ought to (and I doubt not but you do) humbly Bleſs the Lord, That *you* (and they who ſhall ſucceed you) may be yet *Greater Bleſſings*, Let me commend unto you the Example of this Bleſſed Man, whoſe *Life* is here deſcribed. When *Jerom* had conſidered the Life of *Hilarion*, he Reſolved *Hilarion ſhall be the Champion, whom I will follow!* Say each of you, **Mitchel**, (once a *Tutor* in *Harvard-Colledge*) *ſhall be the Example, whom I will imitate!* You will ſee in the Story of his Life, that he did not only Inſtruct his *Pupils* in the Knowledge of the *Tongues* and *Arts*, but that he would ſometimes diſcourſe them about the *Spiritual Eſtate* of their Immortal Souls. Such private *Perſonal Inſtructions*, are many times more Effectual to *Converſion* than *Publick Sermons*. Some very worthy Perſons who were once his *Scholars*, have a Living Remembrance of his Words, to this Day. Others of them are now with him in Glory, bleſſing God to Eternity, whoſe Providence diſpoſed them under ſuch a *Tutor*. Famous Dr. *Preſton* choſe rather to Live in *Cambridge*, than in any Place of *England*, becauſe by Reaſon of the *Univerſity* there, he had an Opportunity, *Non modo dolare Lapides ſed Artichitectos*, to *prepare Builders for the Houſe of God*. The *Angels* in Heaven would not think it beneath them, to be employed in ſo Great a Work and Service for the Churches of Chriſt, as that which Infinite Grace has call'd *you* unto. If you follow thoſe, that have gone before you (**Mitchel** in particular) as they have *followed Chriſt*, your *Names* will be Precious and Honourable like theirs, and you ſhall *Live* after you are *Dead*, as they now do.

As for you that are the *Students* in the *Colledge*: I have often (as you know) in my Diſcourſes among you, Exhorted you above all Things to *Study Chriſt*, and to be mindful of, *The one Thing Neceſſary*. *Gifts* without *Grace* will be of no Avail unto you at laſt. You may excel in *Knowledge*, and yet be of all in the Worldd the moſt *Miſerable*, and moſt like to the *Devils*, as a *Converted Indian* once ſaid concerning ſome *Scholars*. You know, that many Philoſophers who were *Heathen* excelled in that which is called, *Humane Learning*. And ſo have ſome *Popiſh* Authors (*Jeſuites* eſpecially) done, whoſe Books have been very Edifying to others. I muſt confeſs, that as to that ſmall meaſure of *Knowledge* which I have attained unto, I have, (for ſome part of it) been beholden to the Divine Providence for the Works of *Ricciolus*, *Galtruchius*, and others of that Fraternity, who were very Learned Men, tho' Enemies of the *True Proteſtant Religion*. Knowledge then without *Chriſt and Holineſs*, will never bring you to Heaven. One has written a Book, *De Salute Ariſtolis*; And another, *De Animabus Paganorum* endeavouring to prove, that the Philoſophers who *Knew not the Only True God*, nor *Jeſus Chriſt*, have *Eternal Life*. Let ſuch and all other *Pelagian* and *Arminian* Principles be far from you. But do not think it is enough, if you be *Orthodox*, in the *Fundamental Points* of Religion. It was not (I can aſſure you) on any ſuch Account that your Fathers followed Chriſt into this *Wilderneſs*, *when it was a Land not ſown*. If you degenerate from the *Order of the Goſpel* (as well as from the *Faith of the Goſpel*) you will juſtly merit the Name of *Apoſtates* and of *Degenerate Plants*. And ſuch Degeneracy in the Children of *New-England*, and moſt of all in *you* will be worſe, than in any Children in the World. If any of you ſhall prove ſuch, Remember that you were told, that *you take an unhappy Time to Degenerate in*. He whoſe *Fan is in his Hand, will throughly purge his Floor*. The *Day is near*, when the Lord Jeſus Chriſt will make His Churches more Pure and *Reformed*, than in the

the former Ages; and will you at ſuch a time corrupt your ſelves with looſe and large Principles in Matters relating to the Houſe of God, *Whoſe Houſe Holineſs becomes for ever!* How if ſome of you ſhould live to ſee that Scripture verified, where the Lord ſays, *The Levites that are gone far from me, when Iſrael went aſtray, they ſhall not come near unto me, to do the Office of a Prieſt unto me, but the Sons of* Zadok *that kept the Charge of my Sanctuary, they ſhall enter into my Sanctuary, and they ſhall come near to my Table to Miniſter unto me!* Ezek. 44. 10, 15. Let me Recommend unto you the weighty Words of my moſt Dear and Worthy Friend and Predeceſſor, Mr. *Oakes*, once your Learned *Preſident*, which he delivered (and afterwards Printed) on a very ſolemn Occaſion. He ſpeaketh to you thus, 'Conſider (ſaith he) what will be 'the *End* of Receding or making a '*Defection* from the Way of *Church-Government* eſtabliſhed amongſt us. 'I profeſs, I look upon the Diſco'very and Settlement of the *Congregational Way*, as the Boon, the Gratuity, the 'Largeſs of Divine Bounty, which the Lord 'graciouſly beſtowed on His People, that fol'lowed Him into this Wilderneſs; and a great 'part of the *Bleſſing* on the Head of *Joſeph*, and 'of them who were *Separate from their Brethren.* 'Theſe Good People that came over, ſhewed 'more Love, Zeal, and Affectionate Deſire of '*Communion* with God in *pure* Worſhip and Or'dinances, and did more in Order to it than o'thers, and the Lord did more for them than 'for any People in the World, in ſhewing them 'the *Pattern* of His Houſe, and the true *Scriptu'ral-way* of Church Government and Admini'ſtrations. God was certainly in a more than 'ordinary Way of Favour preſent with his Ser'vants in laying of our *Foundations*, and in 'ſetling the Way of *Church Order* according to 'the Will and Appointment of Chriſt. Conſi'der, what will be the *ſad Iſſue* of Revolting 'from the Way fixed upon, to one Extream or 'to another, whether it be to *Presbyterianiſm* 'or *Browniſm*; as for the *Presbyterians*, it muſt 'be acknowleged, that there are among them as 'Pious, Learned, Sober, Orthodox Men, as the 'World affords; and that there is as much of the '*Power of Godlineſs* among that Party, and of the 'Spirit of the good *Old Puritans*, as among any 'People in the World. And for their Way of '*Church-Government*, it muſt be confeſſed, that in 'the Day of it, it was a very Conſiderable Step 'to *Reformation.* The Reformation in K. *Edward*'s Days was then a Bleſſed Work. And the 'Reformation of *Geneva* and *Scotland*, was then a 'larger ſtep, and in many reſpects purer than the 'other. And for my part I fully believe, that the '*Congregational Way* far exceeds both, and is the '*Higheſt Step* that has been taken towards *Refor'mation*, and for the Subſtance of it, it is the 'very ſame way, that was eſtabliſhed and pra'ctiſed in the *Primitive Times*, according to the 'Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt. I muſt needs ſay, 'that I ſhould look upon it, as a ſad Degene'racy, if we ſhould leave the *Good Old Way*, 'ſo far as to turn *Councils* and *Synods* into *Clau'ſes* and *Provincial Aſſemblies*, and there ſhould 'be *ſuch a Laxneſs in Admiſſion of Members to 'Communion, as is pleaded for, and practiſed by 'many Presbyterians, and Elders ſhould manage all 'themſelves* in an *Autocratorical Way*, to the Sub'verſion of the Liberty and Priviledge of the *Bre'thren.* Thus Mr. *Oakes.* As for that Excellently Learned and Holy Man Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, who for many Years *Preſided* over *Harvard-Colledge*, none of you, who now belong to that Society, can remember him. But you have heard what his *Dying Charge* to his Sons (who through Grace tread in their Father's Steps) was in his *Laſt Will and Teſtament*, which you may ſee Publiſhed with his *Life* in due Time. He that is now your Preſident — *A longe ſequitur veſtigia ſemper adorans*; yet is willing not to Evert or Undermine the *Foundation*, which his Bleſſed Predeceſſors, have laid, but to Build thereon. I remember *Buchanan* (who was Tutor to K. *James* I.) in the Preface to his *Baptiſtes*, which he *Dedicates* to that K. ſays, That the Reaſon why he did ſo, was, 'That in caſe 'He ſhould through the Influence of Evil Coun'ſellors, or from any other Cauſe, be Guilty of 'Male-Adminiſtration in His Government, af'ter Ages ſhould know, that the Blame ought 'to be imputed not to His Tutor, but to Him'ſelf. So let me ſay, If *you* the Students in *Harvard-Colledge*, or any of you, ſhall deviate and degenerate from the Holy *Principles* and *Practices* of your *Fathers*, the World ſhall know, and Poſterity ſhall know, That the Reaſon of it is not for want of being otherwiſe inſtructed by your Preſent, as well as by Former *Preſidents*,

In his Election Sermon on Deut. 32. 29. *p.* 44. &c.

May 7.
1697.

INCREASE MATHER

ECCLESIASTES.

OR, THE

LIFE

OF

Mr. Jonathan Mitchel.

Sanctorum Vitas *Legere & non Vivere, fruſtra eſt* ;
Sanctorum Vitas Degite, *non* Legite.

§. 1. IT is Reported concerning the Ancient *Phrygians*, that when a *Prieſt* expired among them, they Honoured him with a *Pillar* Ten Fathom high, whereon they placed his *Dead* Body, as if he were to continue after his *Death*, from thence Inſtructing of the People. Nor can a *Miniſter* of the Goſpel have any more Honourable Funeral, than *That*, by which his Inſtructon of the People, may be moſt continued unto the People, after his Expiration. But I may without any Danger of *Miſtake*, venture to affirm, That there cannot eaſily be found a *Miniſter* of the Goſpel in our Days, more worthy to have the Story of his *Life* employed for the Inſtruction of *Mankind* after his Deceaſe, than our Excellent **Mitchel**. And therefore I ſhall now endeavour to ſet him on as high a *Pillar*, as the beſt *Hiſtory*, that I can give of his Exemplary *Life*, can erect, for that Worthy Man ; for whom Statues of *Corinthian Braſs*, were but Inadæquate Acknowledgments.

§. 2. If it were counted an Honour to the Town of *Halifax* in *Yorkſhire*, that the Famous *John de Sacro Boſco*, Author of the well-known Treatiſe *De Sphæra*, was born there ; this Town was no leſs Honoured by its being the Place of Birth to our no leſs worthily Famous **Jonathan Mitchel**, the Author of a better Treatiſe Of *Heaven*, who being deſcended (as a Printed Account long ſince has told us) of *Pious* and *Wealthy* Parents, here drew his firſt Breath, in the Year 1624. The preciſe *Day* of his Birth is loſt, nor is it worth while for us to enquire by an *Aſtrological Calculation*, what Aſpect the *Stars* had upon his Birth, ſince the *Event* has proved, That *God the Father* was in the *Horoſcope*, *Chriſt* in the *Mid-Heaven*, the *Spirit* in the *Sixth Houſe*, *Repentance*, *Faith* and *Love*, in the *Eighth* : And in the *Twelfth*, an *Eternal Happineſs*, where no *Saturn* can dart any malignant Rays. Here, while the *Father of his Fleſh* was endeavouring to make him *Learned* by a proper Education, the *Father of Spirits* uſed the Methods of Grace to make him *Serious* ; eſpecially by a ſore *Feavour*, which had like to have made the *Tenth* Year of his Life the *Laſt*, but then ſettled in his *Arm* with ſuch Troubleſome Effects, that his Arm grew, and kept a little *bent*, and he could never ſtretch it out *Right* until his Dying Day. And upon this Accident he afterwards wrote this Reflection; *Thus the Lord ſought to make me Serious (Oh! when will it once be!) by ſteeping my firſt Entrance into Years of Underſtanding, and into the Changes of Life, and my firſt Motions to* New-England, *in Eminent and Special Sorrows.* Now his *Firſt Motions to* New-England, mentioned in this Reflection, invite us to Haſten unto that part of our Hiſtory, which is to relate, that his Parents were ſome of thoſe Exemplary *Chriſtians*, which by the *Unconſcionable* Impoſitions and Perſecutions of the Engliſh *Hierarchy* upon the *Conſciences* of People, as Remarkable for True *Chriſtianity* as any in the Realm, were driven out of it in the Year 1635. the Ship, which brought over Mr. *Richard Mather*, and many more of thoſe *Puritans*, which had found the Church of *England*, then governed by ſuch an *Aſſembly of Treacherous Men*, (a Faction to whom that Name, *The Church of* England never truly belonged) that they were put upon wiſhing with the perſecuted Prophet, *Oh! that I had in the Wilderneſs a Lodging-place of Way-faring Men*! was further enriched by having on Board our **Jonathan**, than a Child of about Eleven Years of Age; whoſe Parents with much Difficulty and Reſolution carried him unto *Briſtol* to take Shipping there, while he was not yet recovered of his Illneſs. On the Coaſt of *New-England*, they were delivered from a moſt Eminent and Amazing Hazard of periſhing, in a moſt *Horrible Tempeſt* ; upon which Deliverance Mr. *Mather* preached a Sermon from that Scripture, John 5. 14. *Sin no more*

leaſt

leaſt a worſe thing come unto thee; whereby further Impreſſions of *Serioufneſs* were made upon the Soul of this *Young Diſciple.*

§. 3. The Godly Father of our *Jonathan* found, that *America* as well as *Europe*, *New-England* as well as Old *England*, was a part of Old *Adam*'s World; well ſtocked every where with the *Thorns* of Worldly *Vanities* and *Vexations*; and that a *Wilderneſs* was a Place, where *Temptation* was to be met withal. All his Family, and the *Jonathan* of the Family, with the Reſt, were viſited with *Sickneſs*, the Winter after their firſt Arrival at *Charlstown*, and the *Scarcity* then afflicting the Countrey added unto the Afflictions of their *Sickneſs*. Removing to the Town of *Concord*, his *greater Matters* continually became *ſmaller* there, his *Beginnings* were there conſumed by *Fire*, and ſome other Loſſes befel him in the *Latter End* of that Winter. The next Summer he removed unto *Say-brook*, and the next Spring unto *Weathersfield* upon *Connecticut* River, by which he loſt yet more of his Poſſeſſions, and plunged himſelf into other Troubles. Towards the Cloſe of that year he had a Son-in-law Slain by the *Pequot Indians*; and the Reſt of the Winter they lived in much fear of their Lives from thoſe *Barbarians*, and many of his Cattel were deſtroyed, and his Eſtate unto the Value of ſome Hundreds of Pounds was damnified. A *Shallop*, which he ſent unto the River's Mouth was taken, and burned by the *Pequots*, and Three Men in the Veſſel ſlain, in all of whom he was nearly concerned: So that indeed the *Pequot* Scourge fell more on this Family, than on any other in the Land. Afterward there aroſe unhappy *Differences* in the place where he lived, wherein he was an *Antagoniſt* againſt ſome of the *Principal Perſons* in the place, and hereby *he* that had hitherto *Lived in precious Eſteem with Good Men, wherever he came* (as a Record I have ſeen, teſtifies concerning him) now ſuffered much in his *Eſteem* among many ſuch Men, as 'tis uſual in ſuch Contentions, and he met with many other Injuries: For which Cauſes, he transferred himſelf, with his Intereſts, unto *Stamford* in the Colony of *New Haven*. Here his Houſe Barn and Goods were again conſumed by *Fire*; and much Internal *Diſtreſs of Mind* accompanied theſe Humbling Diſpenſations. At laſt, that *Moſt Horrible of Diſeaſes*, the *Stone*, arreſted him, and he underwent unſpeakable Dolours from it, until the Year 1645. when he went unto his Reſt about the Fifty Fifth Year of his Age.

§. 4. Although the Good Spirit of God, gave our *Jonathan* to improve much in his Holy Diſpoſitions while he was yet a Youth, by the Calamities, which thus befel his Father; and particularly upon Occaſion of a ſad thing befalling a Servant of his Father's, who inſtead of going to the Lecture at *Hartford*, as he had been allowed and Adviſed, would needs go fell a Tree for himſelf, but a broken Bough of the Tree ſtruck him dead, ſo that he never ſpoke or ſtirred more; our *Jonathan*, who was then about Fifteen Years old, in one of his Papers does Relate, *This Amazing Stroke did much ſtirr my Heart, and I ſpent ſome time in Endeavouring the work of Repentance according to Mr.* Scudder's *Directions in his Daily Walk*: nevertheleſs he had this Diſadvantage, that he was thereby Diverted from *Study* and *Learning*, for the firſt ſeven years after his Coming into the Country. Had it not been for the Diſadvantage of this *Intermiſſion*, we had ſeen ſome Lively Emulation of *Bellarmine*'s open Lectures of Divinity, at Sixteen years of Age, or *Torquato Quaſſo's* Receiving his Degrees in Philoſophy and Divinity at Seventeen, or *Grotius's* publiſhing of Commentaries at the like Seventeen. For he was, as the Hiſtorian obſerves, all that will prove *Conſiderable*, muſt be, *Puer, qui Seminario Virtutum Generoſiore concretus, aliquid Inclytum deſignaſſet.* But after ſo long an *Intermiſſion*, as until *September* in the year 1642. and the Eighteenth year of his Age, upon the Earneſt Advice of ſome that had Obſerved his great Capacity, and eſpecially of Mr. *Mather*. with whom he came into *New-England*, he Reſumed his Deſigns for *Study* and *Learning*: wherein he made ſo vigorous a Progreſs, that in the year 1645. he was upon a ſtrict *Examination* Admitted into *Harvard Colledge*. Nor was it very long before Mr. *Mather*, who was the Adviſer of this matter, had the Conſolation of ſeeing the Excellent Labours of this perſon in the Pulpit worthy of his own Conſtant *Journeys* to his monthly *Lectures*; yea, and the moſt Conſiderable *Fathers* of the Country, with himſelf, treating this perſon, as not *Coming behind the very Chiefeſt of them all*, and Taſting his Communications, not as *Unripe Grapes*, or *Wine juſt out of the Preſs*.

§ 5. But before we can fairly Arrive to *that* part of our Story, it will be as *profitable*, as *neceſſary* for us to Obſerve the *Steps* whereby God made him **Great**. The Faculties of Mind, with which the *God that Forms the Spirit of man*, enriched him, were very Notable. He had a *Clear Head*, a Copious *Fancy*, a Solid *Judgment*, a Tenacious *Memory*, and a certain *Diſcretion*, without any Childiſh *Laſchete*, or *Levity* in his Behaviour, which commanded Reſpect from all that viewed him: So that it might be ſaid of him, as it once was of a Great Perſon in the Engliſh Nation, *They that knew him from a Child, never knew him any other than a Man.* Under theſe Advantages, he was an *Hard Student*, and he ſo Proſpered in his Indefatigable *Studies*, that he became a Scholar of *Illuminations*, not far from the *Firſt Magnitude*: Recommended by which Qualifications, it was not long before he was Choſen a *Fellow* of the *Colledge*. But the main Strokes of his *Colledge-Life*, that I ſhall ſingle out for my Readers Obſervation, are of yet an higher Character. Know then, that as it was his own Counſel to his Brother, *The Writing of ſometimes your former and preſent Life, would be a Thing of Endleſs Uſe*, thus it was his manner, whilſt in the *Colledge*, to keep a brief *Diary*, written in the *Latine Tongue*, which he wrote indeed fluently and handſomely; and from a part of this *Diary*, by him Entituled, *Vitæ Hypomnemata*, happily fallen into my Hands, I ſhall note ſome few Remarkables.

He

He kept a ſtrict Eye upon his *Interior State*, before God; and upon the Diſpoſitions of his *Heart*, as well in *Sacred* as in *Civil* Entertainments: but with an Extreme *Severity of Reflection* upon himſelf, when perhaps, at the ſame time the *Severeſt Spectator* upon Earth beſides would have judged every thing in him worthy to have been *Admired*, rather than *Cenſured*. He would Record ſuch Things as theſe.

One Time,

Inter precandum, Deus ab Inſipido ac Deſolato Corde juſte abſuit, ut me (quo nihil magis neceſſarium) humiliaret; Nam aliter (ſi paulo melius aliquando ſe habeat Cor) eſt in me, quod prophana Spirituali Superbia titillatur. Eram tamen inde nonnihil ad Deum Excitatior.

At another Time,

Jejunio privato interfui, ubi multo Stupore, & multa vanitate Oppletus ſum; aliqua tamen viguerant Suſpiria & Deus non viſus eſt me omnino abdicare, ſed paulo meliorem fecit; utinam tenuiſſem & foviſſem Deſideria, quæ tunc accendit.

At another Time,

Locum communem habui; vix abſtinu ia ſecreta ſuperbia; Licet turpiſſima vanitas Animi (qua nunquam non omnia mea venenantur) me coram Deo proſtraviſſet, præter alia mea peccata, quæ me infra vermes ponunt, Neque ſane unquam aliquid aut facio aut dico, unde plus pudoris quam Honoris, mihi non naſcitur, ſi omnia mecum perpendo; & Deus ſolet ſemper aliquid relinquere, unde me (ſaltem apud me) pudefacit.

At another Time,

Colloquiis Hilaribus, cum Sociis quibuſdam nimis indulſi.

At another Time,

Adibam Boſtonium, *& ibi Libertatem Civilem accepi, ſed ex Oblectamentis Leve & Inſipidum Cor.*

At another,

Liberius quam prudentius quædam locutus ſum, unde mihi pudor.

In my Prayer, God was juſtly withdrawn from my Unſavoury and Deſolate Heart, that ſo He might Humble me; than which there is nothing more needful for me. For otherwiſe (if my Heart be at any time in a little better frame) there is that in me, which is tickled with Spiritual Pride. Neverthelеſs I was from hence more Excited God-ward.

I was preſent at a private Faſt, where I was filled with much Sottiſhneſs and Vanity: Yet I had ſome Lively Sighs; and God ſeemed not wholly to caſt me off, but made me a little Better than I was before. I wiſh I had Retained and Cheriſhed the Deſires, which He then Enkindled!

I Common-placed. I could Scarce abſtain from Secret Pride; altho' a very baſe Vanity of mind (with which every thing of mine is poiſon'd!) had laid me low in the Duſt before God, beſides my other Sins, which lay me lower than the very Worms of the Duſt. But indeed, I never Do or Say any thing, from whence there ariſes not more of Shame than of Honour to me, if I Conſider all things; and God uſes in all ever to leave ſomething, by which He makes me at leaſt aſhamed of my ſelf.

I gave too much Liberty unto Merry Talk, with ſome of my Friends.

I went unto *Boſton*, and there took a Civil Liberty: But from ſuch Entertainments my Heart grew light and unſavoury.

I diſcourſed ſome things with more Freedom than Wiſdom; for which, I was aſhamed of my ſelf.

Again; He laid up the more eſpecial *Admonitions* which touched him, in the Sermons that he heard Preached, or in other more private and uſeful Conferences, and the *Reſolutions*, which he thereupon asked the Help of Heaven to follow. He would Record ſuch Things as theſe,

One Time,

Vix aliquid apud Deum ſapui, ſed excitavit me Concio Magiſtri Shepardi, *Tremenda plane et præſtantiſſima. Docuit Aliquos eſſe qui videntur inveniri & Servari a Chriſto & tamen poſtea pereunt. Hæc me terrebant (& utinam infixa hærerent!) ne tantum viderer eſſe Chriſti, & ne ad mortem uſque ſic pergerem. Rogavi Deum, ut mei Miſertus totam rem ageret. Illa Nocte multo pudore, apud me ſuffuſus eram, quod hactenus nihil in* Meditatione quotidiana, *feceram, & hinc cæcus & ignarus in Divinis, extra meipſum, & ſine Deo, per Integras Septimanas vixeram. Jam Statui* Meditandi *opus quotidie urgere, quod ante hac aliquoties ſtatui, ſed, heu!*

I had little Savour on my Spirit before God: but a terrible and Excellent Sermon of Mr. *Shepards* awakened me. He taught, that there are ſome who ſeem to be found and Sav'd by Chriſt, and yet afterwards they periſh. Theſe things terrified me, (and I wiſh, they had ſtuck faſt in me!) leſt I ſhould only ſeem to belong unto Chriſt; and leſt I ſhould thus go on unto Death. I Beg'd of God, that He would have mercy on me, and accompliſh the whole work of His Grace for me. That Night I was covered with no little ſhame, becauſe I had hitherto done in a manner, nothing at the work of DAILY MEDITATION, and hence I had lived Blind, and Ignorant in Divine Things, a ſtranger to my ſelf, and without God, for whole Weeks together. I now Reſolved, every Day to urge the work of MEDITATION, which heretofore I have often Reſolved, but alas,

Propoſita violavi ; unde ſuccenſet Deus. Ah, Quot & Quanta ſcire potuiſſem de Deo, ſi ſerius & conſtans in Meditatione *fuiſſem!*

I have Violated my purpoſes ; for which cauſe, God is Angry with me. Ah! How many, how mighty Things of God might I have underſtood, if I had been Serious and Conſtant in MEDITATION!

At another Time,

D. Shepardus *utiliſſime docuit. Illa Nocte Seriæ inſtabant Cogitationes, de infanda mea miſeria, qua ſine Deo, ſine Redemptione, a Sabbato ad Sabbatum miſerrimus pergo. Inde* Tria *ſtatuebam mihi Obſervanda, quæ etiam Deo commendabam, ut in me efficeret.* Primo, *Non Quiete manendum in hac mea conditione ; Intolerabile eſſe, ut ſic pergerem,* Secundo, *Precandum conſtanter, ſine Languore, aut Intermiſſione, mane nocteque Implorandum Deum, intimis & ineffabilibus ſuſpiriis.* Tertio, *ſi Deus non auſcultaverit, & quæ opus ſunt præſtarit, in Amore ſuo manifeſtando, ſaltem Lugeam & Lachrymem, & pergam in Amaritudine Animæ ; ſi Conſolationem & Pacem a Deo, non habuero, ſaltem nullam omnino habeam!*

Mr. *Shepard* Preached moſt profitably. That night, I was followed with Serious Thoughts, of my Inexpreſſible miſery, wherein I go on moſt miſerably from Sabbath to Sabbath, without God, and without Redemption. From hence I determined, That there are Things which I muſt Obſerve ; and I Commended theſe Things unto God, that he would Effect them in me. *Firſt* ; That I muſt not remain quietly in this my condition ; but that it is Intolerable for me to proceed as I am. *Secondly* ; That I muſt pray conſtantly, without fainting, or any Intermiſſion: Day and Night I muſt cry unto the Lord, with Groans that cannot be uttered. *Thirdly* ; If God will not Hear me, nor do the Things that are needful for me in manifeſting to me His Love, let me at leaſt Mourn, and Weep, and go on in the Bitterneſs of my Soul. If I ſhall not have Comfort, and Peace, from God, let me have None at all!

At another Time,

D. Samuel Matherus *eximie concionatus eſt, de Immutabilitate Dei. Inde Redarguebat mutabilitatem & Inconſtantiam Hominum erga Deum. Hæc me tetigerunt : Conſcius eram Inconſtantiæ meæ ; Et ſerio, intimeque perculſus, proſtratus coram Deo vehementer Orabam Gratiam.*

Mr. *Samuel Mather* Preached Excellently, concerning, *The Uncheangeableneſs of God.* From hence he Rebuked the Changeableneſs and Inconſtancy of men, towards God. Theſe Things Touched me ; for I was Conſcious to my own Inconſtancy ; and being Seriouſly and Inwardly Smitten with the ſenſe of it, I caſt my ſelf down at the Feet of God, with Vehement Supplications for His Favour.

Furthermore, He Acquitted himſelf, as One concerned for the *Souls* of his *Pupils*, when he came to have ſuch under his Charge ; and was very deſirous to ſee their *Hearts* renewed by *Grace*, the (*Beginning or*) *Head of Knowledge*, as well as their *Heads* furniſhed with other *Knowledge*. He would Record ſuch Things as theſe.

At One Time,

Alloquebar M. W. *de Salutis Negotio. Multis illum hortabar, monebam, & dirigebam, ad illud curandum, ne ſuffocaret Convictiones, & inconſtantia Deum luderet, ſed precibus* ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΣΗ. *Utinam ipſe præſtarem, quæ dixi! Deus, ſerva illum Juvenem!*

I ſpoke unto *M.W.* about the matters of Eternal Salvation, I largely exhorted him, adviſed him, directed him to be careful of This, that he did not Stiffle his Convictions, and mock God by Inconſtancy, but be inſtant in Prayer. I wiſh I could my ſelf Do, what I ſpoke! Lord, Save that Young man!

At another Time,

S. M. *primus e Pupillis meis, me allocutus eſt de Animæ ſuæ ſtatu ; plura quidem quam ſperaſſem Lætus audivi ; & (quod Deus dedit) Conſilium addidi, ut pergeret diligenter Deum ſequi, Animabam ad ſequendum Deum ; At pudebat me Ariditatis Animi mei.*

S. M. the firſt of my Pupils had ſome Speech with me, about the State of his own Soul ; I Gladheard more from him, than I Expected ; and (with the Help of God) I Counſelled him, that he would go on to follow hard after God. I Encouraged him to follow the Lord ; but I was aſhamed of the Barrenneſs of my own Soul!

Yea, How Watchful he was, on all Occaſions, to Obſerve what Occaſions he might have to *Do Good* among all the Scholars. I ſhall no more than Tranſcribe the following Paſſage, to intimate.

Nocte, inter Scholares, multa ſeria dixi de Cognoſcendis Rebus Pacis Noſtræ, in Die noſtro. Utinam ipſe mihimet Auſcultarem! Die ſequenti plura ego collocutus ſum cum Contubernalibus,

At Night, among the Scholars, I uttered many Serious Things, about *Knowing the Things of our Peace in our Day.* Oh! that I could my ſelf herein but hearken to my ſelf! The Day following, I diſcourſed more, with my Chamber-fellowes,

to

ad probandum, eſſe Deum, *& Scripturas eſſe ipſius verbum. Ah, nimium ſerpit inter nos* ATHEOTES, *& video Satanam multos pernicioſiſſimos Dialogiſmos in Nonnullorum Mentes injicere! Hoc malo peribunt multi Juvenes, ni miſerearis, O Deus! Et ſenſi me adhuc in his miſerrime tenebricoſum, nec magis aliquid Rogandum, quam ut Stabiliret me quoad Fundamentales iſtas veritates, claramque hic viſionem daret! Hinc aliquando Occaſiones Capto Realitatem,* ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΥ *inculcandi, & illuſtrandi: quod non prorſus mane video. Utinam majori Cordis ſenſu, ego poſſem Deum prædicare. Sed quid mirum me oppleri Tenebris, qui Oppletus ſum Cupiditatibus!*

to prove, That there is a GOD, and that the Scriptures are His Word. Alas, *Atheiſm* creeps in too much among us, and I ſee that Satan does caſt many moſt Pernicious Reaſonings into the minds of ſome Many Young men, will periſh by this Miſchief, Except thou, O Lord God, have Mercy on them! I found my ſelf alſo moſt miſerably dark in theſe things; nor is there any thing that I have more cauſe to ask, than this; That He would Eſtabliſh me in theſe Fundamental Truths, and give me a Clear Viſion of them! From hence I ſometimes do Snatch at Occaſions, to inculcate and illuſtrate the Reality of the Things of God: which I ſee, is not altogether in vain I wiſh, I could Preach God, with greater ſenſe upon my Heart. But what wonder is it, if I that am full of *Luſts*, be alſo full of *Darkneſs!*

Reader, ſee how impoſſible it was, for this Excellent young Man to Record any thing in this *Diary*, without ſome ſtroke of *Humiliation* and *Admonition* to himſelf in the Cloſe of all: The ready way of becoming *Excellent*!

And while he was thus a young man, reſiding in the *Colledge*, he would ſometimes, on the *Saturday*, Retire into the *Woods*, near the Town, and there ſpend a great part of the Day, in Examining of his own *Heart* and *Life*, Bewailing the Evils, which made him want the Mercies of God, and Imploring the Mercies which he wanted of the Lord: which Cuſtom of ſpending *Saturday*, he had formerly attended alſo at *South-Hampton*, while he was yet, but as a *School-Boy* there. Moreover, it was, while he thus Reſided at the *Colledge*, that his Brother *David*, under deep Diſtreſſes of mind about his Everlaſting Intereſts, addreſſed him for Counſel; and our *Jonathan* then wrote unto his Brother that *Golden Letter*, which was almoſt Thirty years after, publiſhed in *London*, at the End of his *Diſcourſe of Glory*; A Letter whereof the famous *Collins* makes this Remark, *Every Reader ſenſible of Spiritual Things, will ſee it written with an Excellent Spirit, the Spirit of God, and drawn out of his own Experiences, and this when but newly Entring upon his Miniſtry.* A Letter, wherein he Diſcovers that Experimental Acquaintance with the Operations of *Sin*, and of *Grace*, upon the Souls of Men, which may Intimate how Eminent he was in One of the Accompliſhments moſt neceſſary to the *Miniſtry* of the Goſple, before he had yet *Entred* upon it. If *Chryſoſtom*, the *Ancient*, were ſometimes called *Inſignis Animorum tractandorum Artifex*, Reader, here was a *young man*, who effectually proved himſelf, *An Artiſt, at handling the Caſes of a Soul!* I Remember, that *Alexander More* judges Three certain *Epiſtles*, to be the moſt *Conſummate Pieces*, that ever the World ſaw; Namely, *That* of *Calvin* before his *Inſtitutions*; That of *Thuanus*, before his *Hiſtory*; and *That* of *Caſaubon*, before his *Polybius*. Now though this Epiſtle of our young **Mitchel**, come not into that *Claſs*, for the Embelliſhments of Literature, yet it has been Reckoned one of the moſt *Conſummate Pieces*, in the Methods of Addreſſing a *Troubled Mind.*

§ 6 The Extraordinary *Learning*, *Wiſdom*, *Gravity* and *Piety* of this Incomparable Young Man, cauſed ſeveral of the moſt Conſiderable Churches in the Countrey, to contrive how they might become Owners of ſuch a *Treaſure*, even before ever he had, by one Publick Sermon, brought forth any of the *Treaſure* wherewith Heaven had Endowed him. The Church of *Hartford* in particular, being therein Countenanced and Encouraged by the Reverend Mr. *Stone*, ſent a Man, and Horſe, above an Hundred miles, to obtain a viſit from him, in expectation to make him the Succeſſor of their ever famous *Hooker*, and though upon the firſt motion to him from *Hartford*, his Humble Soul, wrote theſe words, *I had more need get alone into a Corner, and weep, than think of Going out into the World, to Do ſuch Work: Darkneſs and Death clouds my Soul!* Yet he was prevailed withal to viſit them. At *Hartford* he Preached his Firſt Sermon. *June* 24. 1649.) upon *Heb.* 11. 27. *He Endured, as ſeeing Him who is Inviſible*; On which Action, though with his uſual *Humility*, he wrote this Reflection in his *Diary*; *In Preaching I was not to ſeek of what I had prepared; but my own Heart was Drie, Carnal and Unaffected, and methought I could not ſpeak with any Evidence, or Preſence of the Spirit of God; ſo that when I had done, I was deeply aſhamed within my ſelf, and could not but Loath my ſelf, to think how miſerably I had behaved my ſelf, in that High Employment, and how unſavoury, ſottiſh and fooliſh my Heart had been therein; I thought I, and all I did, well deſerved to be Loathed by God and man:* Yet that Judicious Aſſembly of Chriſtians, were ſo well pleaſed with the Labours whereof he himſelf thought ſo meanly, that in a Meeting the Day following, they Concluded to give him an Invitation to Settle among them: Adding, That if he ſaw it his beſt way to continue a year longer at the *Colledge*, they would however immediately upon his Acceptance of their Invitation advance a conſiderable Sum of Money, to aſſiſt him in furniſhing himſelf with a *Library* (not unlike what the *Uratiſlavian* Senate once did for the Hopeful young *Lucas Pollio*, when they ſaw him, *Juvenem Dotibus Ornatum a Deo, non vulgaribus:*) which they ſaid, was, *No new thing unto them, having had Mr.* Hooker's *Inſtruction for Doing ſo.*

But

But he durſt not then Accept of their kind Propoſals: For before his Journey to *Hartford*, the Renowned Mr. *Shepard*, with the Principal Perſons in *Cambridge*, had importunately pray'd him, that he would come down from *Hartford*, as free as he went up, inſomuch as he did upon divers Accounts moſt belong to *Cambridge*, and *Cambridge* did hope, that he would yet more belong unto them. When Mr. *Shepard* firſt mentioned this thing unto him, he did with his conſtant *Humility* record it in his Diary, with this Reflection, *Ego mirabar hinc rem: Quid in me videt Populus Dei. Totum Negotium Reliqui Deo agendum. I wondred at this matter! What is it that the People of God ſees in me? I left the whole Buſineſs to the Divine Management!* And now Returning to *Cambridge*, he no ſooner came into the Pulpit (*Aug.* 12. 1649.) but Mr. *Shepard*, muſt go out of it! Mr. *Shepard* in the Evening told him, *This was the Place where he ſhould, by right, be all the reſt of his Dayes:* and enquiring of ſome good People, *How* Mr. **Mitchel**'s *firſt Sermon was approved among them*; they told him, *Very well.* Then ſaid he, *My Work is done!* And behold, within a few Dayes more, that Great Man was by Death taken off, ſo that the Unanimous Deſire of *Cambridge* for Mr. **Mitchel** to be their Paſtor was Haſtened, with ſeveral Circumſtances of Neceſſity for him to Comply with their Deſire. But as the Jews uſed to ſay about the Birth of *R. Jehuda*, on the very ſame Day that another famous *Rabbi* dyed, *Eo die occidit Lux Iſraelis, et iterum Orta eſt*; So I may now ſay, *The ſame Day was the Light of* New-England, *Extinguiſhed and Revived!*

§. 7. *Occubuit Sol*; *Nox nulla Secuta eſt.* Upon the ſetting of *Shepard* there aroſe **Mitchel**, in whoſe *Light* not only the Church of *Cambridge*, but the Colledge, and the whole Country, were now *to Rejoyce for a Seaſon.* The Eyes of all *New-England* were upon him with *Great Expectations*; and he did more than anſwer their *Expectations*: for he was indeed *an Extraordinary Perſon.* But ſcarce a Paragraph of his *Life* can be written *to the Life*, without ſome Reflection upon that *Humility*, with which the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath *prepared* him for, and *adorned* him in all of that Figure, whereto he Arrived in the Service of the Churches. Juſt upon the Time of his Beginning his Miniſtry at *Cambridge*, he was taken dangerouſly Sick of the *Small Pox*, but though he were *Sick nigh unto Death*, *God had Mercy on him, and not on him only, but on all the Churches thro' this Wilderneſs in him.* No ſooner was he Recovered of that Sickneſs, but this Humble Soul wrote, *Octob* 4. 1649. in his *Diary*, (which after this time ſpoke *Engliſh*,) theſe among other paſſages: *It has been of late Weeks a ſpecial time of Adverſity with me, The Lord Help me to Conſider it! I might ſay,* My skin is Broken, and become Loathſome; *and* There is no Reſt in my Bones becauſe of my Sin, my Loins are filled with a loathſome Diſeaſe, and there is no ſoundneſs in my fleſh; *By ſuch a foul noiſom, filthy Diſeaſe, it well appeared, what I indeed was; as the Prophet ſpeaks,* Full of putrefying Sores, *It being at this Time, I was as a City ſet upon an Hill; That when I was attempting the Pure and Sacred Work of the Miniſtry, I ſhould be ſurprized with that Horrible Diſeaſe! Do I begin to be ſome Body in the world? God will make me Vile in the Eyes of the whole Country; God will Humble me before the Sun, and in the Sight of all* Iſrael. *He will have me begin my Miniſtry with this Diſeaſe: He knows, that I have need of a Great Deal of Purifying, before I come to that. A loathſome Sinner ſhall have a loathſome Sickneſs!* And the Grace of Heaven that made this Fit of *Sickneſs*, to be Conſidered thus as an *Humiliation* by this Eminent young man, then Entring upon his Miniſtry, did by continually Infuſing other Thoughts full of *Humiliation* into him, lay the *Foundation* of ſtately *Superſtructures.* As our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, entring upon His Miniſtry, endured the ſoreſt Conflict of *Temptation*, that He had ever met withal, ſo did this *Excellent Embaſſador* of that Lord; He had his Mind ſorely *Buffeted* with Amazing and Confounding Apprehenſions. Perhaps it will be many ways profitable unto ſome *Candidates* of the *Miniſtry*, as well as others to ſee theſe Papers Recite ſome of the *ſad Paſſages*, that rolled over the Soul of a moſt *Lovely Preacher*, when he was Beginning to Preach the *Goſpel of Peace.* We then find him at a Time, when every one admired the Excellencies that *Beautifyed* him, thus Writing and Thinking of himſelf, as the *Deformedeſt Sinner* in the World. At one time 'I have Lived in this World almoſt Twenty 'five years, and unto this Day have known little of God in Chriſt, made little Proviſion for 'Eternity, got little Acquaintance with the favour and love of God. How I have Improved 'this Time, Wo to me, I may be aſhamed to ſpeak, 'amazed to think! *At another time.* 'Lord, I 'know not whether ever ſuch a Sinner as I, came 'to Thee for Mercy; whether ever ſuch a work 'was done to any poor Wretch, as the ſaving of 'my Soul muſt be. *At another time.* 'I have 'run through all the means of Knowledge, and 'yet ſee no Truth Really, and in the Glory of 'it; All Afflictions, and yet am not Humbled nor 'Serious; All Mercies, and yet am not Thankfull; All Means of Good, and yet am Evil, only 'Evil, Tranſcendently Evil, in the higheſt Degree to this Day. *At another time.* 'If God 'do me any Good, or do any Good by me, it 'muſt be a Creating work. Lord, I am fit for 'nothing; (Good for nothing at all) neither to 'Live, nor Dye; neither to Teach, nor Learn; 'neither to Think, nor Speak; neither to Do, 'nor ſuffer; neither to Communicate Good, 'nor receive any; Go through all that I am, 'either within, or without, what am I, but Vileneſs, and Abomination? *At another time.* 'The 'Church will (I ſuppoſe) this day conſider, and 'determine a Day for Ordination; but did there 'ever ſuch a Creature, as I am, go about ſuch a 'buſineſs? I was low, and vile this time Twelvemonth, when they firſt made the Motion; but 'I am far lower and viler now. Great is the 'wrath of God that lyes upon me; and the tokens of it are in ſome reſpects increaſed. I cannot with Confidence go to God as my Father 'in Jeſus Chriſt. I know no Truth of God to

Gggg any

any purpoſe. I have no Treaſure of Chriſtian Experience: I know not what belongs to the main Matters of Converſion and Salvation. My Sin is enough to bring a Curſe upon all I do, and upon the whole place: I am under the very Feet of Satan, in reſpect of it. *Object. But ſhall not my Sin then hinder me, and make me Refuſe this Work of the Miniſtry?* Anſw. ‘ That is to mend one Sin with another. The more evil, and the leſs good I have done, the more need I have to give my ſelf up to do what Good I can now; I ſhould not chooſe my Sin, and leave God's Work; and if I caſt it away, and go to God to take it away, and wait on Him, 'tis poſſible with Him, to deliver me from it, and to Help me in His Work: Though that would be the greateſt Wonder, that ever was done! However, let me lye at his Feet, and leave my ſelf with Him. *Queſt. Why do I enter upon it?* Anſw. Becauſe God bids me, and commands me? *Luke* 5. He will have it ſo, and why ſhould my ſelf, or Sin, or Satan, ſay, What doſt Thou? *Object. But it may be God will take no pleaſure in me?* Anſw. I deſerve He ſhould not, but yet He deſerves to be Honoured and Served; and let it be my Happineſs and Joy to do that, whatever becomes of me at laſt. *At another time.* ‘ My Caſe is now ſuch (ſo Dreadful, Deſperate and Forlorn) as I think, there never was the like upon Earth, ſince *Adam* was formed, unto this Day: There is only this place of Hope, That there is a Degree of Mercy in God, beyond what any ever yet made uſe of! for no Man ever came to the End of Infinite Mercy: Lord, Honour Thy ſelf by me, ſome way or other, whatever become of me. *At another time.* Lord, It is the Hour and Power of Darkneſs with me; I feel the Dreadful Rage of Satan, and my vile Heart, now againſt me, to overturn me, and to cut off thy Name, which Thou calleſt me to bear in this place. I know not what will become of me, nor what to ſay to Thee; but I leave my Woful Soul, and ſelf to thy Diſpoſing, Lord, I am in Hell, wilt thou let me lye there? *At another time.* ‘ God hath put this Fear into my Heart, leſt this be the Fruit and Recompence of my Sin, that I ſhall never know God for mine in Truth, but Live and Dye, in an unſound and ſelf Deceiving way; that I ſhould have many Fears and Prayers, and good Affections, and Duties, and Hopes, and Ordinances, and Seemings, but never an Heart ſoundly Humbled, and ſoundly Comforted unto my Dying Day, but be a Son of Perdition to the laſt, and never have God's ſpecial Love Revealed and Aſſured to me! Lord, keep this Fear alive in my Heart! Such Paſſages as theſe, abundantly diſcover the *Contritions*, that laid him exceeding *Low*, in his own Apprehenſion of himſelf, at the Time when God was raiſing him to *High* Improvements among His People; and it was by theſe *Abaſements*, that Heaven prepared him for thoſe *Improvements*. But being, after ſuch *Preparations*, called forth to the Service of the Churches, his Employments came in ſo thick upon him, that he had not ſuch leiſure as heretofore to Enrich his *Diarys*, with his Obſervations. He was at length reduced unto this Cuſtom, that Ordinarily, on the Week before he adminſtred the Sacrament of the *Lord's-Supper*, which was once in two Months, he ſpent a Day in *Prayer* with *Faſting* before the Lord; and one of his Exerciſes on ſuch a Day, was to Remind and Record, ſuch Paſſages of Divine Providence towards *Himſelf*, his *Houſe*, his *Flock*, the whole *Country*, yea, and the whole *Nation*, as he judged Uſeful to be Remembred with him; and ſuch eſpecially as might Quicken the *Humiliations* and the *Supplications*, wherein he was engaged.

§. 8. The *Death* of Mr. *Shepard*, was a *Death-wound* unto the Soul of Mr. **Mitchel**, whoſe Veneration for the Great Holineſs, Learning, and Wiſdom, of his Predeceſſor, cauſed him to *Lament* exceedingly the Loſs of ſo Rich a Bleſſing, and begin his own Publick Miniſtry, at *Cambridge* with Sermons full of thoſe *Lamentations*. Indeed when he had Occaſion to mention his own Living *Four Years* under Mr. *Shepard*'s Miniſtry, he added, *Unleſs it had been four years living in Heaven, I know not how I could have more cauſe to bleſs God with Wonder, than for thoſe Four Years.* Under an Affliction, which he ſo much reſented, the Comfort which he ſo ſought for himſelf, he thus expreſſed: *What a bleſſed Thing is it to have this Mediator, the Man Chriſt Jeſus to go unto, when I have no Friend that I can fully ſpeak to, and open all my Complaints and Ails into his Boſom? I think, were Mr.* Shepard *now alive, I would go and intreat his Counſel and Help, and Prayer. Why, now I may go freely into the Boſom of the Man Chriſt Jeſus, who is able, faithful, tender-hearted above the beſt of meer Men. And I may go, and tell him not only my Sorrows (and yet that is no ſmall matter) but alſo my Sins, all my Sins; though not without ſhame, yet without fearful Deſpair. I may complain to Him of a ſtrong Luſt, and of an hard Heart. And He does not only Pity me (and that He does more than any Man could do) but is alſo fully able to Help me againſt Sorrow, yea, and againſt Sin too. And in him, I may ſee, and take hold of the Pity, and Love. and Grace of God the Father, who through Him, is well-pleaſed.* But that he might ſignalize his Affection to the Predeceſſor, he ſpeedily took the Pains to peruſe and publiſh the Sermons of that Worthy Man, upon the *Parable of the Ten Virgins*, which make a Volumn in *Folio*; with a moſt Excellent, and Judicious Preface of *his* thereunto. Which afterwards, was not without its *Recompence* in the *Providence* of God, when after his own Death, his own Sermons upon *The Glory to which God hath called Believers by Jeſus Chriſt* (carefully Tranſcribed, and ſo Tranſmitted by Captain *Laurence Hammond* of *Charlſtown*, to whoſe Cares about it, the Church is now beholden for this Treaſure) were by ſome ſurviving Friends, printed at *London*. And he whom I have once already compared unto

Pollio, who dyed, when between Forty and Fifty Years old, was in *this* alſo, like that *German* Divine, who left behind him a Book of Sermons, *De Vita æterna*, whereof *Melchior Adam* ſays, *Non ſolum ſuæ Confeſſionis Homines omnium Ordinum in Deliciis habuerunt*, *atque habent*; *ſed etiam Adverſariorum nonnulli*, *minus moroſi probaverunt*: Both *Friends* and *Foes* approved it. The young Gentlewoman, whom his Predeceſſor had married a little before his Deceaſe, *He* now alſo married upon the General Recommendations of that Widow unto him; and the *Epithalamiums*, which the Students of the Colledge then Celebrated that Marriage withal, were expreſſive of the Satisfaction, which it gave unto all the Good People in the Vicinity. Howbeit, before this, he had addreſſed himſelf unto the Venerable Old Mr. *Cotton*, for Leave to become his Son-in-law, and Mr. *Cotton* prognoſticating the Eminency, which he would arrive unto, had given Leave unto it: But the Immature Death of that Hopeful Young Gentlewoman Mrs. *Sarah Cotton* preventing ſo deſirable a Match, made way for his purſuing and obtaining this other Settlement. Being ſo ſettled; he wholly gave himſelf up to the Services of his Miniſtry, with ſuch a Diſpoſition, as he expreſſed in his *Parting Advice* to another, who Travelling from hence to *England*, had theſe Words from him at his *Farewel*; *My ſerious Advice to you is*, *That you keep out of Company*, *as far as Chriſtianity and Civility will give you leave*; *Take it from me*; *The Time ſpent in your Study you will generally find ſpent the moſt Profitably*, *Comfortably and Accountably.*

§. 9. *Eighteen Years* did he continue a Paſtor to the Church of *Cambridge*. And as that which encouraged him to Accept at firſt the Paſtoral Charge of that Flock, was his being able to write that Character of them, *That they were a Gracious*, *Savoury-ſpirited People*, *principled by Mr.* Shepard, *liking an Humbling*, *Mourning*, *Heart-breaking Miniſtry and Spirit*; *Living in Religion*, *Praying Men and Women*: *Here* (ſaid He) *I might have Occaſions of many ſweet Heart-breakings before God*, *which I have ſo much need of!* So the Continual *Prayers* of ſuch a People to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt for him doubtleſs contributed more than a little unto his being furniſhed from Heaven with ſuch Rich *Treaſures* of *Light* and *Grace*, as made his *Miniſtry* richly ſerviceable unto them all. In this his *Miniſtry* he preached over a great part of the Body of *Divinty*. And as *Paul* appealed unto his two firſt Chapters to the *Epheſians*, thus in ſome Degree, an Appeal might have been made unto thoſe Labours of this Admirable Preacher, to demonſtrate his *Knowledge of the Myſtery of Chriſt*. He made a moſt Entertaining *Expoſition* on the Book of *Geneſis*, and part of *Exodus*; [an Evangelical *Targum* of *Jonathan*] he made many Incomparable Diſcourſes on the four firſt Chapters of *John*: *Occaſional Subjects* he alſo Handled many with much Variety: He likewiſe kept a *Monthly Lecture*, where he largely Handled Man's *Miſery* by Sin, and *Salvation* by Chriſt, and entred on the Doctrine of *Obedience* due thereupon; and vaſt Aſſemblies of People from all the Neighbouring Towns reckoned it highly worth their Pains to repair unto that *Lecture*. The *Sermons*, wherewith he fed the Church of God, were admirably *Well-ſtudied*; they ſtill ſmelt of the *Lamp*; and, indeed, if there were nothing elſe to prove it, yet the Notes which he wrote in his Preparations for his Publick Exerciſes, were Proof enough of his being an Indefatigable *Student*. He ordinarily medled with no Point, but what he managed with ſuch an extraordinary *Invention*, Curious *Diſpoſition*, and Copious *Application*, as if he would leave no material Thing to be ſaid of it, by any that ſhould come after him. And when he came to Utter what he had Prepared, his Utterance had ſuch a becoming *Tuneableneſs*, and *Vivacity*, to ſet it off, as was indeed *Inimitable*; though many of our Eminent Preachers, that were in his Time Students at the *Colledge*, did eſſay to Imitate him. It has been obſerved by others, as well as *Jerom*, that *Quæ firmiter concepimus*, *bene loquimur*, *ſiquidem Talia in Animæ Subſtantiam quaſi Concoquendo ſunt Converſa*; And our **Mitchel**, having accordingly well *Concocted* what he was to deliver, with clear and ſtrong Thoughts upon it, expreſſed it with a Natural *Eloquence*, which, (as *Tully* ſays of all True *Eloquence*) caſt the Hearers into *Wonderment*. Profound *Meditation* having firſt, in his *Heart* got ready a well compoſed *Meat-Offering* for the Houſe of God, his *Tongue* was as the *Pen of a Ready Writer* to bring it forth: and his Auditories uſually counted themſelves at a *Feaſt* with the Inhabitants of Heaven, while he was thus Entertaining of them. His Preaching was not that which Dr. *Manton* would juſtly Rebuke under the Name of *Gentleman-Preaching*: Or, a ſort of *Harangue* finely laced and guilded with ſuch *Phalerate Stuff*, as plainly diſcovers the Vanity of them, that *jingle* with it: but he ſtill ſpoke, as reckoning, that if *Seneca*'s Philoſopher was to remember, *Ad miſeros vocatus es*; *opem laturus Naufragis*, *Captis*, *Ægris*, *Intentæ ſecuri ſubjectum præſtantibus Caput*: Such a thing is much more to be Remembred by a *Miniſter* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Hence, though he had a very *Clean Style*, and ſpoke, — *Munda*, *ſed e medio*, *Conſuetaque verba*; — by the ſame Token, that when he had once uſed one Word, in the Pulpit, which it may be, no Body elſe beſides himſelf would have ſo ſeverely *Criticiſed* upon, after he came home, he wrote a ſevere Animadverſion upon it; *I was after in my ſelf aſhamed of it* (he wrote) *as being a Phraſe too courſe for the Pulpit!* Nevertheleſs, he had alſo a *Plain Style*, for which he might have been juſtly called, as *Melancthon* was by *Keckerman*, *Ille*, *ut ſic dicam*, *Perſpicuitatis Genius*; but ſo pungently improved, that what he *ſpoke*, was *felt* by his Hearers, as *Quick and Powerful*. One, that hath addreſſed the World with a Treatiſe of *Eccleſiaſtical Rhetorick*, ſaith, *Credat mihi Miniſterii Candidatus*; *Tria ſunt*, *quæ valde commendant Concionatorem*; *Vocis Amabilitas*, *Epithetorum Empha-*

ſis, & Connexionis Concinnitas: Now all of theſe *Three Commendations* did belong to the Preaching of our *Mitchel*. And, as it was the Remark of that then *Matchleſs* Preacher *Bucholtzer*, to whom I have often in my Thoughts *match'd* our *Mitchel*, *That a Preacher was known by his Peroration*, ſo 'twas remarkt of our *Mitchel*, that tho' he were all along in his Preaching, *as a very lovely Song of one that hath a pleaſant Voice*, yet as he drew near to the Cloſe of his Exerciſes, his Comely *Fervency* would riſe to a marvellous Meaſure of *Energy*; He would ſpeak with ſuch a Tranſcendent *Majeſty* and *Livelineſs*, that the People (more *Thunderſtruck* than they that heard *Cicero*'s Oration for *Ligarius*) would often *Shake* under his Diſpenſations, as if they had Heard the *Sound* of the *Trumpets* from the *Burning Mountain*, and yet they would *Mourn* to think, that they were going preſently to be diſmiſſed from ſuch an *Heaven upon Earth*. He had indeed an Uncommon Meaſure of that Priviledge, that is Reported of *Bucholtzer*, *Ut, licet nonniſi finita Hora Altera peroraret, nullum tamen Audiendi Tædium, vel e media cuiquam plebe, Obrepſerit:* Though he preached *Long Sermons*, the People were never weary of *Hearing* them. Vaſt was the Happineſs of the *Scholars* at the Colledge, and (in them) of all the *Churches* in the Country, while *Cambridge* was illuminated with ſuch a Miniſtry! It was a Reflection upon this Matter long ſince Printed unto the World; *Reaſon and Prudence requireth, that the Miniſter of that Place, be more than Ordinarily endowed with Learning, Gravity and Wiſdom, Orthodoxy, Ability, Excellent Gifts in Preaching, that ſo the Scholars, which are Devoted to be Preachers of the Goſpel, might be ſeaſoned with the Spirit of ſuch an* Elijah: *In which Regards this Holy Man of God was eminently furniſhed; and his Labours were abundantly bleſſed: For, very many of the Scholars bred up in his time (as is obſerved) do ſavour of his Spirit for Grace, and a moſt attractive manner of Preaching.* Truly, as it was no rare thing for a *German* Divine to give ſolemn Thanks unto God, *For being born in the Days of* Melancthon; ſo there is many a *New-Engliſh* Divine, who has given Thanks to God, *For their being at the Colledge in the Days of* **Mitchel**. But it muſt here be added, That altho' the chief Labours of this Exemplary *Paſtor* were in the *Study*, and the *Pulpit*, yet he did not think himſelf thereby excuſed from thoſe *Paſtoral Viſits* which his Flock expected from him. Herein he viſited at fit Hours, which he ſet apart for it, the ſeveral Families of his *Flock*; not upon Trivial Deſigns, but with ſerious and ſolemn Addreſſes to their Souls upon Matter of their *Everlaſting Peace*; and the *Gildas Salvianus* of Mr. *Baxter* was herein our **Mitchel** himſelf, as well as much Read and Priz'd by this Faithful *Paſtor*, who *Watch'd for Souls, as one that was to give an Account.*

§. 10. What he was in his *Miniſtry*, the ſame he was in his *Diſcipline*, when *Offences* aroſe, that called for his Conſideration, in the Church whereto he was related: *Faithful, Prudent, Zealous, Holy*, and like an *Angel* of a Church, *Not Bearing with thoſe that are Evil.* When a publick *Admonition* was to be diſpenſed unto any One, that had offended ſcandalouſly, one could have heard nothing more *Pathetical*, or more *Powerful*, than his Diſcourſes, on thoſe unwelcome Occaſions; the Hearers would be all drowned in Tears, as if the *Admonition* had been, as indeed he would with much *Artifice* make it be directed unto them *all*; but ſuch would be the *Compaſſion*, and yet the *Gravity*, the *Majeſty*, the Scriptural and Awful *Pungency* of theſe his Diſpenſations, that the *Conſcience* of the Offender himſelf, could make no Reſiſtance thereunto. But when the Lord Jeſus Chriſt intends to make any *Steward* in His Houſe, eminently *Prudent* and *Faithful*, He commonly *Tries* that Perſon, by Ordering ſome very Difficult *Church Caſes* to ariſe, quickly after his firſt Entrance upon the *Stewardſhip*. Some ſuch Thorny *Church-Caſes* did ſoon Exerciſe the Thoughts of this truly *Aged young Man*; in all of which he conſcientiouſly conſidered the *Rights* of the Fraternity to judge in their own *Church-Caſes*, as that Renowned Miniſter, and Martyr, the Bleſſed *Cyprian* did, when he could ſay in one of his Epiſtles unto his Flock, *From the very Beginning of my Miniſtry, I determined to do nothing without the Conſent of my People:* And again, *All Church Affairs, as mutual Reſpect requireth* [in commune tractabimus] *we will manage them in common*; and again, He would Reſtore and Admit none, but thoſe who *ſhould plead their cauſe before all the people*; [Acturi apud plebem univerſam Cauſam ſuam:] and order none of their Matters, but [præſentibus et Judicantibus vobis,] *with their Preſence and Judgment*. And if Mr. **Mitchel** had heard any reckon the *Liberty* of the *Bretbren* thus confeſſed in the Days of *Cyprian*, to be an *Apoſtaſy* from what was *in the Beginning*, he would have ask'd them, whether they reckon'd the Loſs of this *Liberty* afterwards in the Riſe of *Popery*, to be any *Beginning*, or Tendency towards *Church-Reformation*, and Recovery? Now tho' this *Liberty* of the *Brethren*, which our **Mitchel** according to the Primitive *Congregational Church-Diſcipline* allow'd, be that wherein for the moſt part the Repoſe of the *Paſtors* has been by the Compaſſionate Wiſdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt provided for, yet ſome *Trouble* ſometimes has ariſen to the *Paſtors* from the *Brethrens* abuſe of their Liberty, which has call'd for much *Patience* and *Prudence* in thoſe that have the Rule over them. And ſo there did unto our **Mitchel**, who on this Occaſion, as on all others, was readier ſtill to condemn himſelf, than any others; and once particularly recorded this Paſſage in his Diary. *I was Troubled*, [at ſome improper Cavils from the Brethren] *and I fear ſpake not ſo Lovingly and Prudently as I ſhould have done. I feel my Spirit ready to riſe, and forget my Principles of Lying low in the Duſt, and bearing with others Infirmities, and becoming all Things to all Men, for their Edification. Oh Lord Humble me, and Teach me how to carry it!* Thus did this Excellent Perſon write, when he was Enumerating his Humbling Circumſtances, in

in a *Secret Faſt* before the Lord. But there was an *Harder Caſe* than any of theſe to Exercise him. Our **Mitchel**, preſently upon his becoming the *Paſtor* of *Cambridge*, met with a more than ordinary Trial, in that the Good Man, who was then the *Præſident* of the Colledge, and a Member of the Church there, was unaccountably fallen into the *Briars* of *Antipædobaptiſm*; and being *briar'd* in the *Scruples* of that Perſwaſion, he not only forbore to preſent an *Infant* of his own unto the *Baptiſm* of our Lord, but alſo thought himſelf under ſome Obligation to bear his Teſtimony in ſome Sermons againſt the Adminiſtration of *Baptiſm* to any *Infant* whatſoever. The *Brethren* of the Church were ſomewhat vehement and violent in their ſignifying of their Diſſatisfaction at the Obſtruction, which the *Renitencies* of that Gentleman threatned unto the Peaceable Practice of *Infant-Baptiſm*, wherein they had hitherto walked; and judged it neceſſary for the Vindication of the Churches Name abroad in the Country, and for the Safety of the Congregation at home, to deſire of him, that he would ceaſe *Preaching* as formerly, until he had better ſatisfied himſelf in the Point now doubted by him. At theſe things extream was the Uneaſineſs of our **Mitchel**, who told the Brethren, *That more Light and leſs Heat would do better*: but yet ſaw the Zeal of ſome againſt this Good Man's Error, to puſh this Matter on ſo far, that being but a *Young Man*, he was likely now to be Embaraſſed in a Controverſie with ſo Conſiderable a Perſon, and with one who had been his *Tutor*, and a *Worthy* and a *Godly Man*. He could give this Account of it, *Through the Churches being apt to Hurry on too faſt, and too impatiently, I found my ſelf much oppreſſed; eſpecially Conſidering my own Weakneſs to grapple with theſe Difficulties; This Buſineſs did lye down, and riſe up, ſleep and wake with me: It was a diſmal Thing to me, that I ſhould live to ſee Truth or Peace dying or decaying in poor* Cambridge. But while he was with a *Prudence* incomparably beyond what might have been expected from a *Young Man* managing this *Thorny Buſineſs*, he ſaw Cauſe to Record a Paſſage, which perhaps will be judged worthy of ſome Remembrance. *That Day* (writes he, *Decemb.* 24. 1653.) *after I came from him, I had a ſtrange Experience: I found Hurrying and Preſſing Suggeſtions againſt* Pædobaptiſm, *and injected Scruples and Thoughts whether the other way might not be right, and* Infant-Baptiſm *an Invention of Men; and whether I might with good Conſcience baptiſe Children, and the like. And theſe Thoughts were darted in with ſome Impreſſion, and left a ſtrange Confuſion and Sickneſs upon my Spirit. Yet methought, it was not hard to diſcern, that they were from the EVIL ONE.* Firſt, *Becauſe they were rather* injected, *hurrying Suggeſtions, than any deliberate Thoughts, or bringing any Light with them.* Secondly, *Becauſe they were* Unſeaſonable; *Interrupting me in my Study for the Sabbath, and putting my Spirit into a Confuſion, ſo as I had much ado, to do ought in my Sermon. It was not now a time to Study that Matter; but when in the former part of the Week, I had given my ſelf to that Study, the more I ſtudied it, the more Clear and Rational Light I ſaw for* Pædo-baptiſm. *But now theſe Suggeſtions hurryed me into* Scruples. *But they made me cry out to God for His Help; and He did afterward Calm and clear up my Spirit. I thought the End of them was,* Firſt, *To ſhew me the Corruption of my* Mind; *How apt that was to take in Error, even as my* Heart *is to take in Luſt.* Secondly, *To make me walk in* Fear, *and take hold on Jeſus Chriſt to keep me in the Truth; and it was a Check to my former* Self-Confidence, *and it made me fearful to go needleſly to Mr.* D. *for methought I found a Venom and Poiſon in his Inſinuations and Diſcourſes againſt* Pædobaptiſm. Thirdly, *That I might be mindful of the* Aptneſs *in others to be ſoon ſhaken in Mind, and that I might warn others thereof, and might know how to ſpeak to them from* Experience. *And indeed my former* Experience *of* Irreligious Injection *was ſome Help to me to diſcover the Nature of Theſe. I Reſolved alſo on Mr.* Hooker's *Principle*, That I would have an Argument able to remove a Mountain, before I would recede from, or appear againſt a Truth or Practice, received among the Faithful. *After the Sabbath was over, and I had time to reflect upon the Thoughts of thoſe things, thoſe Thoughts of Doubt departed, and I returned unto my former Frame.* The Troubles thus impending over the Church of *Cambridge*, did Mr. **Mitchel** happily wade through; partly, by much *Prayer* with *Faſting*, in ſecret, before God, for the good Iſſue of theſe things; partly, by getting as much Help as he could from the *Neighbouring Miniſters*, to be interpoſed in theſe *Difficulties*; and partly, by uſing much *Meekneſs of Wiſdom* towards the Erroneous Gentleman; for whom our Mr. **Mitchel** continued ſuch an Eſteem, that although his Removal from the Government of the *Colledge*, and from his Dwelling Place in *Cambridge*, had been procured by theſe Differences, yet when he dyed, *He* Honoured him with an *Elegy*, from which I will tranſcribe one *Stanza* or two, becauſe it very truly points out that Generous, Gracious, *Catholick Spirit*, which adorned that Perſon, who wrote it.

Where Faith in JESUS *is Sincere,*
That Soul, He Saving, pardoneth;
What Wants, or Errors elſe be there,
That may and do Conſiſt therewith.

And though we be Imperfect *here,*
And in One Mind *can't often meet,*
Who Know *in part, in part may* Err,
Though Faith *be* One, All *do not ſee't:*

Yet may we once the Reſt obtain,
In Everlaſting Bliſs above,
Where Chriſt with Perfect Saints *doth Reign,*
In Perfect Light *and* Perfect Love:

Then ſhall we all Like-minded *be,*
Faith's Unity *is there full-grown;*
There One Truth, *all both* Love *and* See,
And thence are Perfect made in One.

There

There Luther *both and* Zuinglius,
Ridley *and* Hooper, *there agree*;
There all the truly Righteous,
Sans *Feud live to Eternity.*

But there was a *ſpecial Deſign* of Heaven in Ordering theſe Trials to befal our **Mitchel**, thus in the Beginning of his Miniſtry. *He* was hereby put upon Studying and Maintaining the Doctrine of *Infant-Baptiſm*; and of Defending the *Viſible Intereſt* of the *Children* of the Faithful in the *Covenant of Grace*, under the *New* Adminiſtration of it, as well as under the *Old*, wherein we all know the *Infants* of Believers enjoyed the *Seal* of being made *Righteous by Faith*. In the Defence of this *Comfortable Truth*, he not only Preached more than half a ſcore ungainſayable Sermons, while his own Church was in ſome Danger by the *Hydrophobie* of *Anabaptiſm*, which was come upon the Mind of an Eminent Perſon in it; but alſo when afterwards the Reſt of the Churches were *Troubled* by a ſtrong Attempt upon them from the *Spirit of Anabaptiſm*; there was a *Publick Diſputation* appointed at *Boſton* two Days together, for the clearing of the *Faith* in this Article, this Worthy Man was *he*, who did moſt Service, in this Diſputation; whereof the Effect was, that although the *Erring Brethren*, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, made this their Laſt Anſwer to the Arguments, which had caſt them into much Confuſion, *Say what you will, We will Hold our Mind!*

[*Concurrat veterum licet in Te turba, potes Tu,*
Hac omnes una vincere voce, Nego:]

Yet others were happily eſtabliſhed in the *Right Ways of the Lord*. Nor was this all the Good and Great Work, for which this rare Perſon was marvellouſly prepared, by theſe Temptations: There is a further Stroke of our *Church-Hiſtory*, to be here *briefly* Touched, though elſewhere more *fully* to be given.

§. 11. **New-England** was a *Wilderneſs* Planted by a People, generally ſo Remarkable in their Holy Zeal for the Ordinances belonging to the Houſe of God, that for the ſake of Enjoying the Adminſtrations of thoſe Ordinances with *Scriptural Purity*, they had undergone the ſevere *Perſecutions* which at laſt Exiled them into that *American* Wilderneſs: And hence there were few People of any Significancy in the Tranſplantation, but what at their firſt Coming over, joyned themſelves unto the *full Communion* of the Churches in all *ſpecial Ordinances*, though many of them had (I ſay not, juſtifiably) made the *Terms* of their Communion ſo ſtrict, that it might juſtly have been reckoned a difficult thing for ſome *Sincere Chriſtians* of ſmaller Attainments in *Chriſtianity* to come up unto them. For this cauſe, although ſeveral of our *Seers* did ſo far *See* the State, which our Matters would e're long devolve into, that they Laboured much to have the *Principles* of Truth concerning *The Church State of the Children born in the Church* Declared and Aſſerted, in the *Platform of Church Diſcipline*, among the *Firſt Principles of* New-England, nevertheleſs many Worthy Men were ſlow to make any *Synodical Deciſion* of thoſe *Principles*, until there ſhould ariſe more Occaſion for the *Practices*, that were to be deduced from them. This Occaſion did in Twenty or Thirty Years time come on with ſome *Importunity* and *Impetuoſity*, when the Country began to be filled with the Adult *Poſterity* of the *Firſt Planters*; among which there were Multitudes of Perſons, who by the good Effects of a pious Education under the Means of Grace obſervable upon them in their Profeſſion of the *Faith*, not contradicted by any thing ſcandalous in their *Life*, deſerved another Conſideration in the *Churches*, than what was allowed unto *Pagans*; and yet were not ſo far improved in all the Points of *Experimental Godlineſs*, that they could boldly Demand an Admiſſion unto the *Myſteries* at the *Table* of the Lord; the Conditions whereof confined it unto Perſons that were ſenſibly *Grown in Grace, and in the Knowledge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. The moſt of the Miniſters *then*, and before *then*, in the Land, were deſirous to have the thus *Qualified Poſterity* of the *Faithful*, acknowledged in the Churches, as the *Nurſery*, from whence a ſucceſſive Supply of *Communicants* was to be expected; and it was their Deſire that this *Nurſery* might be *Watered* with *Baptiſm*, and *Pruned* with *Diſcipline*, as well as otherwiſe *Dreſſed* by the *Miniſtry of the Word*. Yea, they thought, that beſides the Internal Benefits of the *New Covenant* unto the *Elect* of God, the *Sealing* of that *Covenant* unto them, that were viſibly the *Right Subjects* of it, would be an *Aſſurance* from God, that when theſe Perſons grew up to years of Diſcretion, He would infallibly make them the *Offer* of His *Covenant*, and ſo continue the *Goſpel* of it among them: Whereas if *They* and *Theirs* were no other accounted of than *Heathens*, there would not paſs many Generations, before the *Sacred Religion of Chriſt*, would, through the *juſt Wrath* of Heaven be loſt among them in utter *Heatheniſm*. However, all Men did not then *ſee all things!* When the Church of *Roxbury* particularly in the Year 1653. was put upon Doing what was their Duty in this reſpect, our **Mitchel** was yet (he ſaid) *in the dark about it*; he wiſhed and wrote, *That it might not yet be preſſed*; and added, *The Lord teach me Humility, Modeſty, and Wiſdom in theſe things!* Many a day did this Excellent Man ſpend now in *Praying* with *Faſting* before God; and when he was thus engaged in the Exerciſes of a Sacred and Secret *Faſt*, I find him, inſerting *this*, as not the leaſt cauſe of his being ſo engaged: *The Caſe of the Children of the Church in Regard of the Doctrine and Practice about it. Oh! that God would ſhew me His Mind and Way clearly in thoſe things: Enable me to Teach them convincingly, and ſet upon the Practice thereof: and that the whole Country might be guided aright therein*; *That* Abraham's *Commanding Power might have its due Exerciſe as to the Children of our Churches. And that all the remaining Knots and Difficulties about*

bout Church-Diſcipline, *and the Management of Chriſt's viſible Kingdom might once be reſolved according to the Word. Lord, Humble me, and proſper my poor Studies, and Teach me to know and do thy whole Will herein!* as Ezek. 43. 11. And at another Time; *The Points about* Church-Diſcipline, *I have been long aiming to look more throughly into. Lord, Help and Guide me therein! and Grant that I may be kept from Extreams (the great Undoing of the World:) both from immoderate Rigidneſs on the one Hand, either in Principles, Spirit, or Practice; and on the other hand, from wronging either Truth, or Conſcience, by any ſinful Compliance.* To theſe Devotions, he joyned indefatigable *Studies* upon the great Queſtion then agitated; and the *Determination* of the Queſtion at laſt, was more Owing unto *him*, than unto any *One Man* in the World: For He was a *Great Part* in that Renowned *Synod*; that met at *Boſton* in the Year 1662. The Reſult of the *Synod* afterwards publiſhed, was chiefly of his Compoſure, and when a moſt Elaborate Anſwer to that Reſult was publiſhed by ſome very worthy Perſons, that were then *Diſſenters*, the Hardeſt Service in the *Defence* was aſſigned unto him. In fine, Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made this *Great* Man, even while he was yet a *Young* Man, one of the Greateſt Inſtruments we ever had, of Explaining and Maintaining the *Truths*, relating to the *Church-State* of the *Poſterity* in our Churches, and of the *Church Care*, which our Churches owe unto their *Poſterity*: And I have laid before the Reader one of the moſt Extenſive and Expenſive Labours, that exhauſted his Life, when I have mentioned *The Propoſitions of the Synod about the Subject of Baptiſm.* All that remains neceſſary to Illuſtrate this Paragraph of our Hiſtory, is to Deſcribe in a Line or two, the *Diſpoſition* which our **Mitchel** did proſecute this *Grand Concern* withal; and I will therefore only *Tranſcribe* a little from a Judicious Letter of his, to Mr. *Increaſe Mather* upon that Subject, which that Reverend Perſon afterwards Printed unto the World; with an Unanſwerable Vindication of theſe *Firſt Principles of New-England*, both from the Imputations of *Apoſtacy*, by ſome ignorantly caſt upon them, and from whatever other *Objections* might be advanced againſt them. '*As for the Subſtance of the Cauſe* wherein we have Engaged (ſaith he) I am daily more and more confirmed, that it is the Cauſe of *Truth*, and of *Chriſt*, and that wherein, not a little of the *Intereſt of Chriſt's Kingdom*, and of the *Souls of Men*, is laid up. We have been reflected upon by ſome, as *ſeeking our ſelves*, and Driving on, I know not what Deſign; though I cannot readily Imagine, what *ſelf-Intereſt* or *ſelf-End*, we here ſhould be led by in this matter; Sure I am, that for my *own part*, I prejudice my ſelf much, as to *Name*, *Intereſt*, and *Eaſe*, for my appearing in *this Cauſe*: Neither was I ſo unſenſible, as not to feel it *from the Firſt*. I know my ſelf to be a poor, vile, ſinful Creature, and I can with ſome feeling ſay, *Chief of Sinners*, and *Leaſt of Saints*; but in this particular matter, I have often ſaid, *I wiſh my Brethren could ſee through me*; for I know not any *Deſign* or *Deſire* I have in it in all the World, but only that the *Will of God* might be done among us, *His Kingdom* be advanced, theſe *Churches* ſettled on *Right Baſes*, and flouriſh in the Ways of *Truth*, *Purity* and *Peace*, and that the Good of the *Souls* of Men might be promoted both in this, and after Generations. Touching the *Matter* it ſelf, that hath been in Debate pleaſe to conſider at leiſure, theſe *Three Propoſitions*.

'Firſt, The *whole viſible Church*, under the *New Teſtament* is to be *Baptized*.

'Secondly, If a Man be one in the *Church*, (whether admitted at *Age*, or in *Infancy*) nothing leſs than *Cenſurable Evil*, can put him out.

'Thirdly, If the *Parent* be in the *Viſible Church*, his Infant *Child* is ſo alſo.

'Whether the Perſons deſcribed in the *Fifth Propoſition* of the *Synod* ſhould be *Baptized*, as a *Catholick*, or in a *Particular* Church-ſtate, is another Queſtion: And I confeſs my ſelf not altogether ſo peremptory in *this Latter*, as I am in the *Thing* it ſelf; [viz. *That they ought to be baptized*,] yet ſtill I think, when all Stones are turned it will come to this, *That all the Baptized are and ought to be under Diſcipline in particular Churches*.

And now 'tis more than time for us to diſmiſs this part of our *Mitchellian* Pourtraiture, from any further *Elaborations*.

§. 12. Mr. **Mitchel**'s Deſire had been, *To be kept from Extreams*; and indeed there was nothing more *Obſervable* in his *Temper*, than ſuch a Study of a *Temper* in all Difficult Matters, as renders a Perſon *aimable*, wherever 'tis *Obſervable*. I remember, I have met with a Note of a very famous Preacher, who, in the midſt of many *Temptations on both Hands*, relieved himſelf by Interpreting from the Context that Paſſage in Eccleſ. 7. 18. *He that feareth God ſhall come forth from them all*, to be meant of a Deliverance out of all *Extreams*. *The Fear of God* in our **Mitchel** had this Effect, and Reward: And his *wiſe coming forth from all Extreams*, was no where more Conſpicuous, than in thoſe points of *Church-Diſcipline*, for the clearing of which he had been, (I may ſay *Extreamly*) exerciſed. Had the ſweet, Charitable, Amicable *Spirit*, that ſignalized this Good Man, been expreſſed by all good Men, as much as it was by him, a great part of the *Eccleſiaſtical Differences* in the World had been evaporated, and it had not been ſo long before the Names of *Presbyterian* and *Congregational*, had been *melted down* into that *One* of **United Brethren**. It was the Wiſh of our **Mitchel**, to have thoſe Two Things in the *State* of the *Church*, livelily repreſented unto the *Senſe* of the *World*: Firſt, the *Grace*, and then at the ſame time, the *Holineſs*, of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the King of the *Church*; and for the Obtaining of ſuch a Repreſentation, he thought nothing more effectual, than the *Middle Way*; For the *Children* of the Faithful to be taken within the *Verge of the Church*, under the *Wings* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his Ordinances, and under *Church Care*, Diſcipline,

and

and Government, and to be in a State of *Initiation* and *Education* in the Church of God, and conſequently to have *Baptiſm*, which is the *Seal* of *Initiation:* But that they ſhall not come up to the *Lord's Table*, nor be admitted unto an *equal ſhare* with the *Communicants* in the Management of *Church Affairs* peculiar to *them*, until, as a Fruit of the aforeſaid *Helps* and *Means*, they attain unto ſuch *Qualifications*, as may render their Admiſſion fair, ſafe, and comfortable, both to themſelves and others. His Words were, *We make account. that if we keep* Baptiſm *within the Compaſs of the* Non-Excommunicable, *and the* Lord's Supper, *within the Compaſs of thoſe that have* (unto Charity) *ſomewhat of the* Power of Godlineſs (*or*, Grace in Exerciſe) *we ſhall be near about the Right* Middle-way *of* Church-Reformation. And hence, when he had pleaded with as Irreſiſtible *Reaſon*, as Indefatigable *Study*, for the *Grace* of the *Kingdom of Heaven* to be exhibited in our Churches, by Adminiſtring the *Baptiſm* of the Lord unto the *Perſons*, and *Infants* of all, who *underſtand the Doctrine of Faith*, and *publickly profeſs their Aſſent thereunto*, and *are not ſcandalous in Life*, and *Solemnly own the Covenant of Grace before the Church, and Subject themſelves, and theirs unto the Lord in His Church:* He then ſet himſelf to plead for the *Holineſs* of that *Kingdom*, to be exhibited in the Churches, not only by *Cenſuring* the *Baptized*, when they fell into Scandalous Evils, but alſo by *Requiring* further Degrees of *Preparation*, in thoſe that they received unto the *Supper* of the Lord. Nothing was more agreeable unto him, than ſuch a Notion of Things, as *Polanus* had, when Writing of the *Lord's Supper*, he had theſe Words; *Nec ad eam admittendi ſunt ulli, niſi prius Paſtoribus Eccleſiæ exploratum ſit, eos veram Fidei Doctrinam recte tenere et profiteri, ac intelligere quid in ſacra cœna agatur, quove fine, et ſeipſos probare poſſent, an ſint in Fide. — Quocirca etiam Catechumeni aut Imperiti, e vulgo, tamdiu differendi donec de Fide, et vita eorum Paſtoribus probe conſtet.* Now, becauſe it may be a ſingular Service unto the Churches, to lay before them the Judgment of ſo Eminent a Perſon, upon a Concern of ſome Curious and Critical Conteſtation in them, I ſhall reckon it no Digreſſion from the Story of his *Life*, to recite the Reſult of thoſe Meditations, in the Digeſting of which no little part of his *Life* did roll away. He thus wrote for his *own* Satisfaction, on *Januar.* 4. 1664. And I ſhall be glad, if it may now be for my *Reader's*.

PROPOSITIONS.

'*I.* It is a Neceſſary Qualification, in *Worthy* '*Receivers* of the *Lord's Supper*, that they *Exa*'*mine themſelves*, and *Diſcern the Lord's Body.* '1 Cor. 11. 28, 29.

'*II.* Thoſe whom the Church admits to the '*Lord's Supper*, muſt be ſuch as ſhe in Charity '*judgeth*, that they can and will *Examine them*'*ſelves*, and *Diſcern the Lord's Body*; becauſe 'ſhe muſt admit none, but ſuch as are in Cha'rity (or viſibly) *Worthy Receivers*; and they 'only are in Charity *Worthy Receivers*, who in 'Charity have the *neceſſary Qualifications* of ſuch. 'Either ſhe muſt give it only to viſibly *Worthy Re*'*ceivers*, or ſhe may give it to viſibly *Unworthy Re*'*ceivers*, which were to profane and pollute it. 'We muſt diſpence Ordinances, unto *fit and pro*'*per* Subjects, as Chriſt's *faithful Stewards.* 1 Cor. '1. 1, 2.

'*III.* None can be ſuch *Self-Examining* and '*Diſcerning* Chriſtians without ſome *Experience* 'of a Work of *Grace*, (or without *Grace in Ex*'*erciſe*) ſo as to have an Experimental Savoury 'Acquaintance, with the *Eſſentials* of *Effectual* '*Calling*, viz. *Conviction* of *Sin* and *Miſery* by '*Nature*, *Illumination* in the Knowledge of the '*Goſpel*, and *Converſion* of Heart, by *Repentance* '*towards God, and Faith towards our Lord Jeſus* '*Chriſt.* 1. *Self-Examination* implies both, that 'there is the *Grace of Faith* and *Repentance* (or 'of *Vocation*) the *Matter* to be Examined: And 'alſo an Ability to *Reflect* upon that *Grace*, that 'is and hath been wrought in us; to *Prove* it, 'and find it to be *Approved*, at leaſt by a *præ*'*ponderating Hope.* 2. *Diſcerning the Lord's Body*, 'the ſhewing forth or Annunciation of His *Death*, 'imports ſome Acquaintance with, and Actual 'Eying of the main and moſt Spiritual *Myſte*'*ries* of the Goſpel, concerning *Chriſt*, His *Death*, '*Righteouſneſs*, *Redemption*, and all the Benefits 'thereof; and thoſe as exhibited in this Ordi'nance of the *Supper.* 3. That a lively or ſpe'cial Exerciſe of *Grace*, (by Reviving and Re'newing our *Faith*, *Repentance* and *Love*) is re'quired in Preparation for, and Participation 'of the *Lord's Table*, is abundantly evident, 'both by the *Senſe* of the Expreſſions aforeſaid, 'and by the *Scope* of this Ordinance, which is 'to *Seal* not only *Union*, but *Actual Communion* 'and *Fruition.* 1 Cor. 10. 16. By the *Active* '*Uſe* of all the *Outward Senſes*, in Receiving 'the Sacrament, implying that there muſt be 'an Actual, and Active Uſe of *Exerciſed Senſes*, 'in Reference to the *Inward Part* of it.

'*IV.* None can appear unto *Rational Charity* 'to have the *Qualifications* aforeſaid, without '*Holding forth* the ſame in ſome way or other. 'Man can judge of *Internal Qualifications* no 'way but by *External Signs. Inviſible Grace* is 'made *viſible* to us by ſome Outward Tokens 'and Manifeſtations. Here, *Eſſe, et Apparere*, '*Non Eſſe, et Non Apparere*, are all One.

'*V.* Beſides a *Doctrinal Knowledge* of the Prin'ciples of Religion, there are *Two Things* re'quired to the *Holding forth* of *Grace* in Exerciſe '(or of an Experimental Savoury Acquaintance 'with the *Eſſentials* of *Effectual Calling*) viz. '1. A Gracious *Converſation.* 2. Gracious *Ex*'*preſſions.* By a Gracious Converſation, I mean, 'not only Freedom from Notorious *Scandal* 'and *Obſtinacy* therein, but a Converſation 'wherein ſome *poſitive Fruits* of *Piety* do appear, 'ſo as they that know the Parties, can give a '*poſitive Teſtimony* for them. *Gal.* 5. 6. *Jam.* '2. 18, 26. *Gracious Expreſſions*, or Words are, 'when a Perſon can ſo *ſpeak* of the *Eſſentials* of '*Effectual Calling*, as doth ſignifie, not only a '*Doctrinal*, but a *Practical* or *Spiritual* Acquain'tance therewithal. That theſe are Neceſſary

'to ſhew *Grace in Exerciſe*, appears; Becauſe
'1. *Good Words* are in Scripture made the great
'Sign of a *Good Heart*. Mat. 12. 34, 35, 37.
'Prov. 10. 20. And if it be ſo in *Ordinary
'Converſion*, much more may this *Sign* be expe-
'cted, when a Man comes to *Hold forth*, and
'give *Evidence* of the *Grace* that God has beſtow-
'ed upon him, in Order to Partaking of the
'*Lord's Table*. 2. *Confeſſion with the Mouth* is
'that by which *Faith* evidences it ſelf to be *Sa-
'ving* and *Effectual*. Rom. 10. 9, 10. 3. It can-
'not be imagined, how a Perſon can have had
'*Experience* of a Work of *Grace*, and that unto
'a *Comfortable Diſcerning* thereof in himſelf, but
'that he can *ſpeak of it*, in ſome way or other,
'after a *ſavoury manner*.

'*VI*. Hence, either a *Relation of the Work of
'Converſion*, ſuch as hath been ordinarily uſed,
'in moſt of our Churches, or *Some what Equi-
'valent* thereunto, is neceſſary in order unto
'*Full Communion*, or to Admiſſion unto the
'*Lord's Table*. There is an *Equivalent* there-
'unto. 1. When an Account of the *Eſſentials*
'of *Converſion* is given in way of *Anſwers*, unto
'*Queſtions* propounded thereabout. 2. In a Se-
'rious, Solemn and Savoury Profeſſion, or Con-
'feſſion, *De Præſenti*, i. e. when a Perſon doth
'with *Underſtanding* and *Affection*, expreſs and
'declare himſelf ſenſible of his *Sin* and *Miſery*,
'and Abſolute Need of *Chriſt*, his *Believing* or
'Caſting himſelf on *Chriſt* in the *Promiſe*, for
'*Righteouſneſs* and *Life*, and his unfeigned Pur-
'poſe and Deſire through the Grace and
'Strength of Chriſt, to renounce every *Evil
'Way*, and walk with God in the Ways of *New
'Obedience*; pointing alſo to ſome ſpecial Truths,
'Conſiderations or *Scriptures*, that have or do
'affect his Soul with Reference to theſe Things,
'though he do not *Relate* the *Series* of former
'Paſſages and Experiences. 3. When a Perſon
'is *eminently known* to Excel in *Gifts* and *Grace*,
'(as a long approved Miniſter of the Goſpel,
'or other eminently Holy Chriſtian;) This is
'more than *Equivalent* to ſuch a *Relation*.

'The Sum is, The *Modus Agendi* may be va-
'rious and mutable, and much therein left unto
'the Prudence of *Church-Officers*; But the *Thing*
'is neceſſary; *viz*. To *Hold forth* in one way
'or other, *Experience* of a Work of *Grace*, or
'a *Practical Acquaintance* with the *Eſſentials* of
'*Effectual Calling*. The Reaſon is, Becauſe with-
'out *This* they cannot ſhew themſelves able to
'*Examine themſelves*, and *Diſcern the Lord's
'Body*, which is eſſentially Neceſſary to *Worthy
'Receiving*, and hence the *Appearance* of it Ne-
'ceſſary in a Subject of orderly Admiſſion to
'the *Lord's Table*. A Man muſt make a *Rela-
'tion* to himſelf; *viz*. by Reviewing of his *Faith*
'and *Repentance*, or at leaſt an *Equivalent* pre-
'ſent Renewing thereof in Preparation for the
'*Lord's Table*; i. e. To give himſelf a Comfor-
'table *Regular Admiſſion* thereunto. And ſhould
'he not *Declare* and *Manifeſt* ſuch a Thing to
'the *Church* or *Officers* thereof, to give them a
'Comfortable Ground to Admit him?

'*Object*. But why may it not ſuffice, for a Man
'publickly to ſay, *I believe on Chriſt, or do un-
'feignedly Repent of my Sins?* Or to conſent to
'ſuch Expreſſions being Read, or propounded
'unto him, without any more adoe?

'*Anſw*. 1. He that can *Groundedly* ſo ſay, or
'profeſs before God, Angels and Men, that he
'*hath*, (yea, *knows* that he hath) unfeigned
'*Faith* and *Repentance*, can ſay ſomewhat more
'particularly to ſhow the *Reality* of his Acquain-
'tance with thoſe things. And if he cannot
'ſay it, *Groundedly*, it is not meet to put him ſo
'to ſay.

'2. He that either *Cannot*, or *Will not* ſay any
'more than ſo, (eſpecially in Times of ſuch
'Light and Means as we live in) he renders
'the *Truth* of his *Faith* and *Repentance* ſuſpici-
'ous, ſo as that *Rational Charity* cannot acquieſce
'in it. For all Men know, that *Faith* is not dropt
'into Mens Hearts out of the Clouds, without
'prævious, concomitant and ſubſequent Opera-
'tions; or if it was firſt wrought in *Infancy*,
'yet it will (eſpecially when grown to ſuch a
'Lively Exerciſe, as fits for the *Lord's* Supper)
'ſhew it ſelf, in *Effects*, Renewings and In-
'creaſings by the Word and Ordinances, ſo as
'a Man will be able to hold forth ſome Expe-
'rience of the Operations of Grace

'3. That *Mode of Profeſſion*, which the Objection
'mentioneth, hath been found by plentiful Ex-
'perience, to be a Nurſe of *Formality* and *Irre-
'ligion*. Now it is a Rule concerning the *Modus
'Agendi*, or ſuch like Circumſtances, That when
'by *Experience* a thing proves inconvenient, and
'ſubject to Abuſe, there ought to be an *Altera-
'tion* thereof.

'*VII*. Beſides this, from the Qualifications
'requiſite to the *Lord's Supper*, there be other
'Reaſons ſerving to confirm the Neceſſity of
'*Practical Confeſſions* (*viz*. by Relations, or o-
'therways, as was before ſaid) in thoſe that
'are admitted unto full Communion.

'As, 1. Let thoſe *Scripture Examples* be con-
'ſidered, wherein the Grace wrought in the
'faithful is Evidenced, or *Collected* from the
'Lord's Dealings with them in the Work of
'Converſion, and Experiences relating thereto,
'or to the Fruits thereof. See 1 *Theſ*. 1. 4, 5,
'6, 7, 9, 10. Let thoſe Words be paraphraſed
'according to their obvious Senſe, they will
'make up a full *Relation*. And if *Paul* knew, or
'gathered the Grace that was in the *Theſſalo-
'nians* from ſuch Things as thoſe, does it not
'ſhow, that ſuch things are a proper and ratio-
'nal Ground for us to gather Grace from? If
'they be *famouſly known* otherwiſe (as they were
'in that caſe to *Paul*) it ſufficeth, as was above-
'ſaid; but otherways how ſhould they be known,
'but from the Party's own Mouth? So *Col*. 1.
'4,—8. Is there not a kind of Relation, of the
'Work, and Manner of the Converſion of thoſe
'3000 in *Acts* 2. ſet down in that Chapter?
'And conſequently, the Subſtance of ſuch a Rela-
'tion or Work was then *de facto* obvious to
'the Apoſtles. And ſo, of the Converſion of
'*Paul* Chap. 9. and of *Cornelius*, Chap. 10. Yea,
'if we look into moſt of the *Examples* in the

'*Acts.* Conſider, if they be not more immediately reducible to [*A manifeſtation of a Work of Grace*] than to that of *Knowledge*, and a *Blameleſs Life?* *Paul* had little to ſay for a foregoing *Blameleſs Life* to the Diſciples of *Damaſcus*; but a Work of *Converſion* he could hold forth to them, and a Profeſſion *de præſenti* thereupon. So *Acts* 9. 26, 27.

' 2. Miniſters in giving the *Lord's Supper* to Perſons, do give a Great and Solemn Teſtimony *to* them, [*Take, Eat, This is Chriſt's Body, that was broken for you*;] therefore ſurely they may take, and require a Solemn Teſtimony *from* them, and had not need to be ſlight therein.

' 3. The *Power of Godlineſs* will ſoon be loſt, if only *Doctrinal Knowledge*, and *Outward Blameleſsneſs* be accounted ſufficient for all *Church-Priviledges*, and *Practical Confeſſions*, (or, Examinations of Mens Spiritual Eſtate) be laid aſide. For that which People ſee to be publickly required, and held in Reputation, *that* will they look after, and uſually *no more*, but content themſelves with *That*. Conſider; if this hath not been a Reaſon of the Formality and Deadneſs, that hath overgrown many Churches. *January* 4. 1664.

Thus did a Manuſcript of this Worthy Man's, now in my Hands, *Harmonize* with a Notable Paſſage about the *Bohemian* Churches.

Demum. quia Objiciebatur, Fratres non habere Eccleſiam apertam cum plena Sanctorum Communione, ſed Adminiſtrare Sacramenta Quibuſdam tantum ſibi addictis : Reſponſum fuit, Sancta dare non Sanctis, probibuiſſe Chriſtum; Chriſtianiſmumque a pœnitentia, auſpicandum, non a Sacramentis; neque Secundum Inſtituta Chriſti Abſolutionem nunciandam niſi Reſipiſcentibus et Credentibus, quod utrumque (Pœnitentiam & Fidem) ne Superficiarium ſit et fallax, Exploratione indigere; Exploratione vero Tempore Juſto et quia Nudis Sacramentis Salutis Vim adſcribere, ex Opere Operato, Errorum in Papatu Baſis eſt, Errorem hunc corrigi non poſſe aliter, quam ut certa probatione, nec illa Subitanea, Cordium Arcana Revelentur, Novitiique diu & caute tum Informentur, tum Explorentur.

Ratio Diſcipl. Fatr. Bohem. *p.* 4, 5.

Becauſe it was objected, That the Brethren have not an *Open Church* with the full Communion of Saints, but adminiſter the Sacraments only to *ſome* of their *own party*; it was anſwered, That Chriſt hath forbid our Giving of *Holy Things* unto *Unholy Perſons*; and that Chiſtianity is to be begun with *Repentance*, and not with the *Sacraments*; and that according to the Inſtitutions of our Lord, *Abſolution* is not to be pronounced upon any but thoſe that *Repent* and *Believe*; both of which (*Repentance* and *Faith*) that it may not be *Superficiary* and *Fallacious*, it muſt have ſome *Exploration*; and this *Exploration* muſt have a *Sufficient Time* for it. And becauſe to aſcribe a *Saving Vertue* unto the bare Sacraments *Ex Opere Operato*, is the bottom of the Errors of *Popery*, this Error cannot otherwiſe be Corrected, than by this means; That by a *certain*, and no *ſudden Trial*, the *Secrets of Mens Hearts* may be laid open, and *Novices* may be, with a long Caution, both inſtructed and examined.

Reader, If the Beating out of *Truth* in Controverſies, that have riſen among us relating to our *Church Diſcipline*, had not been the *ſpecial Service*, wherein all our Churches beheld the Lord Jeſus Chriſt making uſe of this our Learned, Able, Holy, and no leſs *Conſiderate*, than *Conſiderable* **Mitchel**, I had not given thee ſo long an Entertainment as that of theſe *Propoſitions*; *Propoſitions*, which if they ſhould in the Opinion of *any*, fall ſhort of *Demonſtrations*, and contribute nothing to *Unite* and *Settle* the various Apprehenſions of ſome very Worthy Men among us about an Important Point in our *Church Government*, yet they will in the Opinion of *all* ſerve to expreſs the *Diſpoſitions of Mind*, which the rare Spirited Author of them did both *Live* and *Dye* withal: They ſhow how much he was *againſt* that *Rigid*, Unſcriptural, Uninſtituted, and Unwarrantable Inſiſting upon *Modes*, wherein ſome of our Churches had ſinned ſometimes againſt the *Grace* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and yet how much he was *for* all Scriptural and Rational *Methods* to preſerve the Churches from ſinning againſt the *Holineſs*, which does *become thoſe Houſes of God for ever.*

§. 13. I have ſaid, that the *Life* of our **Mitchel** was in a ſpecial manner Engroſſed by the *Services* of Explaining, Maintaining and Perfecting thoſe *Principles*, whereby the Chriſtian Religion muſt be preſerved, with a True and Pure *Church ſtate* among us, and conveyed and ſecured unto Poſterity; and this leads me to that part of his Character, which diſtinguiſhed him, as much as any One whatſoever; Namely, *A Care of all the Churches.* Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt complains, *That the Children of this World are* (for ſo I read it) *wiſer for their own Generation*, than *the Children of Light.* But our **Mitchel** was *Wiſe for his Generation*, and Exerciſed his *Wit* with much Contrivance, and much Diligence, that his *Generation*, even the Faithful People of God in the World might be accommodated in all their Intereſts. He was endued with a certain ſoaring and ſerious *Greatneſs of Soul*, which rendred *Flycatching* too low a Buſineſs for him; though he were One of a very *Lowly Spirit* in his Diſpoſition to be always condemning of himſelf, yet he nouriſhed in himſelf a Generous Diſdain of *Low*, Little, Trifling Matters, and was of a *Leading Spirit* where hard Service was call'd for, and of a

Pub-

Publick Spirit, for Doing of Service to as many as he could: His Thoughts moved in a *large Sphere* of *Uſefulneſs*, and he was continually projecting how to *Do good*, in the moſt Extenſive Manner unto more than an whole Country. The *Bucholtzerian* Expreſſion of the Apoſtolical ΠΑΝΤΑΧΟΤΞΙΑ might be transferred into our Account of Mr. **Mitchel**: *He was a Circle, whereof the Center was at* Cambridge, *and the Circumference took in more than all* New-England. Hence, when he ſet apart his *Days* for Secret *Prayer* with *Faſting* before God, he would recapitulate in his private Papers the Humbling Occaſions for *Supplication*, which he ſaw not only in Afflictive Things on his own particular *Flock*, but alſo in all the *ſad Sights*, which in Diſaſters either upon the *Civil* or Sacred *Concerns* throughout all our *Three Colonies*, and all *Gradual* Decays of our *Glory*, occur'd unto him; yea, and he would then Travel ſo far, as to Obſerve the Condition of the Church throughout *Great Britain*, and the Nations of the *European* World; and all theſe Occaſions of *Diſtreſs* and *Requeſt*, he would enumerate before the Lord, with the Matters of his own *Everlaſting Welfare*. From the ſame *Heroick Vertue* (as I may properly call it) in him it was, that in the *Weekly Meetings* of the Neighbouring Paſtors, after the *Weekly Lectures* in the Towns which he could viſit; and at all other ſuch *Meetings*, he would with a moſt becoming *Diſcretion* and *Modeſty*, be ſtill putting forward *ſomething* or other, that might be for *General Advantage*: And when the Miniſters met at any time ſo much without *Advantageous Effects* of their Diſcourſes, that it could be ſaid, The *Time* had been *ſmoaked* away to no purpoſe, he would be Troubled at it: It cauſed him once to write this Lamentation; *Little done! I have begun to feel the ſadneſs of the preſent time, and the Lord's withdrawing from us and our Chariot wheels taken off: I find that in all Societies, where I have any thing to do, Commonwealth, and Church and Colledge Things ſtick, and we draw heavily, and nothing can be gotten forward: All Things, and all the Spirits of Men, ſeem to be off the Hinges: Oh! Lord, Affect my Heart therewithal!* In this Lamentation, the Reader finds the *Colledge* mentioned, and indeed the *Colledge* was nearer unto his *Heart*, than it was to his *Houſe*, though next adjoyning to it. He was himſelf an Accompliſhed *Scholar*, and he loved a *Scholar* dearly; but his Heart was fervently ſet upon having the Land all over illuminated with the Fruits of a *Learned Education*. To this End, he became a *Father* to the *Colledge*, which had been his *Mother*, and ſought the Proſperity of that Society, with a very ſingular Sollicitude; but among other Contrivances which he had for the Proſperity of the *Colledge*, One was, *A Model for the Education of Hopeful Students at the Colledge in* Cambridge. His Propoſals were, for Septennial *Subſcriptions* by the more Worthy and Wealthy Perſons, in this poor Wilderneſs; to be diſpoſed of by *Truſtees* (namely, the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the *ſix next Towns*, for the time being, with ſeven other Gentlemen by them choſen out of the ſaid Towns, of which any *Seven* to be a *Quorum*, if three Miniſters were among them,) who ſhould ſingle out *Scholars* eminently pregnant and pious, and out of this Bounty ſupport them in ſuch Studies, as they ſhould by theſe *Truſtees* be directed unto, until they had either *performed* ſuch profitable Services, as were Impoſed on them in the *Colledge* it ſelf, or *prepared* themſelves for other Services abroad in the World. He was mightily affected with a Paſſage of *Luther's*, *If ever there be any Conſiderable Blow given to the Devil's Kingdom, it muſt be by Youth excellently educated. And therefore,* Res ſeria eſt, Ingens eſt, *It is a Serious Thing, a Weighty Thing, and a Thing that hath much of the Intereſt of Chriſt, and of Chriſtianity in it, that Youth be well trained up, and want no Helps for that end; that Schools, and School-Maſters, and poor Scholars be maintained. It is the Flouriſhing of a Common-Wealth, to be well furniſhed with Learned, Worthy and Able Men for all Purpoſes. And God will not give us ſuch Men by Miracle, ſeeing He hath vouchſafed us other ways, and means to obtain them. Learning is an Unwelcome Gueſt to the Devil, and therefore he would fain ſtarve it out. But we ſhall never long retain the Goſpel without the Help of Learning. And, if we ſhould have no Regard unto Religion, even the Outward Proſperity of a People in this World would neceſſarily require Schools and Learned Men. Alas, that none are carried with Alacrity and Seriouſneſs to take Care for the Education of Youth, and to help the World with Eminent and Able Men.* 'Twas from Conſiderations, like theſe of *Luther's*, that he did with an Accurate and Judicious Pen, ſhape theſe *Propoſals*. But if *New-England* then had not many Perſons in it, of the ſame Inclination with Pope *Paul* 2. who pronounced them, **Hereticks**, that ſhould mention the Name of an **Academy**, and exhorted People, that they would not put their Children to *Learning*, inaſmuch, as it was enough if they could but *Read* and *Write*: yet, through the Diſcouragements of *Poverty* and *Selfiſhneſs*, the *Propoſals* came to *nothing*. Moreover, the Remarkable *Acuteneſs* joined with an Extraordinary *Holineſs* in this Renowned Man, cauſed the *Churches* in all Quarters far and near, when their Difficult *Church-Caſes* called for the Help of *Councils*, to make their Applications unto *Cambridge*, for Mr. **Mitchel** to come and help them in their Difficulties. And in theſe *Councils*, as well as when *Weighty Caſes* have been laid before the *Elders* of the Churches, by the *General Courts*, though uſually moſt of the Miniſters preſent were *Elder* than he, yet the *Senſe* and *Hand* of no Man, was relied more upon than *His*, for the Exact *Reſult* of all. With ſo much humble Wiſdom and Caution, did he *Temper* the *Significant Forwardneſs* at *Well-doing* which he ſtill carried about him, that the Diſproportion of *Age*, hindered not the moſt Aged and Able, and Venerable *Angels* in our Churches, from their Paying a very ſtrange Reſpect unto him. Yea, as the Jewiſh *Midraſch* upon that Paſſage in the firſt Pſalm, *His Leaf ſhall not wither*; I remember is this, *Omnes neceſſitatem habent Colloquii ejus*; even ſuch a neceſſary *Tree of Life*, was **Mitchel** accounted, in the Garden of *New-England.*

land. However, he encountred with ſuch *Temptations* as muſt *buffet* all that have in them any thing of *Significancy* ; for which cauſe, once particularly, when he had been admirably acquitting himſelf in an Undertaking of Great Conſequence to the Churches, he came home, and wrote theſe Words. *My Spirit was carried out in too much forwardneſs : I ſee cauſe to be deeply abaſed and loath my ſelf, and hang down my Head before God and Men. How do I marr God's Work, and marr what he gives me therein, by my own Folly ! Sometimes I am ready to reſolve to put forth my ſelf no more in Publick Work, but keep my ſelf ſilent, and uningaged, as I ſee others do. But then I perceive, that this taſteth of Frowardneſs and Pride. Lord, Give me more Wiſdom to manage and demean my ſelf ! But if thy Service and Honour may be promoted by my Weakneſs and Folly, Let me be willing to be Vile, that God may be exalted.* 2 Sam. 6. 21, 22. Upon the whole, he was unwilling to affect ſuch an *Unſerviceable Privacy*, that they who paſſed by his Houſe, might ſay, *Hic ſitus eſt* Mitchellus.

§. 14. I know not how far that Learned *Frenchman*, who Writes, *The Conformity of the Congregational Church-Government unto that of the Ancient Primitive Chriſtians*, hath ſeen verified his Obſervation, *All Diſintereſted Perſons may eaſily be perſwaded that the Congregational Communion retains moſt of the Apoſtolick, becauſe it is not only the Cream and beſt of the others, but alſo becauſe it hath more Charity. 'Tis very rarely ſeen* (ſaith he) *that any One of the Congregational Way does not love all Good Men of what Communion ſoever they be, and that they do not ſpeak of them, as of the True Churches of Jeſus Chriſt : Whereas even the moſt Sober and Honeſt Party of the Epiſcopal Men, and ſome of the Presbyterians, are ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed with Prejudices againſt thoſe of Congregations, that they are in their Account, no better than Hypocrites, Schiſmaticks, and Men of ſtrange Enthuſiaſms.* If any of the *Congregational Way* do not anſwer this Character, Let theſe Words condemn *them* ; as I know thoſe of the *Presbyterian Way* in this Country have by their *Charitable Temper* much confuted that part of the Diſcourſe, by which they are here Characterized. But the Obſervation I am ſure, was verified in our Mitchel ; who was one fully ſatiſfied and eſtabliſhed in the *Congregational Way* of *Church Government*, and yet had a *Spirit of Communion* for all *Godly Men* in other *Forms*, and was far from Confining of *Godlineſs* unto his own. It was a frequent Speech with him, *The Spirit of Chriſt, is a Spirit of Communion !* And I can tell, what he would have ſaid, if he had lived to ſee the Books of ſo Ridiculous a *Schiſmatick*, as he that has made himſelf infamous by attempting to prove, *That where there is no Epiſcopal Ordination, there is no True Church, Miniſter, Sacrament, or Salvation.* His *Great Worth* cauſed him to be called forth ſeveral times with an *Early* and *Special* Reſpect from the *General Court* of the Colony, to preach on the Greateſt Solemnity that the Colony afforded ; Namely, *The Anniverſary Election of Governour and Magiſtrates* : And one of the Sermons which he preached on thoſe Occaſions, was after his Death, publiſhed unto the World under the Title of *Nehemiah upon the Wall.* In that Sermon, Reader, Take notice of the Diſcovery which he gave of his own *Catholick Charity*, when he ſays, 'Do not wrong and marr an Excellent Work, 'and Profeſſion, by Mixing and Weaving in *Spurious Principles*, or *Practices* ; as thoſe of Separation, *Anabaptiſm*, *Morellian* (Anarchical) 'Confuſion. If any would ſecretly 'twiſt in, 'and eſpouſe ſuch things as thoſe, and make them 'part of our *Intereſt*, we muſt needs renounce 'it as none of *our Cauſe*, no part of the End, 'and Deſign of the Lord's faithful Servants, 'when they followed him *into this Land, that was not ſown. Separation* and *Anabaptiſm*, are 'wonted Intruders, and ſeeming Friends, but ſecret fatal *Enemies*, to *Reformation.* Do not, 'on pretence of avoiding *Corruption*, run into *ſinful Separation* from any *True Churches* of God, 'and what is *Good* therein ; and yet it is our '*Errand into the Wilderneſs* to ſtudy and practiſe 'true *Scripture-Reformation*, and it will be our '*Crown* in the Sight of God and Man, if we find 'it and hold it, without *Adulterating Deviations.* Thus, though he were a *Reformer*, yet he had nothing in him of a *Donatiſt* : For which cauſe Mr. *Baxter* hearing of him, said, *If an Oecumenical Council could be obtained, Mr.* Mitchel *were worthy to be its Moderator.* And this Diſpoſition of *Charity* in him, was rewarded with the Reſpects which he found from Learned and Pious Men, that were in many things not of his own perſwaſion : Such *Holineſs*, and *Patience*, and ſweet *Condeſcenſion*, were his *Incomparable* Abilities accompanied withal, that Good Men, who otherwiſe differed from him would ſtill ſpeak of him with Reverence. To give one particular Inſtance : 'Tis well known that the Reverend *Charles Chancey*, Preſident of the Colledge, and a Neighbour in the Town and Church with our much younger Mitchel, at the Time of the *Synod*, zealouſly and publickly, by *Pen* as well as by *Speech* oppoſed the *Synodalian* Principles whereof Mr. Mitchel was no ſmall *Defender* : But ſo far was the Diſſent between them, in the very *Heat* and *Heighth* of all the Controverſie, from cauſing the Reverend Old Man to handle his Antagoniſt, in any meaſure as the Angry *Dioſcorus* did the Diſſenting *Flavian*, in the Council of *Epheſus*, that he would commonly ſay of him, *I know no Man in this World, that I could envy ſo much, as Worthy Mr.* Mitchel, *for the Great Holineſs, Learning, Wiſdom and Meekneſs, and other Qualities of an Excellent Spirit, with which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath adorned him.*

§. 15. And ſhall we a little more particularly Deſcribe that *Holineſs* of this *Excellent Man*, which we have ſo often mentioned ? It is an Aphoriſm of a *Machiavel*, [and, Reader, was it not worthy of a *Machiavel* !] *That he who writes an Hiſtory, muſt be a Man of no Religion.* By that profane Rule, the firſt and the beſt *Hiſtorian* in the World, the moſt *Religious* MOSES, was ill accompliſhed for a Writer of *Hiſtory.* But the *Hiſtory*, which we are now writing, does profeſſedly

feſſedly intend nothing ſo much as the Service of *Religion*, even of that *Religion* whereof our **Mitchel** made an Exemplary Profeſſion. Wherefore we go on, to ſay; Know, Reader, That he was a Great Example of a *Walk with God*; and of Religion he was much in *Prayer*, much in *Faſting*, ſometimes taking his Vertuous *Wife*, therein to make a *Conſort* with him; and ſometimes alſo he kept whole *Days* of *Thankſgiving* privately with his Family, beſides what he did more publickly; Devoting himſelf as a *Thank Offering* to God for his *Mercies*, with a *Reaſonable Service*. In his *Diary*, He betimes laid that Rule upon himſelf, *Oh! that I could remember this Rule, never to go to Bed, until I have had ſome renewed, ſpecial Communion with God!* He kept a ſtrict *Watch*, over not only his *Words*, but alſo his very *Thoughts*; and if by the *Reflections*, which he was continually making on himſelf, he judged that his Mind had not been always full of *Heaven*, and his *Heart* had been, what he called, *hard* and *ſlight*, that he had been *Formal* in his *Devotions*, that he had not *profited* abundantly by the *Sermons* of other Men, that he had not made Conſcience of Doing all the Good he could, when he had been in any *Company*; he would put *Stings* into his Reflections, and rebuke and reproach himſelf with an Holy Indignation. Severe might ſeem the Rule of *R. Hanina. If two ſit together and there be no Diſcourſe of the Law, 'tis the Seat of the Scornful:* Severe might ſeem the Rule of *R. Simeon, If Three do Eat at one Table, and ſay nothing about the Law, they are as if they Eat the Sacrifices of the Dead:* And ſevere might be the Rule of *R. Hananiah, He that wakes in the Night or walks by the way, and let's his Heart lie idle, ſins againſt his own Soul:* But our **Mitchel** reckoned it no *Severity* unto himſelf, to impoſe upon himſelf ſuch *Rules* as theſe for his Converſation. I have read, That *Five* Devout Perſons being together, there was this Queſtion ſtarted among them, *How*, in what ways, by what means, *they ſtrengthened themſelves in abſtaining from Sin againſt the God of Heaven?* The Firſt anſwered, *I frequently, meditate on the Certainty of Death, and the Uncertainty of the Time for my Death, and this makes me live in the Fear of Sin every Day as my laſt.* The Second anſwered, *I frequently meditate on the ſtrict Account of Sin that I am to give at the Day of Judgment, and the Everlaſting Torments in Hell, to be inflicted on them that can give no Good Account.* The Third anſwered, *I frequently meditate on the vileneſs, and filthineſs, and loathſomeneſs of Sin, and the Excellency of Grace, which is contrary unto ſo vile a Thing.* The Fourth anſwered, *I frequently meditate on the Eternal Rewards and Pleaſures reſerved in Heaven for them that avoid the Pleaſures of Sin, which are but for a moment.* The Fifth anſwered, *I frequently meditate on the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and his wonderous Love to miſerable Sinners, in dying a curſed and a bitter Death for our Sin; and this helps me to abſtain from Sin, more than any other conſideration whatſoever;* And the Anſwer of this laſt was indeed the greateſt of all. Now all theſe were the Subjects, which our Holy **Mitchel**, obliged himſelf to an aſſiduous *Meditation* upon; and by *Meditating* on theſe it was, that he became very *Holy*. Moreover, he was as *Holy Men* uſe to be, very ſolicitous to make a due Improvement of all *Afflictions*, that the Providence of Heaven diſpenſed unto him. He would ſay, *When God perſonally afflicts a Man, it is as if He called unto the Man by Name, and jogged him, and ſaid, Oh! Repent, be humbled, be ſerious, be awakened:* Yea, he could not ſo much as be kept a little from the Labours of his Miniſtry by an *Hoarſe Cold* arreſting him, without writing down this Improvement of it; *My Sin is legible in the Chaſtiſement: cold Duties, cold Prayers (my Voice in Prayer,* i. e. *my Spirit of Prayer fearfully gone) my Coldneſs in my whole Converſation, chaſtiſement with a Cold; I fear that I have not improved my voice for God formerly as I might have done, and therefore He now takes it from me.* But the *Affliction* which moſt of all Exerciſed him, ſeems to have been in the ſucceſſive *Death* of many and Lovely *Children*, though all of them, in their *Infancy*. 'Tis an Obſervation made by ſome, upon ſeveral Paſſages in the Scripture concerning that Generous and Gracious Man, *David*, that he was *Liberorum Amantiſſimus*, full of Affections to his *Children*; and that was to be obſerved in our Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*; for which cauſe, when his *Children* were *Sick*, his Paternal Bowels felt more than ordinary Wounds; and when they were *Dead*, his Humiliations thereupon were extraordinary. He wrote whole *Pages of Lamentations* on theſe Occaſions; and one of his *Infants* particularly expiring before it could be brought forth to an orderly *Baptiſm*, I cannot but recite a little of the *Meditations* then written by him: *It was a further ſad Hand of the Lord* (ſays he) *that it ſhould dye unbaptiſed. Though I do not think they are Orthodox, that hang Salvation upon* Baptiſm, *and not rather upon the* Covenant, *yet as it is appointed to be a Confirming Sign, and as it is an Ordinance of Grace, ſo to be Deprived of it is a great Frown, and a ſad Intimation of the Lord's Anger: And though it may be well with the Child notwithſtanding (that it becomes me to leave unto the Lord!) yet it is to us a Token of Diſpleaſure. And what Conſtruction or Thoughts tending to the Lord's Diſhonour it may occaſion, I know not: That after my Labours in Publick about* Infant-Baptiſm, *the Lord ſhould take away my* Child *without and before* Baptiſm! *Hereby the Lord does again and again make me an Example of His Diſpleaſure before all Men, as if He did ſay openly, that He hath a ſpecial Controverſie with me; Thus remarkably taking away One after another. The Lord brings me forth, and makes me go up and down, as one ſmitten of God: The Lord ſpits in my Face by this thing.* See 2 Sam. 12 12. *Numb.* 12. 12. *Deut.* 28. 45, 46, 58, 59. Such, and many more were the Workings of his *Tender Soul* under his repeated *Afflictions*. And ſuch were the *Unſearchable* Dealings of God, that beſides the *Children* which he ſent unto Heaven before him, when he went unto Heaven himſelf, he left behind *Three Sons*, and *Two Daughters*, all of which lived unto ſomewhat of *Youth*, yet they have all of them ſince dyed in their *Youth*: except

cept only a Vertuous Young Gentlewoman, married unto Captain *Stephen Sewal* of *Salem*; unto whom (with her Off-ſpring, the only Poſterity of this Great Man) may the Lord multiply all the Bleſſings of that *Covenant*, for which their Progenitor proved ſo ſerviceable a Pleader in his Generation!

The laſt Thing that ever he wrote in his Reſerved Papers, after he had bitterly reproached *The Sinful Deadneſs, Straitneſs, Enmity,* and *Unſavourineſs* (as he called it) *upon his own Heart*, upon which he added this Pathetical Expreſſion, *I feel I ſhall fall, and tumble down into the Pit of Hell, if left unto my ſelf*; It was *June* 7. 1668. To quicken his Cares of *Daily Meditation*.

'*Firſt*, Far younger than I, ſome of them now 'got to Heaven, have done much this way. *Nulla* '*Dies ſine Linea*.

'*Secondly*, *Meditation*, yea, *Daily* Meditation, 'in general, is an indiſpenſible Duty. *Pſal.* 1. 2. 'and *Pſal.* 119. 97 And becauſe it is ſo, there 'may be ſomething of *Meditation* in *Prayer*, in '*Reading* the Word; *Joſh.* 1. 8. with *Deut.* 17. '19. and in *Occaſional* Tranſient Thoughts; yet 'ſurely ſome *ſett Meditation* daily beſides theſe, 'is at leaſt *to me* a Duty, who am ſet apart, for 'the Holy Work of the Miniſtry, wherein it 'would be Helpful, as well as to my own 'Soul.

'*Thirdly*, *Heaven* is here begun upon *Earth*: 'ſhall I be *Thinking* on, and *Talking* with, *Chriſt*, 'to all Eternity, and not Diſcourſe with Him, 'one quarter of an Hour in a Day *now*?

'*Fourthly*, The Great Enemies of all Good, '*Fleſh*, *Satan* and *World*, do of all other things, 'moſt oppoſe *Meditation*, which ſhows that there 'is much *Good* in it. *Fleſh*, by Awkneſs, Giddineſs; *World*, by Diſtractions; *Satan*, by ſtirring up both. *Lord, Awaken me, and keep me* '*Awake!*

§. 16. But *what* and *when*, was the End of this *Holy Walk?* The Incongruities and Inconſiſtencies of *Hiſtorians*, are not more notorious in any one Article, than in that of the *Deaths* of the *Heroes*, whoſe *Lives* they have *Eternized*. With what *Varieties* are the *Deaths* of *Cyrus*, of *Antiochus*, of *Alexander*, of *Hannibal*, of *Romulus*, of *Scipio*, of *Plato*, of *Ariſtotle*, reported? There is hardly any Philoſopher, but he dies Twice or Thrice over in *Laertius*; and there is hardly one of *Plutarch*'s Worthies, but he dies as many Ways. The *Death* of our **Mitchel** remains now to be related with more of *Certainty*. Though *Bodily Exerciſe does profit a little*, as the Apoſtle concedes, namely, to the Health of the *Body*; and Mr. **Mitchel** had from a Principle of *Godlineſs*, uſed himſelf to *Bodily Exerciſe*; nevertheleſs he found it would not wholly free him from an ill Habit of *Body*. Of extream *Lean*, he ſoon grew extream *Fat*; and at laſt, in an extream hot Seaſon, a *Fever* arreſted him, juſt after he had been Preaching on thoſe Words, *I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and unto the Houſe appointed for all the Living*. The *Fever* did not ſeem to threaten his Death; however in his Illneſs, to them that viſited him, he ſaid, *If the Lord Jeſus Chriſt have any Service for me, to do for Him, and His Dear People, I am willing to do it; but if my Work be done, His Will be done!* But the Diſtemper ſuddenly aſſaulting him with a Mortal Malignity, and ſummoning him to the *Houſe appointed for all the Living*, he fell to admiring the manifold *Grace* of God unto him, and broke forth into theſe Words, *Lord, Thou calleſt me away to Thee; I know not why, if I look to my ſelf; but at thy Bidding I come!* which were ſome of the laſt Words, which he ſpoke in the World: For his Friends, who had not for many Hours, entertained the Expectation of any ſuch diſmal Event, were compelled in Floods of Tears, to ſee him dye on *July* 9. 1668. in the Forty Third Year of his Age: When (as one expreſſes that Matter) he left his Body to be dipped in the River of *Jordan*, that afterwards in it's Reſurrection, paſſing into *Canaan*, it may, beyond the Story of *Achilles*, become impenetrable and invulnerable. Wonderful were the *Lamentations*, which this Deplorable Death fill'd the Churches of *New-England* withal; for as the Jewiſh *Rabbies* lamented the Death of *R. Joſe*, with ſaying, That after his Death, *Ceſſarunt Botri*, i. e. *Viri tales, in quibus omnes, tum Eruditionis, cum Virtutis, cumuli erant*: So, after the Departure of our **Mitchel**, it was fear'd there would be few more ſuch *Rich Grapes* to be ſeen growing in this Unthankful Wilderneſs. Yea, they *Speak of this Great Man in their Lamentations to this Day*; and what they ſpeak is briefly the ſame, that One of our moſt Eminent Perſons has *Writ* in thoſe Terms, **All** New-England **ſhook, when that Pillar fell to the Ground.**

EPITAPH.

AND now, Reader, Let us go to the beſt of *Poets* in the *Engliſh* Nation for thoſe Lines, which may, without the leaſt Wrong to Truth be applied as an *EPITAPH* to this beſt of *Preachers* in our little *New-Engliſh* Nation. The Incomparable Dr. *Blackmore*'s Orator *Tylon*, ſhall now be our *MITCHEL*.

TIS the Great **Mitchel**, whoſe Immortal worth
Raiſes to *Heav'n* the *Iſle* that gave him Birth.
A Sacred Man, a Venerable *Prieſt*,
Who never ſpake, and *Admiration* miſt.
Of *Good* and *Kind*, he the juſt Standard ſeem'd,
Dear to the *Beſt*, and by the *Worſt* eſteem'd.
A Gen'rous *Love*, diffus'd to Humane Kind,
Divine *Compaſſion*, *Mercy* unconfin'd,
Still reign'd Triumphant, in his *Godlike Mind*.
Greatneſs and *Modeſty* their Wars compoſe,
Between them *here* a perfect *Friendſhip* grows.
His *Wit*, His *Judgment*, *Learning*, equal riſe;
Divinely *Humble*, yet Divinely *Wiſe*:
He ſeem'd *Expreſs*, on *Heav'ns* High Errand ſent.
As *Moſes* Meek, as *Aaron* Eloquent.
Nectar divine flows from his Heav'nly Tongue,
And on his Lips, charming *Perſwaſion* hung.

When

When he the Sacred *Oracles* reveal'd,
Our Raviſh'd Souls in bleſt *Enchantments* held,
Seem'd loſt in Tranſports of Immortal Bliſs;
No Simple *Man* could ever ſpeak like This!
Arm'd with Cæleſtial *Fire*, his Sacred *Darts*
Glide thro' our *Breaſts*, & melt our yielding *Hearts*.
So Southern Breezes, and the Springs mild Ray,
Unbind the *Glebe*, and thaw the Frozen Clay.
He Triumph'd o'er our Souls, and at his Will,
Bid *this* Touch'd *Paſſion* riſe, and *that* be ſtill.
Lord of our *Paſſions*, he, with wondrous Art,
Could ſtrike the Secret Movements of our *Heart*;
Releaſe our *Souls*, and make them ſoar above,
Wing'd with Divine *Deſires*, and Flames of
Heav'nly Love.

But what need I travel, as far as *Europe* for an *Elegy* upon this Worthy Man? Let it be known, that *America* can *Embalm* Great Perſons, as well as *Produce* them, and *New-England* can beſtow an *Elegy*, as well as an *Education* upon its *Heroes*. When our *Mitchel* was dying, he let fall ſuch a Speech as this unto a young Gentleman, that lodg'd in his Houſe, and now ſtood by his Bed, *My Friend, As a Dying Man I now charge you, that you don't meet me out of Chriſt in the Day of Chriſt.* The Speech had a marvellous Impreſſion upon the Soul of that Young Gentleman; who *then* compos'd the Enſuing Lines.

To the MEMORY of the

REVEREND

JONATHAN MITCHEL.

Quicquid Agimus, quicquid Patimur, venit ex Alto.

THE Countries *Tears*, be ye my *Spring*; my *Hill*
A General *Grave*; let *Groans* inſpire my Quill.
By a warm *Sympathy*, let *Feaveriſh Heat*
Roam thro' my Verſe unſeen: And a *Cold Sweat*
Limning *Deſpair*, attend me: *Sighs* diffuſe
Convulſions thro' my Language. ſuch as uſe
To Type a Gaſping Fancy; laſtly, Shroud
Religions *Splendor* in a Mourning *Cloud*,
Replete with *Vengeance*, for Succeeding Times,
Fertile in *Woes*, more Fertile in their *Crimes*.
Theſe are my *Muſes*; Theſe Inſpire the *Sails*
Of Fancy, with their *Sighs*, inſtead of *Gales*.
Reader, Read Reverend **Mitchel**'s Life, & then
Confeſs the World a *Gordian Knot* agen.
Read his *Tear-delug'd* Grave, and then decree,
Our preſent *Woe*, and future *Miſery*.
Stars falling ſpeak a *Storm*; when *Samuel* dies,
Saul may expect *Philiſtia*'s Cruelties,
So when Jehovah's *Brighter Glory* fled
The Temple, *Iſrael* ſoon was Captive led.
Geneva's Triple Light made one Divine:
But here that vaſt *Triumvirate* combine
By a bleſt *Metempſycboſis* to take
One Perſon for their larger *Zodiack*.
In Sacred Cenſures, *Farels* dreadful *Scrol*
Of Words, broke from the *Pulpit* to the *Soul*.
In Balmy Comforts, *Virets* Genius came
From th' *Wrinkled Alps*, to wooe the Weſtern Dame;
And Courting *Cambridge*, quickly took from thence
Her *Laſt Degrees* of *Rhetorick* and *Senſe*.
Calvin's Laconicks thro' his Doctrine Spred,
And *Childrens Children* with their *Manna* fed.
His Expoſition *Geneſis* begun,
And fatal *Exodus* eclips'd his *Sun*.
Some ſay, that *Souls* oft ſad *Preſages* give:
Death-breathing Sermons taught us laſt to *Live*.
His *Syſtem of Religion*, *half* unheard,
Full *double*, in his *Preaching Life* appear'd.
He's gone, to whom his *Country* owes a Love,
Worthy the *Prudent Serpent*, and the *Dove*.
Religion's *Panoply*, the Sinner's *Terrour*,
Death ſummon'd hence; ſure by a *Writ of Error*!
The *Quaker* trembling at his *Thunder* fled;
And with *Caligula* reſum'd his Bed.
He, by the Motions of a *Nobler Spirit*,
Clear'd *Men*, and made their Notions *Swine inherit*.
The *Munſter* Goblin, by his Holy Flood
Exorcis'd, like a Thin *Phantaſma* ſtood.
Brown's Babel ſhatter'd by his *Lightning* fell,
And with *Confuſed Horror* pack'd to Hell.
The *Scripture*, with a *Commentary* bound,
(Like a Loſt *Calais*) in his *Heart* was found.
When he was *Sick*, the *Air* a *Feaver* took,
And Thirſty *Phœbus* quaff'd the Silver-brook:
When *Dead*, the *Sphæres* in *Thunder*, *Clouds*, & *Rain*
Groan'd his *Elegium*, mourn'd and wept our *pain*.
Let not the *Brazen Schiſmatick* aſpire;
Lots leaving *Sodom* left them to the *Fire*.
'Tis true, the *Bee*'s now dead; but yet his *Sting*
Death's to their *Droniſh Doctrines* yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

Here Lies within this Comprehenſive Span,
The Churches, Courts, and Countrys Jonathan.
He that ſpeaks Mitchel *gives the Schools the* Lie;
Friendſhip in him gain'd an Ubiquity.

F. Drake.

FINIS.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

DRVSIVS NOV-ANGLICANVS.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Urian Oakes.

O Vtinam plures ſimiles tibi pectore noſſem,
Aut in Doctrinâ, aut Sedulitate pares.

§. 1. I Remember, 'tis the Report given by *Sylvius* concerning *Rhodes*, *That it is bleſſed with a perpetual Shine of the Sun*; imagine, that there paſſes not a Day in the Year, wherein the *Sun* ſhines not upon it. And methinks our *Cambridge*, had not been much otherwiſe priviledged for more than Forty Years together; being ſhined upon by a ſucceſſive *Triumvirate* of ſuch Eminent and Heavenly *Lights*, as, Firſt, *Shepard*, then *Mitchel*; and Laſtly our Excellent **Urian Oakes.** Thoſe three *Golden Men* and very *Chryſoſtoms*, have given to *Cambridge* its *Golden Age!* The Church of *Cambridge* had a Succeſſion in ſome ſort like that in the Church of *Epheſus*, a *Paul*, a *Timothy*, and a *Tychicus*.

§. 2. 'Tis Remarkable, That in the Sacred Story at leaſt *Forty Dukes* of *Edom* have their whole Story crouded into one ſhort piece of a Chapter; Three or Four of them are joſtled into a Line, Seven or Eight of them into Two; all but their meer Name is buried in a Dark Vault of Eternal Oblivion: While above a dozen Chapters are employ'd, in deſcribing the Vertues, and relating the Actions of one Younger Son of *Iſrael*, the Son of a *Plain Man who dwelt in Tents.* If the Greateſt Perſons of *Edom* [that is to ſay, of *Rome*] have their Hiſtory loſt, the Church of God would have no great *Loſs* in it; A Son of *Iſrael* may more worthily, and more uſefully have his Memory preſerved in *Church-Hiſtory* with the moſt Extended Paragraphs: Yea, the Son of a *Plain Man, who dwelt in Tents*, may deſerve an *Everlaſting Remembrance* among them, who moſt conſider what they have moſt Reaſon to remember. Make Room then, for *Vrian Oakes*, Ye Records of *New-England.* He was born in *England*, and now in his Childhood brought over to *New-England*, by his pious Parents, who were bleſſed with ſeveral Worthy Sons, the Effects of whoſe Liberal Education in our Colledge have rendred the Family not the *Leaſt* in our little *Iſrael.* While he was yet a Child, he was delivered from an Extream Hazard of *Drowning* by a *Mirable*, I had almoſt ſaid, a *Miracle* of Divine Providence; God reſerving him to be a *Moſes* among his People. And the *ſweet Nature*, which accompanied him all his Days, did now ſo remarkably recommend him, that Obſervers have made this Reflection, *If good Nature could ever carry One to Heaven, this Youth has enough to carry him thither*

§. 3. His prompt *Parts* adorned and advanced with the *Grace* of God at ſuch a Rate, as to make the Conſiderate ſay of him, as they ſaid of young *Ambroſe, To what will this Child grow?* were improved in our *Colledge*; where he took his two Degrees. Being here yet a Lad of ſmall, as he never was of *great* Stature, he publiſhed a little parcel of *Aſtronomical Calculations* with this appoſite Verſe in the Title Page,

Parvum parva decent, ſed ineſt ſua Gratia parvis.

But here, being furniſhed with the *Armour*, and the *Treaſure* of the *Schools*, he went from hence unto the Work of Building the *Temple* of God; preaching his firſt Sermon at *Roxbury.*

§. 4. Returning back to *England*, he there *Grew in Favour with God and Man.* After he had been a while Chaplain to One of the moſt Noted Perſons then in the Nation, *Titchfield* was the place, where this Bright Star became *fixed*; there 'twas that he ſettled in the *Charge of Souls*, which he diſcharged in ſuch *Lively Preaching* and ſuch *Holy Living*, as became a *Miniſter of the New-Teſtament*; there 'twas that like a *Silkworm*, he ſpent

ſpent his own *Bowels* or *Spirits*, to procure the *Garments of Righteouſneſs for his Hearers*; there 'twas, that he might challenge the *Device* and *Motto* of the Famous Dr. *Sibs*, a waſting *Lamp* with this Inſcription, *Prælucendo pereo*, or, *My Light is my Death*.

§. 5. But the Expenſive Labours of his Miniſtry did not ſo haſten a *Natural Death* upon him, as to anticipate a *Civil Death* by the *Perſecution*, that ſilenced the *Non-conformiſt* Miniſters throughout the Nation. A *Civil Death*, I ſay; becauſe although the Authors of that Act, XIV *Car.* 2. would not be reckoned among *The Slayers of our Lord's Witneſſes*, yet it may ſurprize the moſt attentive Conſideration, to read how much oftner than *Twice* or *Thrice* in that Act, the ſilenced Miniſters are pronounced *as Dead*, and, *as if naturally Dead!* This Act ſlew the Miniſtry of this *Faithful Witneſs* to the Truths of the Goſpel, whereof he was a Miniſter; but that Worthy and Well-known Collonel *Norton*, proved the *Obadiah*, who then gave this Good Man a Reſidence in his Houſe; where his Preſence and Prayers produced a *Bleſſing*, like that on the Houſe of *Obed-Edom*. Nevertheleſs, when the Heat of the *Perſecution* was a little abated, he returned unto the Exerciſe of his Miniſtry, in a Congregation, where Mr. *Symmons* was his Colleague.

§. 6. Our *Cambridge* deprived of their Incomparable *Mitchel*, and lamenting, that, *Of all her Sons, there were ſo few to take her by the Hand*; after ſolemn Addreſſes unto the *Great Shepherd of the Sheep* for His Direction, ſent over their Agents into *England*, with an Invitation to Mr. *Oakes*, to *Come over and Help them*. A *Council*, upon that Occaſion, called approving of the Invitation, the Good *Stork* flew over the *Atlantick Ocean* to feed his *Dam*. Whereupon One wrote,

Welcome, Great Prophet, to New-England *Shore,*
The Fam'd Utopia, *of more Famous* MORE,
Unfabled, for New-England *is by thee,*
Now Twiſſe's *Gueſs too muſt Accompliſht be;*
That for the New-Jeruſalem, *there may*
A Seat *be found in Wide* America.

§. 7. The *Church* of *Cambridge* could now ſhow this *Orient Jewel* for divers Years, before the Almighty would have it made up *Among his Jewels*; though the Troubles and Sorrows of a *Quartan Ague*, often diverted him from his Publick Services. And here he had the Opportunity, for which Dr. *Preſton* choſe rather to preach at *Cambridge*, than any other place, *Dolare non tantum Lapides ſed Artifices*. Of the Divine Favour to them, in their Enjoyment of ſuch a *Paſtor*, the Church was now ſo ſenſible, that they kept a Day of *Publick Thankſgiving* for it. At this *Thankſgiving* a Sermon being expected from himſelf, he took for his Text thoſe Words in 2 *Cor.* 12. 11. *I be nothing*. And the Holy Endeavours that he uſed in the Sermon, to take off the Thoughts of the Faithful from any thing in *Man*, to every thing in *Chriſt*; were very agreeable to a *Man*, whom *Chriſt* had made *ſomething* among the People. But the *Colledge* in *Cambridge* languiſhing under ſomewhat worſe than an *Ague*, by the Want of a *Præſident*, this Accompliſhed Man was invited unto that Place: For divers Years, he would admit no other Title to this Place, but that of *Pro Tempore*, which indeed ſeems to have been a little *Proleptical* and *Prophetical*. *From* this Time, and *But for* a Time, he was the *Jerom* of our *Bethlehem!*

§. 8. Soon after he had accepted his *Preſidentſhip*, he was arreſted with a Malignant *Fever*, which preſently put an End unto his Days in this World. The Prayer of ſome Great Saints has been contrary to that in the *Litany* for a *Sudden Death*; and ſuch was the *Death* of this deſirable Perſon, if any *Death* may be accounted *ſudden* to him, that was *always prepared* for it. When he had lain ſick about a Day or Two, and not ſo long as to give the People of God Opportunity to *pray* for his Recovery, his Chuch coming together with Expectation to have the *Lord's-Supper* on the *Lord's Day* adminiſtred unto them, to their Horror, found the *Pangs of Death* ſeizing their Paſtor, that ſhould have broken to them the *Bread of Life*. And, indeed, I have often ſeen the Lord *of* Heaven, taking off His Miniſters, perhaps *to* Heaven, at that *Seaſon*, when the *Euchariſt* ſhould have been celebrated! which is a thing that might admit of ſome Uſeful Reflections.

§. 9. He was upon all Accounts truly, an Admirable Perſon. Conſider'd as a *Chriſtian*, he was *Full of all Goodneſs*, and like a *full* Ear of Corn, he ſtoop'd with a moſt profound *Humility*, adorning all his other Graces; but though he were *Low* in his own Opinion of himſelf, yet he was *High* in his Attainments; *High* in his Principles. He carried *Heaven* in his *Name Urianus*, q. ȣρανιος,] but much more in his *Heavenly Mind*. Conſidered as a *Scholar*, he was a Notable *Critick* in all the Points of Learning; and well Verſed in every Point of the *Great Circle*. Vaſt the Treaſures lodged in the Soul of ſuch a *Scholar!* Conſider'd as a *Preacher*, He was an *Orpheus*, that would have drawn the very *Stones* to Diſcipline; had *Auſtin* been here, he might now have ſeen *Paul in the Pulpit*: indeed, he was, as one ſaid, *An Uncomfortable Preacher*; Why? He drove us to *Deſpair*, namely, *Of ſeeing ſuch another*. Finally, I cannot ſpeak more Comprehenſively of him, than Mr. *Increaſe Mather* does in his Preface to a Diſcourſe of this Renowned Man's, publiſhed juſt after his Deceaſe.

' There have been ſeveral of the ſame Name, ' heretofore Renowned for their Rare Accom' pliſhments in ſome particular Faculty, where' in they have excelled. *Joſephus Quercetanus* was ' a Learned and Famous *Phyſician*. *Johannes* ' *Druſius* (the *Greek* Word for *Oakes*) was a ' Great Divine, and Eminent for his Critical ' *Genius*. But an Age doth ſeldom produce One ' ſo many Ways excelling as this Author was.

'If we conſider him as a *Divine*, as a *Scholar*, 'as a *Chriſtian*, it is hard to ſay, in which he 'did moſt excel. I have often in my Thoughts, 'compared him unto *Samuel* among the Prophets 'of Old; in as much as he did truly *Fear God* '*from his Youth*, and was *Betimes* improved in '*Holy Miniſtrations*, and was at laſt called to be '*Head* of the *Sons of the Prophets* in this *New-*'*Engliſh Iſrael*, as *Samuel* was Preſident of the 'Colledge at *Najoth*. And in many other Parti-'culars, I might enlarge upon the Parallel, but 'that it is inconvenient to extend ſuch Inſtances 'beyond their proportion.

——— *Heu, tua nobis*
Morte ſimul tecum Solatia rapta!

'It may without Reflection upon any be ſaid, '*That He was one of the Greateſt Lights, that ever* '*ſhone in this Part of the World, or that is ever* '*like to ariſe in our* Horizon. He is now be-'come a *Royal Diadem in the Hand of the Lord*; 'being, as One ſpeaks concerning a Great Wor-'thy, *An Ornament unto Heaven it ſelf.*

§. 10. As for his *Works*, 'tis an Exceeding Pity, that the *Preſs* has given to the *Light* no more of them; for *Quicquid tam Docta condidit Manus, Cœlum eſt:* Neverthel eſs, Four or Five of his Publiſhed Compoſures are carried about among us, like *Paul*'s Handkerchiefs, for the Healing of our *Sick Land*. We may read ſomething of what he was, in a Sermon, called *The Conquering and Unconquerable Chriſtian Soldier*, on *Rom.* 8. 37. preached unto the Artillery-Company in *Boſton*, on their *Election:* And in a Sermon preached on the like Occaſion in *Cambridge*, from *Eccleſ.* 9. 11. ſhowing, That *Chance* is infallibly determined by God: And in a Sermon upon a *Faſt*, which from *Iſa.* 43. 22. preſſes for *Sincerity* and *Delight* in the Service of God: But moſt of all in a Sermon on *Deut.* 32. 22. preached unto the *General Court* of the *Maſſachuſet-Colony*; wherein, he pleaded with his Countrey, to *Conſider* what would be the *Latter End* of the *Evils* then growing in the Country; after a Manner, ſo Faithful, ſo Solemn, ſo Affectionate as was hardly to be equalled. Now, that the Reader may ſee ſome Account of this Learned Man's Judgment in the Matters of *Church-Diſcipline*, without which we may not ſay, that we have written his *Life*, we will from that Sermon only Tranſcribe the few following Lines.

'I profeſs, I look upon the Settlement of 'the *Congregational Way*, as the Boon, the Gra-'tuity, the Largeſs of *Divine Bounty*, which the 'Lord graciouſly beſtow'd upon His People, that 'followed him into this Wilderneſs; and a great 'part of the Bleſſing on the Head of *Joſeph*, and 'of them that were *Separate from their Brethren*. 'Thoſe Good People that came over hither ſhew-'ed more Love and Zeal, and Affectionate De-'ſire of *Communion* with God in pure Worſhip 'and Ordinances, and did more in Order to it 'than others, and the Lord did more for them, 'than for any People in the World, in ſhewing 'them the *Pattern of his Houſe*, and the true *Scrip-*'*tural Way* of Church-Government and Admini-'ſtrations, I do not think, that they were at 'a *Ne plus ultra*, and that nothing was left unto 'the Diſcovery of after-times; but the *Beginning-*'*Work* was ſubſtantially done by them; they 'were ſet in the Right Way, wherein we are 'now to *proceed*, and make a *Progreſs*. It will 'be our Wiſdom, Intereſt, and Duty to fol-'low them, as they followed the Guidance of the '*Spirit of Chriſt*. The *Reformation* in K. *Edward's* 'Days was then a Bleſſed Work; and the Re-'formation of *Geneva* and *Scotland* was a larger 'Step, and in many Reſpects purer than the o-'ther; and for my part, I fully believe, that the 'Congregational-Way far exceeds both, and is 'the higheſt Step that has been taken towards '*Reformation*, and for the Subſtance of it, is the 'very way that was eſtabliſhed and practiſed in 'the Primitive Times according to the Inſtitu-'tion of Jeſus Chriſt. There is a *Sweet Tempera-*'*ment* in the *Congregational-Way*; that the Liber-'ties of the People may not be overlaid and op-'preſſed, as in the *Claſſical-Way*, nor the *Rule* 'and *Authority* of the *Elders* rendred an inſig-'nificant thing, and trampled under foot as in 'the Way of the *Browniſts*; but that there may 'be a *Reconciliation* or due Concurrence in the 'Ballancing of the One juſtly with the Other: 'And herein, the Wiſdom of our Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt in the Frame of *Church-Government* (for 'it is not any *Politick* or *Prudential* Contrivance 'of Man, but modell'd by the great *Law Giver*, 'the Lord Jeſus) is greatly to be admired by us.

§. 11. The Reſt of the Report that we will give of this *Memorable Perſon*, ſhall be but a Tranſcript of the *Epitaph* on the Tomb-ſtone in the *Sleeping-place* at *Cambridge*, dedicated unto his *Memory*. And know, Reader, that though the *Stones* in this Wilderneſs are already grown ſo *Witty* as to *Speak*, they never yet, that I could hear of, grew ſo *Wicked* as to *Lye*.

URIANI OAKESII,
Cujus, Quod, Reliquum eſt,
clauditur hoc Tumulo;
Exploratâ Integritate, ſummâ Morum Gravitate,
Omniumq; meliorum Artium inſigni Peritiâ,
Spectatiſſimi, Clariſſimiq; omnibus Modis Viri,
Theologi, merito ſuo, celiberrime,
Concionatoris verè Melliflui,
Cantabrigienſis Eccleſiæ, Doctiſſimi et Orthodoxi Paſtoris
In Collegio Harvardino Præſidis Vigilantiſſimi,
Maximam Pietatis, Eruditionis, Facundiæ, Laudem
Adepti;
Qui, Repentinâ Morte ſubitò correptus,
In JESU ſinum efflavit Animam,
Julii XXV. A. D. M. DC. LXXXI.
Memoriæ
Ætatis ſuæ L.
Plurima quid Referam, ſatis eſt ſi dixeris Unum,
Hoc Dictu ſatis eſt, Hic jacit OAKESIUS.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Thomas Shepard.

§. 1. WHEN We find that Paſſage in the Oracles of Heaven, *Behold*, Philiſtia, *and* Tyre, *with* Ethiopia; *this Man was born there*; it follows, *And of* Sion, *it ſhall be ſaid*, *This and That Man was born in her*; And the Meaning and the Reaſon of this different Expreſſion hath been a Matter of ſome Enquiry. It ſeems, that of *Rahab*, *Babylon*, *Philiſtia*, *Tyre* and *Ethiopia*, it was ſaid, *Behold* (as being almoſt a Wonder!) that *This Man*, ſome one ſingle Man of Eminency a *Rara Avis in Terris*, was *born there*. But of *Zion*, it might be ſaid, [איש ואיש] Man and Man, *This and That Man*, that is to ſay, Very many Eminent Men, *Multi pietate*, *Doctrinâ Ingenio*, *Rerum Bellicarum Gloriâ aliisq; Virtutibus Inſignes*, were *Born in her*. That little Spot of Ground, where God planted His Church, afforded more Excellent Men for Holineſs and other Noble Accompliſhments, in proportion, than all the World beſides. I will now make no *Odious Compariſons* between *Harvard-Colledge* and other Univerſities, for the proportion of Worthy Men therein educated: But *New-England*, compared with other Parts of *America*, may certainly boaſt of having brought forth *Very many Eminent Men*, in proportion, more than any of them; and of *Harvard-Colledge* (herein truly a *Sion-Colledge*) it may be ſaid, *This and That Man was bred there*; of Whom, not the leaſt was Mr. *Thomas Shepard*.

§. 2. Reader, Eſteem it not *præpoſterous*, if I *begin* the *Life* of this Worthy Man, with Relating that his *Death* fell out, on *Decemb.* 22. A. D. 1677. When the Peſtilence raged ſo much in *Alexandria* of Old, that *There was not an Houſe, wherein there were not many Dead*, it was the Obſervation of Mankind, that while the *Pagans* caſt off all Humanity and inhumanely forſook their Deareſt Friends, in the Diſtreſſes of their *Sickneſs*, the *Chriſtians* without any regard unto their own Life, boldly ventured into the Sick-Chambers, and cheerfully aſſiſted and relieved their Infected Brethren, and very often dyed that they might preſerve others from Death, or attend them in it. Mr. *Thomas Shepard* had in him that Spirit of the Primitive *Chriſtians*. He was the Paſtor of the Church in *Charlſtown*; and the *Small-Pox* growing as Epidemically Mortal as a *Great Plague* in that place, this Excellent Man, who had for many Years moſt faithfully done all the Duties of a *Paſtor* unto his Flock, apprehended it now his Duty to *Viſit* One of his Flock, who lying ſick of this Diſtemper, deſired a Viſit from him. He went with *His Life in his Hand*, and which he courageouſly, and undauntedly expected, the Contagious Diſtemper arreſting of him, did put an End unto his *Life*, and therein, ſurely, after ſome ſort entitle him unto the *Crown of Martyrdom*. Thus, as an Elegy upon his *Death* expreſſed it.

Rather than run from's Work, he choſe to dye,
Running on Death, ſooner than Duty fly.

Behold, a *Shepherd*, who was (as the Emperor *Probus* had it ſaid of him) *Vir ſui Nominis!*

§. 3. And now, that the Pourtraiture of this Perſon, who was, *as Great a Bleſſing and Glory as ever* Charlſtown *had*, may be drawn to the Life, it is fit, that other *Pencils*, than ſuch poor ones as *mine*, ſhould be employ'd; for indeed it was very truly confeſſed in an *Elegy*, made upon him,

Here's Worth enough to overmatch the Skill,
Of the moſt Stately Poet Laureat's Quill.

We will therefore employ *Three* other Teſtimonies and Deſcriptions to give Poſterity the Knowledge of him; whereof the Firſt ſhall be the *Epitaph* engraved on his *Tomb-ſtone*, in ſuch Terms as theſe,

D. O. M. S.
Repoſitæ ſunt hic Reliquiæ Thomæ Shepardi,
Viri Sanctiſſimi,
Eruditione, Virtute, Omnigenâ, Moribusq; ſuaviſſimis Ornatiſſimi;
Theologi Conſultiſſimi,
Concionatoris Eximii:
Qui Filius fuit Thomæ Shepardi *Clariſſimus,*
Memoratiſſimi Paſtoris olim Eccleſiæ Cantabrigienſis;

Et in Eccleſia Carolienſi Presbyter docens ;
Fide ac Vitâ Verus Epiſcopus :
Optimè de Re Literariâ Meritus :
Quà Curator Collegii Harvardini vigilantiſſimus ;
Quà Municipii Academici Socius Primarius.
Τα δε Ιησȣ Χριστȣ, ȣ τα εαυτȣ Ζητων.
In D. Jeſu placidè obdormivit, Anno 1677. Dec. 22.
Ætatis ſuæ 43.
Totius Novangliæ Lachrymis Defletus ;
Uſq; & Uſq; Deflendus.

Let Fame no longer boaſt her Antique Things,
Huge Pyramids *and* Monuments *of Kings :*
This Cabinet *that locks up a Rare* Gem,
Without Preſumption may compare with them.
The Sacred Reliques *of that Matchleſs One*
Great Shepard, *are* Enſhrin'd *below this Stone.*
Here lies Entomb'd an Heavenly Orator,
To the Great King of Kings Embaſſador :
Mirror of Virtues, *Magazine of* Arts,
Crown *to our Heads and* Loadſtone *of our Hearts :*
Harvard's *Great* Son, *and* Father *too beſide,*
Charlſtown's *Juſt Glory* & New-England's *Pride :*
The Church's *Jewel,* Colledge's *Overſeer,*
The Clergy's *Diadem without a Peer :*
The Poor Man's *ready Friend, the* Blind Mans *Eyes,*
The wandring wildred Soul's Conductor *Wiſe :*
The Widow's *Solace, and the* Orphan's *Father,*
The Sick Man's *Viſitant, or* Cordial *rather :*
The General Benefactor, *and yet Rare*
Engroſſer *of all Good ; the* Man of Prayer :
The Conſtant Friend, *and the moſt Cheerful* Giver,
Moſt Orthodox Divine *and* Pious Liver :
An Oracle *in any Doubtful Caſe,*
A Maſter-piece of Nature, Art *and* Grace.
In this Bed *lye repos'd his weary Limbs ;*
His Soul's *Good Company for* Seraphims.
If Men *be Dumb in Praiſing of his Worth,*
This Stone *ſhall cry,* For Shame ! *and ſet it forth.*

Si Sheparde *Tuo, niſi quæ ſint Digna Sepulchro,*
Carmina nulla forent, Carmina nulla forent.

§. 4. The whole Country was fill'd with Lamentations upon the Deceaſe of the Perſon thus Entomb'd, and many beſtowed their *Elegies* upon him with Reſentments like thoſe, which One of them thus uttered ;

Next to the Tears our Sins do need and crave,
I would beſtow my Tears on Shepard's *Grave.*

But there was none who found a deeper Wound at this Deceaſe, than the Reverend Preſident of the Colledge, Mr. *Urian Oakes* ; who was his *Particular Friend.* For, as *Auſtin* had his *Alipius,* as *Baſil* had his *Nazianzen,* as *Jerom* had his *Heliodorus,* as *Euſebius* had his *Pamphilus,* or, if you will, as *Paul* had his *Barnabas* ; even ſuch was the Friendſhip, that *Unanimated* our *Oakes* and our *Shepard.* He beſides other ways of expreſſing his Value for this his Departed *Jonathan,* took the Opportunity of the next *Commencement,* with no ſmall part of his Elegant *Oration,* thus to Embalm his Memory.

Referunt Hiſtorici *Caium Caligulam,* Monſtrum illud Hominis, queri palam de Conditione Temporum ſuorum eſſe ſolitum, quod nullis Calamitatibus publicis inſignirentur. Quod ſi nunc in Vivis, apud nos ageret, nihil eſſet illi Querelæ loci relictum, adeo Calamitoſa ſunt Omnia, et Fœlicitates, bonas nobis adverſas habemus. Ecquid verò Calamitoſius, quàm quod Morbus ille *Variolarum* in Vicinis oppidis paſſim graſſatus fuerit. Heu ! Quæ Funera dedit ! Quas Strages edidit ! Miſerum me ! Hæreo, ſtupeo, vehementer perturbor Animo ; neque Mens, neque Vox, neque Lingua conſiſtit, quoties ſubit Animum, quàm grave Vulnus, vel ex Unius Viri, Interritu, non ità pridem accepimus. Video me, Neceſſitate coactum, Officii, Auditores, Infandum renovare Dolorem, Vulnusq; recens acceptum, refricando, retractandoq; exacerbare. Amiſimus, Amiſimus Memoratiſſimum illum Virum, Reverendiſſimum *Thomam Shepardum :* Reſpublica Civem optimum; Eccleſia Theologum clariſſimum : Academia non Filium tantum & Aluminum chariſſimum, ſed Curatorem etiam vigilantiſſimum ; Municipium Scholaſticum, Socium ſuum primarium, amiſerunt; Amicum ego ſingularem & integerrimum. Heu Pietas ! Heu priſca Fides ! Obiit, proh Dolor ! Ornatiſſimus *Shepardus,* Vir dignus, ſi quis alius, qui nunquam ægrotaret, nunquam moriretur. Dabitis Veniam, Auditores, ut mœſti nos Harvardinates, etiam in ipſis Feriis Academicis, pientiſſimi *Thomæ Shepardi* Manibus, alieno quidem, uti videri poteſt Tempore, et Exequialia juſta, parentemus. Dolemus tanto Reipublicæ Vulnere, Mortemq; tanti Viri, jure optimo, Luctu publico eſſe Honorandam, exiſtimamus ; qui Fatalis Morbi vi ereptus, non Eccleſiam ſolùm *Carolinienſem,* ſed totam etiam *Novangliam,* Orbam ac Debilitatam reliquit ; quocum defuncto, Reſpublica Eccleſia, Academia vacillare certè, ſi non Corruiſſe videantur. Cum *Caius Cæſar* ſatis ſe diu, vel Naturæ vixiſſe, vel Gloriæ dixiſſet ; *Satis,* inquit *Cicero, ſi ita vis, Naturæ fortaſſe ; addo etiam, ſi placet Gloriæ ; at quod maximum eſt, Patriæ certe parum :* Multò profecto verius & ſincerius à me dici poteſt, Clariſſimum *Shepardum,* ſatis diu vixiſſe *ſibimetipſi,* & *Gloriæ ſuæ,* cum piè adeo vixerit, ut ad cœleſtem verè vitalem vitam ſincerâ fide, Virtutum Chriſtianarum Exercitio, viam aditumq; ſibi munierit, Nomen ſuum immortalitati conſecravit ; at *Reipublicæ, non ſatis diu, at Eccleſiæ, at Academiæ, parum certè vixit ;* Quocum occubente, titubare ac nutare videntur omnia, Eſt et illud Iræ Divinæ vehementèr in nos excandeſcentis Argumentum et Indicium inſigne, quòd graviſſimis Reipublicæ Temporibus, Academiæ Neceſſitatibus, Eccleſiarum Precibus & Lachrymis hujus eximii Viri vitam noluerit Deus condonare. Amiſimus *Shepardum,* alieniſſimo Reipublicæ Tempore extinctum : At quem & qualem Virum ! Theologum profectò non unum è multis, ſed inter multos propè ſingularem ; Neminem cum illo conferendum non auſim dicere : neq; detrahere quidquam ab aliis neceſſum habeo, cum Encomia defuncto *Shepardo* debita perſolvo. At verò inter Gregarios Theo-

logos

logos (quod ſine cujusquam Injuria dici velim) tantùm Caput extulit

Quantum lenta ſolent inter Viburna Cupreſſi.

Certabat in eo, cum Pietate minimè fucatâ, Eruditio minimè vulgaris ; cum Eruditione verò Prudentia, Modeſtia, Humanitas et Induſtria ſingularis. Quanta Gravitas in vultu? Quantum pondus in Verbis? Quam nihil non conſideratum exibat ex Ore ? Quàm nihil in Geſtu affectatum, aut indecorum ? Fuit quidem ὁ μακαρίτης, Animo ſedatiſſimo, candidiſſimo Pectore, fœliciſſimo Ingenio, acerrimo Judicio, ſuaviſſimis deniq; temperatiſſimisq; Moribus ornatiſſimus. Sic autem univerſam vitam traduxit, ut aliis illuſtre quoddam veræ Pietatis ac Virtutis Exemplar, ad imitandum propoſitum ; in eoq; quaſi Exempli cauſâ, antiqui Officii veſtigia remanebant. Non ille inanem occupatus eſt Rumorem, neq; ullus umbra falſæ Gloriæ conſectatus eſt, aut inſolentius extulit ſe ; ſed a Supercilio, Faſtuq; omni longè longèq; abfuit. In ſummis ejus Dotibus, propter quas, Honoribus Autoritate, Gratia floruit, ſumma Animi Demiſſio & Modeſtia ſingularis emicuerunt ; Et rara quidem (ut dici ſolet) *Virtus eſt Humilitas Honorata.* Verus eſt Verbum Εἷς Ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς Ἀνὴρ, *Unus, Vir, Nullus Vir.* Ego vero non minus vere poſſum dicere Εἷς ἐμοὶ μυριοι. *Unus mihi fuit inſtar decem Millium.* Prorſus aſſentior *Nazianzeno* dicenti φιλοπτινθε οὐκ εἶμαι Ἀντάλλαγμα τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν. *Amicitiam unicum eſſe vitæ condimentum.* Miſerum me ! Quam triſte nobis ſui Deſiderium reliquit ! Qui mihi itâ Charus, ita Jucundus fuit, ut ejus Aſpectu Dolor omnis fuerit abſterſus, et omnis, quæ me angebat, cura planè conſederit. Probè memini, quam me olim frons ejus tranquilla, vultusq; (ut *Ovidius* loquitur) *Plenus Gravitate ſerenâ,* inter dicendum animadvertit. Ille horum Comitiorum (ut mea tulit Opinio) *Pars* adeo *magna fuit,* ut quemadmodum (Autore *Cicerone*) *Antomachus Clarius* Poeta, cum convocatis Auditoribus recitaret iis ingens Volumen, quod conſcripſerat, eumq; legentem, omnes præter *Platonem* reliquiſſent. *Legam,* inquit, *Nihilominus* ; Plato *enim mihi unus, inſtar eſt Omnium* : Itâ profectò, alter *Plato* (abſit verbo Invidia) fuit mihi *Shepardus* et inſtar omnium. Dici non poteſt, quàm me perorantem, in Comitiis, conſpectus ejus, multò Jucundiſſimus recreârit & refecerit. At non comparet hodie *Shepardus* in his Comitiis : Oculos huc illuc torqueo ; quocunq; tamen inciderint, *Platonem* meum in tanta Virorum illuſtrium frequentiâ requirunt ; nuſquam Amicum & perneceſſarium meum, in hac ſolenni Panegyri, inter hoſce Reverendos Theologos, Academiæ Curatores, reperire aut Oculis veſtigare poſſum. Amiſimus Virum illum ſanctiſſimum ſtrenuum, Orthodoxæ Fidei propugnatorem, non Hominibus ſolùm gratum & acceptum, ſed, et Deo ipſi Chariſſimum, *Divinæ Familiaritatis Virum,* ſicuti *Tertullianus* nuncupat *Abrahamum.* Quamobrem, Honoratiſſimi Viri, lugete amiſſum civem planè τετράγωνον, Optimarum ſemper, in Republica, partium et in rebus optimis, conſtantiſſimum virum ; Columen atq; Ornamentum Reipublicæ veſtræ ; cujus Unius Funere, propè dixeram, elatam eſſe Rempublicam. Lugete, Reverendiſſimi Presbyteri, amiſſum chariſſimum Fratrem, et Symmiſtam Ordinis veſtri Decus & Lumen ſingulare. Lugete, Carolinenſes, ſublatum, ex Oculis veſtris, eximium Epiſcopum veſtrum, Delicias olim & Amores veſtros. Lugete, Academici amiſſum Curatorem vigilantiſſimum, cujus interritu, Collegii Dignitatem, immane quantum diminutam, ſalutem ipſam periclitatam eſſe, quis non intelligit? Lugete, quotquot adeſtis, Auditores, amiſſum illum Virum, conſummatiſſimum, Currum & Equites Iſraelis, digniſſimum profectò, qui Nov-Angliæ Lachrymis uſq; & uſq; defleatur. Quòd ſi nimius in hoc Argumento, et longius, quam par eſt provectus eſſe videor, quæſo, obteſtorq; ut veniam aliquam Dolori meo, et Mœrori Animi tribuendam putetis. Videtis me, in ampliſſimas Chariſſimi *Shepardi* Laudes, tanquam in Oceanum deſcendiſſe, et difficile quidem eſſe, cùm Laudandi, tùm Lugendi Finem reperire.

This was one Paragraph in a Commencement-Oration pronounced by the *Lactantius* of *New-England.* And that Stroke, which this very Perſon had in an *Elegy,* by him compoſed on the Death of his Deareſt *Shepard.*

They that can Shepard's *Goodneſs well diſplay,*
Muſt be as Good as He : but who are They ?

He did himſelf make a near *Eſſay* towards the doing of it, and in *my* Thought, he was according to his *own* Rule, well qualified for the doing of it.

§. 5. But if the Reader muſt have One in all Things, *As Good as He, to Diſplay his Goodneſs,* behold then *He* ſhall effectually, and not improperly, do it *Himſelf.* Let the Reader peruſe his Elaborate Sermon, preached at the Anniverſary *Election* of the Governour and Magiſtrates in *Boſton,* May 5. 1672. and afterwards printed ; and he will there ſee *Conſtellated* ſo much Learning, Wiſdom, Holineſs and Faithfulneſs, that he will pronounce the Author to have been a Perſon of more than Common *Talents* for the Service of our Churches.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

St. Stephen's *Reliques.*

MEDITATIONS, *Awakened by the Death of the Reverend Mr.* Joſhua Moodey; *With ſome Short Character of that* Eminent Perſon: *Who Slept in* Jeſus, 4*d.* 5*m.* 1697. *In the Sixty Fifth Year of his Age.*

By COTTON MATHER.

The Second Edition.

JOSH. XXIV. 22, 23 29.

JOSHUA ſaid unto the People, ye have choſen you the Lord, to ſerve Him.
Now therefore, incline your Heart unto the Lord.
And it came to paſs, after theſe things, that Joſhua, *the Servant of the Lord dyed.*

READER,

TELL me not, that the People's being taken with *Publicola*'s Funeral Oration in Praiſe of the Dead *Brutus*, or the Decree of the *Roman Senate*, That it ſhould be Lawful to make a Funeral Oration on ſuch as deſerved well of the Common-wealth, made *Polydore Virgil* ſay, *Hinc mortuos Laudandi mos fluxit, quem nos hodie Servamus.* The Book of *Lamentations*, on the Death of *Joſiah*, is of an Elder Date; the Roll of *Lamentations* on the Death of *Jonathan*, is of yet an Elder; and certainly, to be imitated among the Faithful People of God. Tell me not, that ſome Eminent *Nonconformiſts* have therefore ſcrupled, the Preaching of any *Funeral Sermons*: That in ſome *Reformed Churches*, the Practice of them is wholly omitted; that in the *Primitive Churches* they were not practiced until the *Apoſtacy* began; and that there have been *Decrees of Councils* againſt them. I readily grant, That the Cuſtom of *Praiſing the Dead*, has been ſcandalouſly abuſed; but I cannot grant, That the Abuſe is beſt corrected, by taking away all *Publick Meditations* on the *Funerals* of thoſe, in whoſe *Deaths* God from Heaven ſpeaks Great Things unto the *Living*. We do but wiſely fullfil our Miniſtry by *Watching*, to ſuit the *Words* of God unto thoſe *Works* of His, which occur to our Notice, when *Men of Note* are taken away. Behold, According to the Laudable Uſage in the Churches of *New-England*, the *Meditations* which have been *awakened* by the falling *Aſleep* of an Eminent Perſon, who was, *A Memorable Servant of thoſe Churches!* I am out of meaſure aſtoniſhed, when I read in an Author as Old, and as great as *Auſtin*, the Wonderful Effects which the pretended *Reliques* of the Martyr *Stephen* had upon thoſe who repaired thereunto for the Cure of Maladies. Howbeit, When I find that Great Man in his Epiſtle to the Clergy of *Hippo*, denying that any *Miracles* were then done in *Africa* (which he alſo again ſaid, in his Book, *De Utilitate Credendi*) and in his Book of *True Religion*, affirming that God permitted not *Miracles* to continue until *then* leſt the Minds of Men ſhould be too much taken up with *Viſible Matters*, I perſwade my ſelf, that the Story of the *Reliques* of *Stephen* was foiſted into his Book, *De Civitate Dei*; by ſome later Hand. The beſt ſort of *Reliques* after all are thoſe which we have here preſerved and propoſed; and it will be no *Superſtition*, to hope, that a Cure of Spiritual Maladies too generally prevailing, may be promoted by repairing unto them. And, I do not more queſtion the Opinion of a very Learned Man concerning the *Angels*, whom we find mention'd in the Scriptures as doing very *Humane* Actions, *Veros Homines fuiſſe, qui a Spiritu Meſſia, et a Spiritibus Angelicis agebantur; et movebantur ad ea agenda, quæ ipſi non intelligebant, phantaſia Eorum obſeſſa, et a Cogitationibus conſuetis abducta: Qui Homines, Negotio peracto, ad quod fuerant a Deo adbibiti, diſcuſſo veterno, et ceſſante Ecſtaſi, ad Conſueta munera reverſi ſunt, immemores eorum, quæ Impulſore Spiritu Divino, aut Angelico egerant:* Than I do believe, That in our *Actions*, there is an Imitation of the Holy *Angels* to be endeavoured, by which a Man may become another *Stephen*.

The

The Way to Excel.

Acts VI. 15.

—— *Looking ſtedfaſtly on him, they ſaw his Face, as it had been the Face of an ANGEL.*

SInce the *Oracles* of Heaven, have (with a moſt Significant Admonition!) allow'd a well ſerved Church, to call its *Paſtor* by the Name of its *Angel*, we may now ſay, *The Angel of the Church of* Portſmouth *has newly taken Wing!* Yea, not the leaſt of the *Angelical Chariots and Horſemen of* New-England, have departed from us, in the *Withdrawing* of One, after whom that bereaved Church is crying, *My Father, My Father!*

To preſerve the *Idea* and *Memory* of his *Face*, as far as the Infirmities of this *Mortal State* permitted any Approaches to the *Angelical* Character in it, is that whereto not only *Nature* does invite us: 'Twill be but a Compliance with that Edict of Heaven, *Remember them who have ſpoken to you the Word of God; whoſe Faith follow, conſidering the End of their Converſation.*

'Tis well known, That among the Chief Works of the Moſt High, Created by the Son of God, at the Firſt Beginning of Time, there were His *Good* ANGELS: *Angels*, which are Spiritual and Rational Subſtances, Created by the Lord, for His own Immediate Service and Honour. None deny, none diſpute, the Exiſtence of thoſe *Good Angels*, but Men that are under a more than ordinary Poſſeſſion of *Evil* Ones.

Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has given it, as a *Deſcription* of that *Future State*, wherein He will make us Happy for ever, Mat. 22. 30. *They are as the Angels of God in Heaven.* And if we hope to be *Happy* in that *Future State*, we muſt endeavour to anticipate it, by being very *Holy* in our *Preſent State*. But the way for us, to be very *Holy*, is to reſemble, and imitate, the *Angels of God in Heaven*, while we are on Earth, as far as we are able. Every *Holy Man* does a *little* of This; and *how much* of it, was done by that *Holy Man*, who is now gone to live and praiſe, and ſee CHRIST among the *Angels* for ever, may be propoſed with ſome Advantage unto the *Exhortation*, wherein I have a *few Things to preach unto the People*.

But my *Exhortation* muſt be introduced with a Report of that *Glory*, which the Martyr *Stephen*, while he was yet on Earth, attain'd unto.

There being occaſion to chooſe *Deacons* in the Primitive Church, that ſo they who were to give themſelves continually unto the *Miniſtry of the Word*, might be releaſed by the faithful Cares of thoſe *Deacons*, from Secular Encumbrances; *One* of them was the Bleſſed *Stephen*; who being the Firſt that arriv'd unto the *Crown of Martyrdom* for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the New-Teſtament, had in the Name of *Stephen*, which ſignifies, *A Crown*, a Notable Specification of the *Event* and *Reward*, which will attend all our *Sufferings* for the Lord.

It was then an Age of many *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and ſuch a *meaſure* of that *Spirit* poſſeſſed this Excellent Man, that by the *Impulſe* of that *Spirit*, He could with all Aſſurance perceive, when the *Spirit* was going to work *Miracles*, and apply himſelf to accompany the *Miracles* of the *Spirit*, by ſome wonderful *Actions* of his own. This illuſtrious Worker of *Miracles* was accuſed before the *Council* at *Jeruſalem*, for ſaying, That it was the Deſign of *Jeſus* to deſtroy the *Temple* and the *City*, and alter the *Rites*, which *Moſes* had from God commanded unto *Iſrael*. When he appear'd before the *Council* to anſwer this Accuſation, 'tis here ſaid, *They ſaw his Face, as it had been the Face of an Angel.*

Concerning the *Face of an Angel*, we have a Remarkable Account, in what we read about one of the *Angels*, in *Mat.* 28. 3. His *Countenance was like Lightning*. And we read concerning a Great Man, who had got the *Face of an Angel*, by being much with the *Angels*, in *Exod.* 34. 10. *Behold, the Skin of his Face ſhone.* If we carry the Paſſage now before us unto the Higheſt Senſe, which it would lay Claim unto, we are to ſuppoſe, That ſuch a *Splendor* was diſcernible upon the *Face* of *Stephen*: And ſurely, if they who diſcerned it, had not the *Heart* of a *Devil* in them, they durſt not have gone on, to abuſe a *Man*, that appeared before them with the *Face of an Angel*. Alas, the more of an *Angel* there is in any *Man*, the more *Stones* will the *Devil* procure to be thrown at ſuch a *Man!* But behold the *Agreeableneſs* of the Matter; *Stephen* was perſecuted for vilifying of *Moſes*; and behold, at this very Time, he is vindicated with a *Shine* upon his *Face*, like that once upon the *Face* of *Moſes*. The *Things* here ſpoken by *Stephen*, were thoſe very Things, which the Angel *Gabriel*, had formerly ſpoken unto the Prophet *Daniel*; and behold, the Aſpect of an *Angel* adorns him in his Diſcourſe.

We may from hence take Leave to Obſerve,

That a Saint on Earth, *may arrive to thoſe Attainments, that ſhall make him look like an* Angel of Heaven.

There are *Angelical Excellencies*, a Degree whereof, poor *Man*, ſorry *Man*, ſinful *Man*, even while ſuch, may very much attain unto.

But now, this CASE calls for our Attention; *What are thoſe Excellencies that would make a Saint, Look like an* ANGEL?

And

And the General Anſwer hereunto is, The *Excellencies of Holineſs.* For,

Firſt, The *Angels* of God have many *Excellencies*, the Imitation whereof cannot by Men in this Life, be reaſonably propoſed. The *Angelical Majeſty*, as a *Mortal Eye* would not be able ſteadily to *Behold* it, much leſs, in this *Mortal State* may we *affect* it. A Man may not wiſh to *ſhine* like *Stephen* in this World, and have a *Face* that may dazzle the Spectators. Or, what would it avail, if a Man could make a Glare on his *Face*, by ſmearing it with ſome of the *Noctiluca*'s invented by the *Modern Chymiſtry?* A *Devil* has before now, pretended unto ſuch a *Face*. 'Tis not the *Face*, but the *Grace* of an *Angel*, which is here to be aſpired after. It were a Fooliſh, and a Faulty Thing, for any Man to be ambitious of wearing in this World ſuch a Figure as that in *Dan.* 10. 6. *His Body like the Beryl, and his Face as the Appearance of Lightning, and his Eyes as Lamps of Fire*, *Immortality* it ſelf is one of the *Angelical Excellencies.* But, while we are among *Mortals* here, we muſt ſubmit unto the Laws of *Mortality* and be willing to *dye*, When and How, the Sovereign God ſhall order it. There are alſo thoſe Flights of *Wiſdom*, and thoſe Heights of *Power* among the *Angelical Excellencies*, wherein, 'tis not for us, to Dream of being *like* them, until we are become, *The Children of the Reſurrection.* It was the Ruine of our *Firſt Parents*, to imagine in Gen. 3. 5. They *might be as Elohim!* No, this cannot be, until our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has by a *New Birth* brought us into that *World to come*, where the *Wiſe Converters of many to Righteouſneſs*, will be thoſe who ſhall *Shine as the Brightneſs of the Firmament, and as the Stars for ever and ever!* Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt will make *us* the *Angels* of the *New World.* Indeed the *Angels* now turn and move all the *Wheels* of the *Kingdoms of this World*, but *we* are they that ſhall *Receive the Kingdom that cannot be moved.*

But, *Secondly*, The *Excellencies of Holineſs* [For, the *Saints* are the *Excellent!*] Theſe are They, wherein the Imitation of the *Angels* by *Men*, may be very far proceeded in. The *Angels* of God, are ſtyled in *Mat.* 25. 31. *The Holy Angels*; and in Dan. 4. 17. *The Holy Ones.* 'Tis not as they are *Mighty Angels*, but as they are *Holy Angels*, that we muſt propound our Coming to look like unto them. Theſe *Holy Angels* never did, and never will ſin againſt their God; but are continually ſerving of him; *They ſerve Him Day and Night in his Temple!* And it may be, the *Bright Garments*, wherein theſe *Angels of Light* have appeared, may be an Emblem of their *Holineſs* and their *Purity.* Now it hath been the *Will of God in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt concerning us*, that there ſhould be ſet before us the Greateſt Examples of *Holineſs* for our Imitation. And hence, as we have the Greater *Example* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST Himſelf given unto us, to Direct and Excite and Promote our *Holineſs*, with a Charge, *To be Holy, as He that hath called us is Holy*; So, we have alſo the *Example* of the *Holy Angels* given unto us, That we may ſtrive as far as may be, to be like unto them in their *Holineſs.* Hence when the Pſalmiſt of old ſaw the *Angels* praiſing of God, he cryed out, *O my Soul, do Thou ſo too!* Yea, ſome Interpreters judge, That when the *Face* of *Stephen* look'd like an *Angel*, it was no more than what you and I may *thro' Chriſt who ſtrengthens us* reach unto. *q. d.* The *Conſolations* of the *Holy Spirit* of God ſo filled him, that he diſcovered not the leaſt *Conſternations* in his *Face*; His *Face* was as Joyful and Serene, as if he had ſtood free from all the *Sorrows* of this World, among the *Angels* of God.

I remember the Apoſtle enjoins the *Woman* in the Church to have a covering on her Head in Token of Subjection to her *Husband*; *Becauſe of the Angels* [2 Cor. 11. 10.] Why, if you turn to the Beginning of the ſixth Chapter of *Iſaiah*, you'll find the *Angels* before their Superiour, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the *Temple* aſſuming a *Covering*, out of the Reverence which they pay unto Him. Hence then, ſays the Apoſtle, it becomes *Women* to take *Example* by the *Angels*; let them conſider, how the *Angels* behave themſelves in the Preſence of the *Son* of God, who is the Grand Repreſentative of the *Image* and *Glory* of God; and let them in their *Habit* ſhow ſome Analogy to the *Habit* of the *Angels*, betokening their Subjection to the *Man*, who is under the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the *Image* and *Glory* of God, while *They* the *Women*, are ſo of the *Man.* But I only touch on this Gloſs by the by. What I inſiſt on, is, That the *Angelical Example* is to be imitated.

Indeed, we ſhall, as long as we Live in this World, come far ſhort of the *Original*, when we go to Write after the *Angelical Example.* In this *Preſent Evil World*, we cannot approach near to the *Holineſs* of the *Good Angels*: Much of Sin, and Fault, and Folly, will unavoidably cleave unto us: That *Leproſie* will never wholly out of the *Walls*, until the *Clay-houſe* be utterly demoliſhed: There will be as much Diſtance between the *Bleſſed Spirits* and *Us*, as between *Giants* and *Children*, as between *Stars* and *Gloworms*, as between the *Cedars* of *Lebanon* and the *Hyſop* that *grows out of the Wall*; Thus it will be, until we come at length to dwell [And, *Oh! Why do we no more long for it!*] with the *Innumerable Company of Angels*, in another World.

However, to Attempt the Imitation, is the ready way to be *Excellent.* Particularly in the Enſuing Inſtances.

I. If a Man could have his *Eye* upon the *Face of God* continually, would not that procure the *Face of an Angel* for him? It would make a Man look like an *Angel*, if he were looking unto God, in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt continually. Of the *Angels* there is that Account given, in *Mat.* 18. 10. *In the Heavens, they do always behold the Face of my Father which is in the Heavens.* The *Angels* do converſe with GOD continually. And, why may not we preſs after a Converſe with GOD, a little Emulating the *Angelical?* To be *Heavenly-minded*, by having the *God of Heaven* almoſt always in our Minds, and by being *in the Fear of God all the Day long*; This were to be as the *Angels*

gels are! Oh! That we were thus *Filled with the Fulneſs of God.*

Firſt, We may have a continual *Apprehenſion* of GOD in our Minds. In every *Place*, we may Apprehend GOD. Wherever we are, we may ſubſcribe to that Article of the Ancient Faith, in *Pſal.* 139. 7. Lord, *Whither ſhall I flee from thy Preſence?* What if we ſhould never be from under the Awe of ſuch a Thought as that, *The Omnipreſent God obſerves all my Ways!* And we may apprehend GOD in every *Thing*. We need not ſtay at any *Second Cauſes*; but we may with a *Spiritualized Soul*, ſoar up to ſome Notice of *God* in all. Upon all the Works of *Creation* we may ſay, *The Finger of God is here!* And we may make the Poſitions of the *Pauline* Philoſophy, in Acts 17. 24, 28. *God made the World, and all Things therein; In Him we live and move and have our Being.* Upon all the Works of *Providence*, we may ſay, *This comes from that God whoſe Kingdom ruleth over all.* And we may make the Concluſions once taught by our Lord, no doubt alluding to the *Two Birds*, whereof one was to be *killed*, the other to be *Let looſe into the Open Field*, at the cleanſing of the *Leper* in *Mat.* 10. 29. *Two Sparrows, one of them ſhall not fall to the Ground without our Father.* To be led into ſome Notice of GOD continually, This, O This, it is *Angelical*. 'Tis *Godlineſs*. What is *Holineſs*, but *Godlineſs*? This were a little of the *Angelical Holineſs*.

Secondly, Our continual *Apprehenſion* of GOD, may bring a continual *Dedication* to GOD, upon all that we *Have*, and all that we *Do*. If we *Glance* at *Inferiour Ends*, yet we may not *Stop* there: All our *Ends* are to be ſwallowed up in GOD. We ſhould not, with any patience conſent unto it, that any but GOD, ſhould have our *Strength*, our *Time*, our *All*. Whatever *Poſſeſſions* are beſtow'd upon us, we may put them under that Conſideration, which the *Houſe* of *David* had, in *Pſal.* 30. *Tit. Dedicated Things.* All our *Poſſeſſions*, all the Powers of our *Spirits*, all the Members of our *Bodies*, our *Eſtates*, our *Credit*, our Deſirable *Friends*; we may contrive with our ſelves, *What Acknowledgments may GOD have out of theſe Things!* And improve them no farther, than as *Inſtruments*, whereby GOD may be *acknowledged*. Yea, and our daily *Actions*; may we not be driving a *Trade* for GOD in all? As 'tis ſaid in 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. *Whatever ye do, do all to the Glory of God:* So, our *Eating*, our *Drinking*, our *Sleeping*, what is it for? We may diſtinctly ſay, *I do This, that I may be ſupported in the Service of God*. Thus, our *Labours*, our *Travels*, our *Viſits*, and our Exerciſes of *Religion*, we may thus Ennoble them, *I do This, I will do it carefully and cheerfully, becauſe God hath commanded my doing of it.* A *Dedication* to GOD, is the proper meaning of *Holineſs*: And very *Angelical* would be our *Holineſs*, if we could be frequent, and conſtant in ſuch Acts of *Dedication*.

Thirdly, Our continual *Apprehenſion* of GOD, may produce our continual *Satisfaction* in GOD, under all His *Diſpenſations*. Whatever *Enjoyments* are by God conferred upon us, where lies the *Reliſh*, where the *Sweetneſs* of them? Truly, we may come to reliſh our *Enjoyments*, only *ſo far* as we have ſomething of GOD in them. It was required in *Pſal.* 37. 4. *Delight thy ſelf in the Lord.* Yea, And what if we ſhould have no *Delight*, but the *Lord?* Let us ponder with our ſelves, over our *Enjoyments*; *In theſe Enjoyments I ſee God, and by theſe Enjoyments I ſerve God!* And now, let all our *Delight* in, and all our Value and Fondneſs for our *Enjoyments*, be *Only*, or *Mainly*, upon ſuch a *Divine Score* as *This*. As far as any of our *Enjoyments* lead us unto GOD, ſo far let us reliſh it, affect it, embrace it, and rejoyce in it; *O Taſte, and Feed upon God in all*; and ask for nothing, no, not for *Life* it ſelf, any further than as it may help us, in our *Seeing* and our *Serving* of our GOD. And then, whatever *Afflictions* do lay Fetters upon us, let us not only remember, that we are concerned with GOD therein, but let our Concernment with GOD procure a very profound *Submiſſion* in our Souls. Be able to ſay with him, in *Pſal.* 39. 9. *I opened not my mouth, becauſe, thou didſt it.* In all our *Afflictions*, let us remark the *Juſtice* of that GOD, before whom, *Why ſhould a Living Man complain for the Puniſhment of his Sin?* The *Wiſdom* of that GOD, *whoſe Judgments are right*; the *Goodneſs* of that GOD, who *Puniſhes us leſs than our Iniquities do deſerve.* Let us behave our ſelves, as having to Do with none but GOD, in our *Afflictions*: And let our *Afflictions* make us more conformable unto GOD; which Conformity being effected, Let us then ſay, *'Tis Good for me that I have been afflicted.* Sirs, what were this, but a pitch of *Holineſs*, almoſt *Angelical!* Oh! Mount up as with the *Wings of Eagles*, of *Angels*; be not a ſorry, puny, mechanick Sort of *Chriſtians* any longer; but *reach forth* unto theſe things, that are thus before you!

But, in fine, 'Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is *The Face of God.* That is His *Name*, frequently in the Old Teſtament; and in this *Hint*, I have given you a *Golden Key* to come at the ſenſe of many Paſſages in the Sacred Pages, about *The Face of God*, and *The Light of that Face:* 'Twas the *Meſſiah*. 'Tis then our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who is to be the more *Immediate Object* of our *Apprehenſions*, when we would become *Angelical*; tis God in our Lord JESUS CHRIST: Whenever we entertain any Thing of GOD in our Minds, it ſhould be with a CHRIST, and thro' a CHRIST. Thoſe who do all they can, to forge a CHRISTIANITY without a CHRIST, are ſo far from being like *Angels* of the Lord, that they are *Traitors* to the King of Heaven!

II. We may render our ſelves *Angelical*, by our Endeavours of a *preſent*, and a *pleaſant* and an *Univerſal Obedience*, unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, the *Lord of Angels*. Whoſe are the *Angels*, but the *Angels of the Lord?* And [as in 1 *Kings* 18. 12. and *Acts* 8. 39.] *The Spirits of the Lord.* Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is the *Lord General* of all the *Angels*; He is the *Lord of Hoſts*; and all thoſe *Hoſts* of Heaven are under His Command; We read in Pſal. 103. 20, 21. *They do His Commandments, hearkening unto the Voice of His Word: They are His Miniſters which do His Pleaſure.* The very Higheſt *Angel* in Heaven deſires and ſtudies to be a *Servant* of the

Lord JESUS CHRIST: The Great God would ſoon ſtrike him down from Heaven, with Hot Thunder-bolts if he did ſo. Even *Michael* the *Archangel* has received that Charge from God, concerning our Lord Redeemer, *Do thou Worſhip Him*! *Gabriel* himſelf muſt give this Account of himſelf, *I ſtand in the preſence of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; namely, as a *Servant* ſtanding in the *Preſence* of his Maſter.

Come then; Let every one of us, become the *Servants* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST. By conſenting to the Methods of *Grace* in the *New Covenant*, let us yield our ſelves unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, as unto our LORD; and ſay with him in *Pſal.* 119. 38. *Lord, I am thy Servant, devoted unto thy Fear.* Let us reckon it the *Higheſt Pleaſure* unto our ſelves, to be always *Pleaſing* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: Let us eſteem it the higheſt *Honour* unto our ſelves, to be always *Honouring* of Him. To be *A Man of God*, is to be like an *Angel*, an *Angel* was called in *Judg*, 13. 8. *The Man of God.* We are *Men of God*, when we become the *Devoted Servants* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Sirs, The Bright *Angels* of Heaven invite us, to become their *Fellow Servants*, by giving our ſelves up unto the Work of *Witneſſing* to the *Truth* and *Ways* of their Heavenly Lord. When we have ſolemnly conſecrated our ſelves unto this Work, then, whatever *Commands* our Lord Jeſus Chriſt lays upon us, let us readly, joyfully, univerſally yield *Obedience* thereunto. Be upon the *Wing* as the *Angels*, to do every thing, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt would have to be done. Delay none, deſpiſe none, refuſe none of the *Commandments*, which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall give unto us; but ſay, as in 1 *John* 5, 3. *His Commandments are not grievous.* And whatever we ſhall know to be *Acceptable* unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let us immediately *do* what we *know*:. Let this be *Argument* enough unto us for any thing, though *Fleſh* and *Blood* [Body and Soul] be never ſo much againſt it: *My Lord JESUS CHRIST would have me to do this thing!* Thus our *Labour* ſhould be according to our *Prayer*, that *The Will of God may be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.*

III. To be very *Serviceable* is to be *Angelical*: To *do Good* is the Diſpoſition of a *Good Angel.* Thoſe Men, whoſe perpetual Buſineſs 'tis, *To go about for the doing of Good*, as they are like the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, [*Acts* 10. 38.] So they are like the *Angels* that wait upon our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. The *Angels* are always employ'd in ſome Service for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and for thoſe that belong unto Him. 'Tis ſaid in *Heb.* 1. 14. *Are they not all miniſtring Spirits?* Oh! let it in like ſort, be our Ambition to *miniſter* ſome way or other for the *Good* of them, that are to be the *Heirs of Salvation*; and let us be much and oft, in ſtudying with our ſelves, *What Good may I do with thoſe Talents, wherewith my Lord Jeſus Chriſt has betruſted me?* How many *Goood Offices* does the *Bible* report, as done by the *Angels* of God for the *People* of God? And how many ſuch *Good Offices* are ſtill done for the *People* of God, by the *Angels* of God, which *Encamp as an Hoſt about them that fear Him?* Chriſtians, If we are adviſed of any *Opportunity* to *do Good*, let us be as ready to do, as the *Angel* that came down to the *Pool* of *Betheſda*, was to help the Miſerables aſſembled there. Yea, though they ſhould be never ſo poor, never ſo ſmall, never ſo *mean People*, that we may do *Good* unto, let us be ready to do it with all our Hearts. The firſt Apparition of an *Angel* that we read in Scripture, was to relieve a *poor Maid* in Trouble of Spirit. The Martyr *Bradford*, that Man had the *Face* of an *Angel*, concerning whom it was noted, *He was always, either with Purſe, or Tongue, or Pen, doing of Good.* Whatever *Company* we fall into, 'tis eaſie for us ordinarily to think, *What Good may I do in this Company before I leave it?* That Man *ſpeaks with the Tongue of Angels*, who will never diſmiſs his *Company*, without ſome Conſcientious Eſſay, to *ſpeak* what ſhall be *profitable* unto them. And, *Inventions to do Good*, and be *Benefactors* to all that are about us, the more *Upright* we are, the more we ſhall *Seek out many ſuch Inventions.* There is an *Angelical Air* upon them!

IV. Near Approaches to God in *Devotions* and *Communions*, full of Intimacy with Him, will give a Man, if not the *Face*, yet the *Heart* of an *Angel.* When was it, that the *Face* of *Moſes* had an *Angelical*, and an Extraordinary *Luſtre* upon it? It was, when he had been with *God in the Mount.* We read in Exod. 34. 29. *When Moſes came down from Mount Sinai, with the two Tables of Teſtimony the Skin of his Face ſhone.* They that are very much with God in thoſe Exerciſes, wherein the *Power of Godlineſs* does mainly conſiſt, will contract a *Luſtre* therefrom, and be ſomewhat like the *Angels*, made *Partakers of the Divine Nature.* To be often in *Secret Prayers* and *Secret Praiſes*, with raiſed Strains of *Heavenly Zeal* before the Lord, *This* is to be as it were, of the *Angelical Fraternity!* Yea, 'Tis a *Golden* Paſſage of *Chryſoſtom, That the very Angels themſelves, cannot but honour the Man, whom they ſee Familiarly and Frequently admitted unto the Audience, and as it were Diſcourſe with the Divine Majeſty.* Truly, whether the *Angels* may reverence theſe *Men* or no, theſe *Men* do reſemble the *Angels.* It becomes more notably thus, when Men do often ſet apart *whole Days* for their *Prayers* and their *Praiſes*, and are *With God in the Mount* for *whole Days* together. Great Things did the *Angels* do for *Moſes*, great Things for *Elias*, who often ſpent *whole Days* alone with the Lord; and what ſaid an *Angel* unto *Daniel*, when he had been ſpending *whole Days* at ſuch a rate, *Thou art a Man of Deſires, and an Angel thinks not much to fly down from Heaven unto thy Converſation!* Such *Days* do leave an *Angelical Savour* upon the *Souls* of Men; they leave our *Souls*, for many Days afterward, under ſuch a Gracious, and Generous, and Serious, and Watchful, and Uſeful *Biaſs*, as has the *Face* of an *Angel* thereupon. And therefore, the Lords Days; Let us keep *them* with a peculiar Sollicitude, a ſingular Elevation of *Sanctity.* It was the Priviledge of *John* in *Rev.* 1. 10. *To be in the Spirit on the Lord's Day.* Sirs, If we are ſo, we ſhall be *with the Angels on the Lord's Day*; and if *with* them, then

then *like* them. To be wholly under the *Confinement* [I miſtook the Word, I ſhould ſay *Liberty!*] of *Religious Applications*, throughout our whole *Chriſtian Sabbath*, let us not count it as a Ceremonious Perſon once call'd it, *A being on the Rack an whole Day together*. *Angels* have ſtrangely viſited and comforted ſome on the *Rack*; but never ſuch as complain'd, that a ſtrict *Lord's Day* put 'em on a *Rack*. During the whole Day, let our *Thoughts* be full of *God*, and *Chriſt*, and *Heaven*; during the whole Day, let our *Words* be *few*, and *fit*, and *ſavoury*, and ſuch as may *miniſter Grace unto the Hearers*; during the whole day, let our *Earthly Defilements* be baniſhed from us; let our Hearts be every Hour ſallying forth with numberleſs *Ejaculations* to the Lord. Such *Lord's Days* will ripen Men into Angels at the laſt! But on the *Lord's Day*, there ſometimes does recur a moſt ſpecial and ſignal Opportunity to *Draw near unto God*, namely, **The Lord's Supper**; an Ordinance of the *Neareſt Fellowſhip* with Heaven; an Ordinance wherein a CHRIST ſuffering for us, is by the Symbols of *Bread* and *Wine* ſo tendred unto the Faithful, that in their Obeying His Appointment thereof, they do with ineffable Advantage partake of Him. Well then, let our *Preparations* for this Great Ordinance be with as much of Solemnity, as if we were to *dye* our ſelves at the Time, when we do *annunciate* here the *Death of our Lord*. Let us *examine* our ſelves and *ſupplicate* our God, before we come to the *Table* of the Lord, as if we were to *dye* when we come. And at this *Holy Table*, where *Man eats Angels Food*, let us *fix* our *Meditations* on our Lord JESUS CHRIST, with all poſſible *Attention*, with all ſuitable *Affection*. Thus, *Beholding, as in a Glaſs, the Glory of the Lord, we ſhall be changed into the ſame Image, from Glory to Glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.* Now, 'tis that *Glory* that makes an *Angel!*

V. An *Heart* much affected with the Lord JESUS CHRIST will procure the *Face of an Angel*, unto the *Man* who hath an *Heart* ſo affected. Unto the *Angels* there is nothing ſo precious, and nothing ſo glorious as the Lord JESUS CHRIST; yea, 'tis our CHRIST that makes the beſt part of their *Heaven* for them. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST is, as the Apoſtle enumerates it among the *Myſteries* and *Evidences* of our Faith, in 1 *Tim.* 3.16. *Seen of Angels.* But how *ſeen?* Truly, *ſeen* with Wonders, and *ſeen* with Raptures, and *ſeen* with Endleſs *Hallelujahs*. Would we be like the *Angels?* Then let our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* be *ſeen* by us, as the *Beſt Thing* in Heaven and Earth, and as infinitely *Better* than the very *Angels* themſelves. At the *Incarnation* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, what were the Songs of *Angels?* in *Luke* 2, 14. *There was a multitude of the Heavenly Hoſt, praiſing of God, and ſaying, Glory to God in the Higheſt!* Would we be like the Angels? Let us then join in a Conſort with thoſe *Morning Stars*, and *Sons of God*. It was with *Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory*, that the Angels attended upon our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, firſt throughout His *Humiliation*, and then unto His *Exaltation*. Let the whole of *That*, be the moſt Raviſhing Subject of our *Contemplation*; Let us love to ſee our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, firſt *Suffering* and then *Entring into His Glory*. And let our Acclamations be like thoſe of the *Angels*, upon thoſe marvellous Diſpenſations of the Grace of God! When the *Angels* do look on *Jeſus Chriſt*, they are *covered* with Aſtoniſhment, and cry out, *O Holy, Holy, Holy Lord of Hoſts*, all *Heaven is full of thy Glory!* And ſhall not *we* ſo look on that our *Lord of Glory?* When the *Angels* do *ſpeak* of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, they make a moſt Reverent Mention of His *Holy and Reverend Name*, and ſay, *Oh! there is none among the Sons of the Mighty, that may be compared unto this Lord.* And ſhall not we ſo ſpeak of that Great *King*, with a *Tongue like the Pen of a ready Writer?* Something of *Chriſt* the *Angels* muſt have, they would think themſelves to be ſtarved, if they had not this *Manna* to feed upon! Sirs, Let the *Meat* of our Souls be the *Fruit* growing on this *Tree of Life*; and let the *Drink* of our Souls be, the *Honey of this Rock:* This is the daily Repaſt of *Angels*; this Nouriſhment will *Angelifie* us in a little while. What ſhall I ſay? The *Myſtery of CHRIST* is the moſt grateful Contemplation of the *Angels:* Thoſe *Cherubims* about the *Ark of God*, we are told in 1 *Pet.* 1. 12. *They deſire to look into theſe Things.* I ſay then, *Go and do likewiſe.*

VI. If we would always behave our ſelves as before the *Face of Angels*, we ſhould at length obtain the *Face of an Angel* by the Exactneſs, the Circumſpection, the Accuracy of our Behaviour. It was a Good *Memento* written upon a Study-Wall, *Angeli adſtant*; or, *The Angels of God ſtand by!* Did Men remember the Eye of the Inviſible *Angels* upon them in all their Ways, how grave, how cautious, how pious would they be? and at laſt, how like unto thoſe *Angels!* If a Man were as bad as *Balaam* himſelf, yet the bare Suſpicion of having the Eye of ſome *Angel* upon him, would be enough to ſtop him from ruſhing on to *Sin*. *Why ſhouldeſt thou ſin*, ſays the Wiſe Man, in *Eccl.* 5. 6. *before the Angel?* If we were *wiſe*, we ſhould often think, *I am now before ſome Angel!* and that Thought would make us *wiſe*. The Aged Apoſtle ſaid unto a younger Miniſter, *I charge thee before the Elect Angels*: From whence 'tis infallibly ſure, That the *Elect Angels* take notice, how we acquit our ſelves, each one in his *Charge*. Said the Pſalmiſt, in *Pſal.* 238. 1. *Before the Gods I will ſing praiſe unto thee:* The LXX. tranſlate it, *I will ſing praiſe unto thee, before the Angels.* Chriſtians, The *Angels* take notice of us in all our *Employments*, yea, in our cloſeſt *Retirements*. We give no *Praiſes* to God, we perform no *Duties*, we endure no *Troubles*, we reſiſt no *Temptations*, but the *Angels* of God are the *Witneſſes* of what we do; we are a *Spectacle to Angels* in all of our *Encounters*. Well, Now let our *Deportment* be mightily under the Influence of this Conſideration; *The Angels take notice*; *what Report will the Angels of God give of my Behaviour!* It has been propounded as a *Rule of Prudence*, for a Man wherever he comes, to imagine, that there is preſent ſome Eminent, Wiſe, and Good Man, to ſee and hear all that paſſes. *Man*, There is an *Angel* to ſee and hear all that paſſes, wherever thou comeſt; this is no meer *Imagination*. Could we, like the Servant of

the Prophet in the Mount, ſee the unſeen Regiment of the World by the ſubordinate Government of *Angels*, what an *Awe* would it ſtrike us with! The *Angels* of the Lord ſee how Men are diſpoſed and employed for the Service of their Lord, and gladly contribute their unknown Aſſiſtances unto that Service. But it cannot be any other than a Grief unto thoſe *Angels* to ſee *Enormities* in thoſe, for whoſe Welfare they are concerned. If they have *Joy* over a *Penitent*, they muſt needs have ſome ſort of *Grief* over a *Tranſgreſſor*. Yea, in all probability, the miſcarriages of ſuch Offenders, work in them a ſort of *Diſtaſte*, which inclines them on many Accounts, to withdraw from the Offenders, until they have *waſhed* themſelves over again, *In the Fountain ſet open for Sin and for Uncleanneſs*. Now, let this Conſideration accompany us in all our Walk; and let the *Eye* of an *Angel* be more to us, than the *Eye* of a *Cato*, could be to any *Roman*. The *Face of Angels* will at laſt be gain'd by ſuch a Conſideration!

VII. Let us beware of every *Sin*; for *Sin* will turn a *Man* into a *Devil*. Oh! Vile SIN, horrid SIN, curſed SIN; or, to ſpeak a more pungent Word, than all of That; Oh, SINFUL Sin; how pernicious art thou unto the Souls of Men! 'Tis ſaid, in 1 *John* 3. 8. *He that committeth ſin is of Devil*. *Holineſs* will make Men *Incarnate Angels*; but *Wickedneſs* will make them *Devils Incarnate*. An impenitent *Sinner*, hath he the *Face of an Angel* No, but the *Heart of a Devil* in him. Let your *Zeal* againſt all *Sin* then be like that of the *Seraphim*. The *Angels* are *Seraphims*, or burning Ones; they *burn* [and ſo let *us*!] againſt all *Sin*, becauſe of its being ſo contrary and provoking to their moſt *Holy Lord*. Sirs, Mark it; if any of you wittingly and willingly ſin againſt God, you do as the *Devils* do, and as the *Devils* would have you to do, and as our Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſpeaks, in *John* 8. 44. *Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the Luſts of your Father ye will do*. Dreadful words! There is the *Image* of the *Devil*, and there is the *Practice* of the *Devil* in every SIN. To *commit* SIN is *Humane*; to indulge it will be *Diabolical*. But eſpecially, there is much of the *Devil* in *Apoſtacy* from good Beginnings. Of the *Devils*, we find in *Jude* 6. *They kept not their firſt Eſtate*: They once joined, it ſeems, in praiſing of God with the *Angels* of the Bleſſed Regions; but they *left* it all. You that have *left* the *Societies*, and the *Exerciſes* of Chriſtianity, wherein you were *at firſt* engaged; behold, who your Leader is! The firſt and great *Apoſtate*, the *Devil* is your *Leader* in this *Deſertion*; and, alas whither will he *lead* you? There is much of the *Devil* alſo in *Hypocriſie* under good Profeſſions. When there was a ſecret, rotten *Hypocrite* among the Diſciples of our Lord. Our Lord ſaid in *John* 6. 70. *He is a Devil*: Indeed, the *Devil* is never ſo much a *Devil*, as when *Transformed* into an *Angel of Light*. When ſtrict Pretenders and Pleaders, and it may be Preachers of the *Goſpel* ſhall yet *Cloak ſome Hidden Practices of Diſhoneſty* under their fair Pretences, Behold, Men playing the *Devil* horribly. What ſhall I ſay more? The *Devil* is an *Unclean* Spirit, a *Lying* Spirit, a *Proud* Spirit, a Spirit full of *Envy*. Oh! Take heed leſt you be of ſuch a *Spirit*, and ſo, leſt you periſh *with the Devil and his Angels* throughout Eternal Ages.

Thus, the *Rules* of becoming *Angelical* have been ſet before us.

But if we do now Humbly reflect upon our ſelves, for our not living up to theſe *Rules*; we cannot eaſily be more Humble in ſuch Reflections, than was that MAN OF GOD, the Reverend JOSHUA MOODEY, who from his *Eſſays*, to obtain the *Face of Angels*, is now gone unto the *Place of Angels*.

All the Churches of *NEW-ENGLAND* conſidered him, as a Perſon, whom an Eminency both in *Senſe* and in *Grace*, had made conſiderable. All the Churches of BOSTON enjoy'd and admired, his Accompliſhments for the *Evangelical Miniſtry*, many years together. The Church of *Portſmouth* (a part of the Country that very much ow'd its *Life* unto him!) crys out, of a *Deadly Wound* in his *Death*; and is ready to cry out, *Our Breach is great like the Sea*; *who can heal it?* His *Labours* in the Goſpel were frequent and fervent; whereof the *Preſs* hath given ſome *Laſting*, as the *Pulpit* gave many *Lively* Teſtimonies: Yea, if it were counted one of the moſt Memorable Things in St. *Francis de Sales*, that he made *Four Thouſand* Sermons to the People, I can relate as Memorable a Thing of our *Moodey*: At the Beginning of his Sermons he ſtill wrote in his Notes (which were fairly and largely written) how the Number of them advanced; and before he died, he had numbred ſome Hundreds more than *Four Thouſand* of them. And unto his Cares to edifie his Flock by *Sermons*, he added more than Ordinary Cares to do it by *Viſits*: No Man perhaps being a kinder *Viſitant*. He was not only ready to *Do good*, but alſo to *Suffer* for doing it; and as he was Exemplarily zealous for a *Scriptural Purity* in the Worſhip of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo he cheerfully ſubmitted unto an *Impriſonment*, for that *Cauſe of God, and of this Country*; wherein, like *Stephen*, he had the Honour to be the *Firſt*, that ſuffered in that way for that *Cauſe* in theſe parts of the World. Briefly, For *Piety*, for *Charity*, and for *Faithfulneſs* to the main Intereſts of our Churches; all that knew him, and know the Worth of theſe Things, wiſh that among the *Survivors* he may have many *Followers*.

He was of a very Robuſt and Hardy Conſtitution, and a notable Exception to the General Remark, *Raro ſolent Ingenia inſigniter fœlicia, Robuſta ſortiri Corpora*; and it may be, too *Prodigal* of his *Athletick Strength*, in doing the Service whereto a Good Maſter called him. Nevertheleſs, when a *Complication* of Diſtempers was divers Months before his Diſſolution brought thereby upon him, he exceedingly lamented *His Neglect* (as he accounted it) *of his paſt Opportunities to be ſerviceable*. At length, coming to *Boſton* for Advice about the Recovery of his loſt Health, his Diſtempers here ſo grew upon him, as to threaten a quick Period unto his Pilgrimage. His diſtreſſed Church at *Portſmouth* now importunately made their *Prayer* with *Faſting* before the *Great Shepard of the*

Sheep,

Sheep, that they might not be deprived of ſo Rich a Bleſſing; and he was himſelf exceedingly deſirous to have retured unto *Portſmouth*, that he might eſtabliſh his Flock yet further againſt all Temptations to forſake the *Right Ways of the Lord.* But Heaven determines otherwiſe.

When the Laſt Summons of *Death* came to be ſerved upon him, he had neither *Time* nor *Strength* to ſpeak very much; and they that have ſpoken much while they *live*, ſometimes muſt not ſpeak very much at their *Death*. His Diſcourſes were generally full of *Self-condemnation*; and indeed, that Man knows not how to *dye*, who thinks to dye otherwiſe, than *Condemning of himſelf* exceedingly. The moſt of what he ſaid was, I ſuppoſe, unto a Miniſter who viſited him the Day before his Expiration. Unto that Miniſter he ſignified, That he was *Rejoycing in the Hope of the Glory of God*; That he was *Longing to go to the Precious Chriſt, whom he had choſe and ſerv'd*; That *the Spirit of Chriſt had comfortably taken away from him the Fear of DEATH.* When that Miniſter urged him, to leave with him any ſpecial Deſire, that he ſhould judge proper to be mentioned, he ſaid, *The Life of the Churches! The Life of the Churches! and the Dying Power of Godlineſs in them*; *I beſeech you to look after that*; The Miniſter at laſt ſaid, *The Lord Jeſus Chriſt is now, Sir, going to do for you, as once for* Joſhua [*your Names-ſake!*] *He is juſt going to take from you, your old, ſorry, ragged Garments, Thoſe of your Fleſh, and cloath you with change of Raiment, with the Garments of Heavenly Glory, and give you a place among His Angels:* Whereto he replied with ſome Tranſport, *I believe it! I believe it!* After this, he ſaid little, but lay in an uneaſie Drowſineſs until the Afternoon of the day following; which was *The Lord's Day*; and then, even on the Day, whereon he had ſo often been *in the Spirit*, he went unto the Bleſſed *World of Spirits*; on the Day, which he had ſo often ſanctified in a *Sacred Reſt*, he went unto his *Eternal Reſt*. A *Fatal Day* was this unto our Land! It is an Omen of a ſad Fate unto a Land, when the *Angels* do ſay, *Migremus hinc*; Let us be gone! How far he had the *Face of an Angel* while he ſojourned here, no doubt *Envy* may *cavil*; and I have ſometimes with wonder ſeen it, in the poor *Energumens* among us, that when the *Miniſter*, who might be the moſt likely to do them good, came unto them, the Fiends that poſſeſſed them, would make the Miniſter's *Face* look ſo dirty and ſwarthy, that they muſt by no means acknowledge him. This I may venture to ſay without Flattery: It is long ago, that in another ſenſe than *Aquinas*, we call'd him *An Angelical Doctor*; and he has now attained the *Face of an Angel*, without the leaſt *Wrinkle* in it. He is, with *Stephen*, and the *Angels of God*, gone to behold the Glory of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and bear a part with the *Many Angels round about the Throne, ſaying, Worthy is the Lamb that was ſlain!* I cannot but recommend him to you, as one that was, *A Candidate of the Angelical Life*; and ſollicit you to remember, not only the *Leſſons*, and *Counſels*, and *Warnings*, which you have had from him, in private or publick Diſpenſations, but alſo his *Example*, to *follow* him wherein he *followed* [and in many things he followed!] *the Lord JESUS CHRIST.*

FINIS.

CHAP. VIII. *GEMINI.*

THE LIFE OF THE COLLINS's.

§. 1. WHEN ſeveral Sons of *Diagoras* had ſo acquitted themſelves, as to merit and obtain Applauſe in their publick Actions, he, that brought the Old Man the Report of it, gave him that Salutation, *Dye quickly, or, I am going to tell you that which will keep you out of Heaven!* There was a good Old Man, called *COLLINS*, the *Deacon* of the Church at *Cambridge*, who is now gone to *Heaven*; but before he went thither had the Satisfaction to ſee ſeveral moſt Worthy *Sons* become very Famous Perſons in their Generation: *Sons*, that having worthily ſerved their Generation, are now gone thither as well

as

as he; *Two* of them are found among the *Graduates* of *Harvard-Colledge.*

§. 2. Mr. *JOHN COLLINS* in his Youth received a Wound by a *Fall*, which had like to have coſt him his Life; but whilſt he lay gaſping, the Renowned Mr. *Thomas Shepard* came to him with this Conſolation; *I have juſt now been wreſtling with the Lord for thy Life, and God hath granted me my Deſire; Young Man, thou ſhalt not dye but live; but remember, that now the Lord ſays, Surely, thou wilt now fear Him, and receive Inſtruction.* The *Life*, then continued unto that Young Man, afterwards proved ſo very Conſiderable among the *Congregational Divines* of *Great Britain*, and eſpecially in the Great City of *London*; where he moſtly ſpent his Days of publick Service, that it well deſerves a Room in our Account of *Worthies.* His Abilities as he was a *Preacher*, did chiefly ſignalize him; for ſuch was the *Life* and *Charm*, which accompanied his Exerciſes in the Pulpit; that none but Perſons of the ſame Humour with him, who wrote certain Things like *Books*, to prove, *That* Cicero *wanted Eloquence*, went away *Unmoved* or *Unpleaſed* from them. Nevertheleſs, being under Diſadvantages to come at the more perfect Story of his *Life*, my Reader ſhall have only the *Contracted Report*, which his *Epitaph* has thus given of it. Reader, The *Stones* will *ſpeak*, if his *Friends* do not Celebrate him!

JOHANNES COLLINS.

Indolis Optimæ Puerulus, Patrem Pietate Inſignem,
Caſtiorem Dei Cultum, et Limatiorem
Eccleſiæ Diſciplinam, anhelantem,
In Americanum Anglorum, *ſecutus eſt* Colonium,
Ubi, quà Gymnaſiis, quà Cantabrigienſi *iſthic Collegio,*
(Deo indefeſſis adſpirante Studiis)
Scriba factus ad Regnum Cœlorum Inſtructiſſimus,
Antiquæ cum fœnore, rependitur Angliæ.
Scotiæ *etiam celebrium Miniſtrorum Gens fertilis,*
Et audivit, & mirata eſt Concionantem.
Utrobiq; multos Chriſto lucrifecit;
Plures in Chriſto ædificavit.
Præſertim hac *in* Metropoli, *Gregis gratiſſimi Paſtor*;
Nil ſegnis Otii Gnavo indulgens Animo;
Nec Laboribus, Morbiſq; fracto, parcens Corpori;
Meditando, Prædicando, Conferendo, Votaq; faciendo,
Vitam inſumpſit fragilem,
Ut æternæ aliorum Vitæ conſuleret;
Quo Eccleſiarum itaq; nulla Paſtorem Optimum,
Aut Vivum magis Venerata eſt,
Aut magis indoluit morienti.

M. D^ris^ Die III°. Anno Ære Chriſtianæ
M DC LXXXVII.

This is the Language of the *Epitaph*, the *Truth-Speaker.*

And as I have thus found the *Story* of his *Life*, ſo I can in a yet more unſuſpected Quarter now find a *Sermon* on his *Death.* In the *Third Volume* of the *Morning-Exerciſes* publiſhed by that *Good Man*, the very *Barnabas* of *London*, that very Reverend and Excellent Man, Dr. *Anneſley*; there is a Sermon wearing the Name of no other Author, but *N. N.* on that Caſe, *How the Religious of a Nation are the Strength of it?* Now the Author of that Sermon was this Mr. *John Collins*, who tho' he thus reckoned himſelf a *No Body*, yet was by Others eſteemed ſo Conſiderable a part of the *Strength of the Nation*, that at the Affectionate Prayer of the Reverend Mr. *Mead*, poured out before God for his Recovery when he lay ſick; I have been told, there was hardly one dry Eye to be ſeen in the Great Congregation of the Lecture at *Pinners-Hall*, where he alſo had been a Lecturer. Let the Reader but make the Application of that Sermon to the Author of it; and read this as the Running Title, *The Engliſh Nation weakned by the Death of Mr.* JOHN COLLINS: Thus a *Funeral Sermon* upon him will not be wanting!

§. 3. A *Younger Brother*, but yet a *Brother* to him, was Mr. *NATHANAEL COLLINS*, at whoſe Death, *Dec.* 28. 1684. in the Forty Third Year of his Age (wherein he got the ſtart for Heaven!) there were more Wounds given to the whole Colony of *Connecticut* in our *New-England*, than the Body of *Cæſar* did receeive, when he fell wounded in the *Senate-Houſe.* Reader, I would have made an *Eſſay* to have lamented the Fate of this our *Collins* in *Verſe*, were it not for Two Diſcouragements: Not becauſe *Annatus* the Jeſuite reckon'd it a Thing worthy of a Scoff in our Dr. *Twiſs*, to be guilty of a little Flight at *Poetry*; for the *Nobleſt Hands* have ſcann'd Poetical Meaſures on their Fingers: But becauſe my *Mean Faculties* would not carry me beyond the Performances, whereof the Gentleman in *Thuanus* was afraid, when he made it a Clauſe in his Laſt Will, *That they ſhould not burden his Hearſe with bad Funeral Verſes*; and becauſe that Sacred Thing *Verſe*, hath been by the *Licentious* Part of Mankind ſo proſtituted, that now the *Truth* of whatever is therein offered, *therefore* does become ſuſpected. Nevertheleſs his Merits were ſuch, that his *Life* muſt be written, or at leaſt ſo much of it as this, That he merited highly to have his *Life* written. But our *Hiſtory* of him is to be abridged into this brief Account, That the Church of *Middletown* upon *Connecticut-River* was the Golden *Candleſtick* from whence this Excellent Perſon illuminated more than that whole Colony; and that all the Qualities of moſt Exemplary *Piety*, Extraordinary *Ingenuity*, Obliging Affability, join'd with the Accompliſhments of an Extraordinary Preacher did render him truly Excellent. In ſaying this of him, I may confirm what I ſay, in Words like thoſe of *Jerom* on a like Occaſion, *Teſtor, Chriſtianum de Chriſtiano, vera proferre*; and for his Character add this *Epitaph.*

Ille pius Paſtor, quo non præſtantior Unus,
Qui faciendo docet, quæ facienda docet.

But indeed, as the Mother of *Braſidas* bravely comforted her ſelf, upon the Death of her much lamented Son, *Vir bonus eſt Braſidas et fortis, ſed habet multos Sparta ſimiles:* Even ſuch was the Conſolation of *Connecticut*, by the Special Favour of Hea-

Heaven to the Colony; *That though in the Death of* COLLINS *they loſt an Excellent Man, yet he was not the only Excellent Man they had among them.* In the Acknowledgments of Worth, there may come in for a great Share with him, ſeveral moſt Worthy Men, wherewith *Connecticut* Colony has been ſingularly favoured *Whiting* of *Hartford*, *Woodbridge* of *Wetherſfield*, *Wakeman* of *Fairfield* will never be forgotten, till *Connecticut* Colony, do forget it ſelf, and all Religion.

CHAP. IX.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Thomas Shepard.

Cur præmaturum, Mortemque queramur Acerbam?
Mors Matura Venit, cum Bona Vita fuit.

§. 1. IF it were accounted a Great Honour to the Family of the *Curii* in *Rome*, that there aroſe from that Stock *Three Excellent Orators*, One ſucceeding another; we may account it a greater Honour ſignalizing the Family of the *Shepards* of *New-England*, that no leſs than *Three Excellent Miniſters* have ſucceſſively iſſued from it. The *Eldeſt Son* of Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, the Ever Memorable Paſtor to the Church of *Cambridge*, was Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, the Paſtor to the Church of *Charlſtown*; and the *Only Son* of Mr. *Thomas Shepard* that Paſtor of *Charlſtown*, was our laſt Mr. *Thomas Shepard*, *Paternæ Virtutis ex aſſe Hæres*, his Grandfather's and his Father's Genuine *Off-ſpring*. The *Lives* of thoſe his Predeceſſors make a Figure in our Church-Hiſtory, and though this our Third Mr. *Thomas Shepard* muſt have it ſaid of him, *That he did not attain to the Days of the Years of the Life of his Fathers in the Days of their Pilgrimage*; nevertheleſs his *Life* had that in it, which may juſtly render it *Obſervable* and *Exemplary*. Yea, ſuch a *Similitude* of Spirit, there was deſcending from the *Father* to the *Son*, and from the *Son* to the *Grandſon* in this *Holy Generation*, that albeit, they were all of them ſeverally *Short-lived*, the Two Firſt not living much more than *Forty*, and the laſt not ſo much as *Thirty* Years in the World, yet there might a ſort of *Jointed Longævity* be aſcribed unto the Generation; for when the *Father* went away, *Non totus receſſit*, we had him ſtill ſurviving to the *Life* in the Poſterity. As the Name of *Abner* may be taken both ways, either *Pater Lucerna*, or *Lucerna Patris*; either the *Father* was the *Brightneſs* of the *Son*, or the *Son* was the *Brightneſs* of the *Father*: Such a Luſtre did *Father*, and *Son*, and *Grandſon*, mutually reflect upon One another, in this Happy Family. It might be ſaid of them as *Nazianzen*, I remember, ſpeaks about the Family of a *Baſil*; The Parents were ſuch, that, if they had not ſuch bleſſed *Children*, they had been of themſelves Renowned; and the *Children* were ſuch, that if the Parents had not been ſo of themſelves, yet for the ſake of *Theſe* they had been Famous in the Church of God. Or, they may make us think of the *Glory*, with which the moſt Illuſtrious Family in the Oracles of God, is uſually ſet off when *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, are ſo often together introduced, where the *Root* gives a Verdure to the *Branches*, and the Flouriſhing *Branches* again commend the *Root*.

§. 2. When Mr. *Thomas Shepard* the Second of *New-England*, and the Firſt of *Charlſtown*, died, he left behind him ſuch a *Picture*, as that which *Tully* mentions of *Sextus Sulpicius*; *Nullum unquam Monumentum clarius.* S. Sulpicius *relinquere potuit, quam Effigiem Morum ſuorum, Virtutis, Conſtantiæ, Pietatis, Ingenii Filium*; A *Son* that was the *Lively Picture* of his Virtues. And now that *Son* alſo is dead without any *Male-Off ſpring*, we will make an *Eſſay* at the Drawing of his *Picture* after another manner; even by ſuch a Narrative of his *Life*, as may be indeed his *Picture to the Life*: In the Doing whereof, perhaps the Children of Godly and Worthy Anceſtors, may find the Encouragement of a Confirmation to that Obſervation, That as the *Snow-Ball*, the *further* it rolls, the *greater* it grows, thus the *further* that the

Grace

Grace of God is continued, and received, and valued in any Family, the *Greater Effects* of that *Grace* will be ſtill appearing. For there were ſome ſingular Circumſtances of *Early Bleſſedneſs*, attending this our youngeſt and lateſt *Shepard*, wherein it might be ſaid of him, as it was of the Well-known *Grandſon*, of whom this was indeed a *True Son*, *His Bleſſings exceeded the Bleſſings of his Progenitors*. And we may the rather take Notice of this Matter, becauſe there was hardly One *Conſideration*, which oftner poſſeſſed the Mind of this our *Shepard*, or more powerfully operated upon him to make him *Eminent*, than *The Obligations laid upon him from his Anceſtors to do worthily*. As the Famous *Boleſlaus* always carried about with him, the Picture of his *Father* in his Boſom, upon which often looking, he would ſay, *Let me never do any thing unworthy the Son of ſuch a Father:* This was the very Spirit of our *Shepard*, who always bore about with him the Image of his *Father*, and as often as perhaps almoſt any one Thing, thought on this, *How he might approve himſelf the Son of ſuch a Father*.

§. 3. Deſcended from ſuch Anceſtors, our *Thomas Shepard* was born at *Charlſtown* in *New-England* on *July* 5. 1658. How he was in his Earlieſt Years diſpoſed, I chooſe to relate by reciting ſome of the Words, afterwars uſed by himſelf, when he addreſſed the Church of *Charlſtown* for Admiſſion to their Sacred Communion. ‘As ‘to the *Thing* of that which is commonly called ‘*Firſt Converſion* or *Regeneration*, I have had ma‘ny Thoughts about it; but have been afraid, ‘and am ſtill, to determine it unto this or that ‘particular. What I have found by my ſelf, ‘hath made me oftentimes to queſtion, whether ‘the *Former Operations* of the Spirit of God a‘bout me, were any more than *Common*; or, ‘whether ſuch and ſuch *Sins* were conſiſtent with ‘*Saving Grace*; that which hath helped me in ‘this Caſe, hath been partly, what I have heard ‘from a Reverend Man of God, ‘That ſuch ‘as are from time to time diſquieted with ſuch ‘Thoughts, the *beſt*, if not the *only* way to put ‘it out of doubt, that they have *True Faith*, ‘is by *Exerciſing Faith*, to *convert again* unto ‘God. And putting my Soul in the way of the ‘*Breathings* of God's Spirit, and then obſerving ‘the *Actings* thereof, I have by the Help of the ‘ſame Spirit, found ſomething of Relief under ‘thoſe *Doubts*. On my *Childhood* and *Youth*, I ‘have too much cauſe to ſay (as *Solomon* of the ‘things of this World) *Vanity of Vanities*, *all is* ‘*Vanity!* Yet by the Bleſſing of God on the ‘faithful Endeavours, and fervent Prayers of my ‘Religious Parents; eſpecially of my Honoured, ‘Bleſſed, and moſt Exemplary Father, who of ‘all, as the moſt *Able* to further, ſo was moſt ‘*Sollicitous*, Studious, and tenderly Careful, al‘ways about the Everlaſting Well-being of a ‘*Son*, from the very Beginning of *my* Days, to ‘the End of *his*, I do think, I was by *Precept* and ‘Holy *Example*, imbued with a *Natural* Love ‘and Liking to the Word and Ways of God; ‘though not ſaving, yet ſuch as whereby a *Pre*‘*judice* againſt *Religion* was prevented. Now as God bleſſed the Religious Cares of his Father to tinge him with ſuch a Savour of Religion in his *Childhood*; and he would not only on the *Lord's Days*, while he was yet a Boy, ſo notably repeat *by heart* in his Father's Family, all the Heads of the Longeſt Sermons preached in the Publick, that it might have ſerved for a ſufficient Repetition, inſtead of uſing the Notes uſually produced on ſuch Occaſions, but alſo his Virtuous Carriage on the *Week Days*, he ſhow'd, that the Sermons had indeed their Impreſſions on his *Heart:* So his *Childhood* was remarkable for the Diligence of it, and his Love of his Book. And ſuch was the Effect of this *Diligence*, that though he had not in his Attainments the *Præcocity* of *Jacobus Martini*, the *Venetian* Boy, who not many years agoe) when he was but *ſeven years* old, publickly diſputed at *Rome*, on *Theſes*, which he publiſhed of *Theology*, *Law*, *Phyſick*, and the other Diſciplines, unto the Aſtoniſhment of all the Orders there, yet he did attain unto ſuch Learning, as gave him an *Early Admiſſion* into the *Colledge*, and rais'd great Hopes in good Men concerning him.

§. 4. Being admitted into the Colledge, never was Father more Careful of his *Aſcanius*, than the Father of this our *Shepard* was of this his *Only Son*. And the Care of his *Father* for his Welfare, cauſed him *then*, in imitation of what the *Grandfather* had once done for *him*, to give him, in Writing a Paper of Golden *Inſtructions*, directing his Behaviour, while he ſhould continue a Student in that Society.

The Sum of thoſe Inſtructions was,

‘I. *To remember the great* End *of his* Life ‘*even* the Glorifying of God through Chriſt, *and* ‘*the* End *of this* Turn *of his* Life, *even* The fit‘ting him for the moſt Glorious Work of the ‘the Holy Miniſtry. *For this End* (*wrote that* ‘*Excellent Man*) Your Father hath ſet you a‘part with many Tears, and hath given you ‘up to God that He might delight in you. *And* ‘(*he proceeded*) I had rather ſee you buried in ‘your Grave, than grow light, looſe, wanton ‘or profane: God's Secrets in the Holy Scrip‘tures are never made known to common and ‘profane Spirits; and (*added he*) therefore be ‘ſure you begin and end every Day, wherein ‘you ſtudy with earneſt Prayer to God; read‘ing ſome part of the Scripture daily, and ſet‘ting apart ſome time ev'ry Day (though but one ‘Quarter of an Hour) for Meditation of the ‘Things of God.

‘II. *To remember, that theſe are Times of much* ‘Knowledge, *and therefore One had almoſt as good* ‘*be* no Scholar, *as not to* Excel *in Knowledge*; ‘Wherefore (*ſaid he*) abhor one Hour of Idle‘neſs, as you would be aſhamed of one Hour ‘of Drunkenneſs. Though (*as he alſo ſaid*) I ‘would not have you neglect Seaſons for Re‘creation a little before and after Meals, and ‘though I would not have you ſtudy late in the ‘Night uſually, yet know, that God will curſe your

‘your Soul, while the Sin of Idleneſs is nouriſhed, which hath ſpoiled ſo many hopeful Youths, in their firſt Bloſſoming in the Colledge. Hence (*he ſaid likewiſe*) don't content your ſelf to do as much as your Tutor ſets you about, but know, that you will never excel in Learning, unleſs you do ſomewhat elſe in private Hours, wherein his Care cannot reach you.

‘III. *To make his Studies as* Pleaſant, *and as* Fruitful *as could be, Firſt by ſingling out Two or* Three Scholars, *the moſt Godly, Learned, and Studious, and ſuch as he could* Love beſt, *and ſuch as would moſt* Love him, *of any that he could find among his* Equals, *as alſo ſome that were* Superiours, *and often manage* Diſcourſes *with them on all Subjects, which he had before him; and mark diligently what occur'd remarkable in every ones Conferences, Diſputations and other Exerciſes, but, by no means letting too much leak away in* Viſits. Next, *by having a* Variety *of* Studies *before him, that when he ſhould be weary of one Book or Theme, he might have recourſe to another.* Then, *by proſecuting of* Studies *in ſome* Order *and* Method; *and therefore, every Year at leaſt, if not oftner, fixing the* Courſe *thereof, ſo as he might not allow himſelf to be Ordinarily therein interrupted.* Fourthly, *By giving of* Difficult Studies *the Flower of his Thoughts, and not ſuffering any* Difficulty *to paſs him, till by* Induſtry *or* Inquiry *he had maſtered it.* Fifthly, *By keeping an* Appetite *for* Studies, *by intermixing* Meditation, *and at fit Seaſons* Recreation, *but by ſuch as might moderately ſtir the* Body, *and render the* Spirit *more lively for its Duties.* Sixthly, *By making of* Choice Collections *from what Authors he peruſed, and having proper* Indices *to his* Collections; *and therewithal contriving ſtill how to reduce all unto his own more peculiar Service in his Exerciſes or otherwiſe.* Seventhly, *By taking pains in* preparing *for his Recitations, Declamations, Diſputations, and not upon any pretence whatever hurry them off* indigeſtedly. (*Said he*) Reading without Meditation will be uſeleſs; Meditation without Reading will be barren. But here I would not have you forget a Speech of your Bleſſed *Grandfather* to a Scholar, that complained to him of a bad Memory, which diſcouraged him from Reading, *Lege, Lege, aliquid hærebit.* That Sentence [*he added*] in *Prov.* 14. 23. deſerves to be written in Letters of Gold on your Study-Table, *In all Labour, there is Profit. But,* Laſtly, *By* praying *much not only for* Heavenly, *but alſo* Humane *Learning*; For (*ſaid he*) Remember that Prayer at Chriſt's Feet, for all the Learning you want, ſhall fetch you in more in an Hour, than poſſibly you may get by all the Books, and Helps you have otherwiſe in many Years.

‘IV. To be *Grave* and *Kind* in his Carriage towards all the *Scholars*; but be *Watchful againſt the Two great Sins of many Scholars. Whereof his Words were theſe.* The firſt is youthful Luſts, ſpeculative Wantonneſs, and ſecret Filthineſs, for which God hardens and blinds young Men's Hearts, his Holy Spirit departing from ſuch unclean Styes. The Second is, *Malignancy* and ſecret Diſtaſte of Holineſs, and the Power of Godlineſs, and the Profeſſors of it. Both of theſe Sins (*ſaid he*) you will quickly fall into, unto your own perdition, if you be not careful of your *Company*: For there are, and will be ſuch in every Scholaſtical Society, for the moſt part, as will teach you how to be filthy, and how to jeſt, and ſcoff, and ſcorn at *Godlineſs*, and at the Profeſſors thereof; whoſe *Company*, I charge you to fly as from the *Devil*, and abhor: And that you may be kept from theſe, read often that Scripture, *Prov.* 2. 10, 11, 12, 16.

‘V. Remember (*ſo wrote he*) to intreat God with Tears, before you come to hear any *Sermon*, that thereby God would powerfully ſpeak to your Heart, and make His Truth precious to you. Neglect not to *Write* after the Preacher always in handſom Books, and be careful always to preſerve and peruſe the ſame. And upon *Sabbath Days*, make exceeding Conſcience of Sanctification; mix not your other Studies, much leſs vain and carnal Diſcourſes with the Duties of that Holy Day, but remember that Command, *Lev.* 19. 30. *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary, I am the Lord.*

‘VI. Remember (*ſo likewiſe wrote he*) that whenſoever you hear, read, or conceive any Divine Truth, you ſtudy to affect your Heart with it, and the Goodneſs of it. Take heed of receiving Truth into your *Head*, without the Love of it in your *Heart*, leſt God give you to ſtrong Deluſions. If God reveal any Truth to you, be ſure you be Humbly and deeply Thankful.

Theſe Excellent Inſtructions his Father concluded with theſe Words

My Son, if thine Heart be wiſe, my Heart ſhall rejoyce even mine.

And I may now abridge the whole *Academical Life* of our young *Shepard*, even until he proceeded *Maſter of Arts*, into this brief Account of him, That he did make the *Heart* of his Worthy *Father* to *rejoice* by his Conſcientious and Exemplary Attendance unto theſe *Inſtructions*. Yea, when he had Occaſion to mention them, it was in theſe Terms, *My, next-to Chriſt, moſt Beloved Father's Advice*: Nor was there any one part of his Character more conſpicuous than this, *A Reverence for the Perſon and Advice of his Father.*

§. 5. But before he could proceed *Maſter of Arts*, a Terrible Hand of God upon (more than) *Charlſtown*, put an End unto the Days of his *Father* in the World. And albeit that very conſiderable Church, under this Bereavement, had now a proſpect of a Supply from ſeveral Quarters, yet after much *Praying* and *Faſting* before the *Great Shepherd of the Sheep* for His Direction, they could fix no where, but upon this Hopeful *Son* of their former *Paſtor*. Indeed, for the moſt part, *A Prophet is without Honour in his own Country*, nevertheleſs in this *Country*, as well as among ſome of the Primitive Churches, there have been more than two or three Inſtances of *Sons*, that have happily *ſucceeded* (yea, and *aſſiſted*)

their *Fathers* in the *Evangelical Propheſie*. And *Charlſtown* particularly (not altogether unlike the Magiſtrates of *Baſil*, who from their Eſteem of the Excellent *Buxtorf*, choſe his very young Son to ſucced him in the *Hebrew Profeſſorſhip*) knowing the *Prayers*, the *Tears*, the *Faith*, which their Firſt *Shepard* had uſed for this *Only Son*, concluded, that like the Son of *Monica*, *It was impoſſible, that he ſhould not be bleſſed, and made a Bleſſing*; and ſeeing alſo the Early Diſpoſition of our Young *Shepard*, in all things to imitate his Excellent *Father*, they believed, that nothing would more continue *Day-light after Sun-ſet* unto them, than for them here to make their choice. Accordingly, at their Deſire, he preached his *Firſt Sermon* among them, while he was yet little more than twenty Years of *Age*; and with a very Charming, Solid and Serious Gravity, he diſcourſed on *Exod.* 15. 2. *He is my Father's God, and I will exalt Him.* Upon this, and other ſuch Experiments of his Abilities; his *Father's Flock* were at no Reſt, until they had obtained his Eſtabliſhment with *Ordination*, to be *their Feeder*; which was conſummated on *May* 5. 1680, And the laſt VVords uſed in the Sermon by a Reverend Perſon, who then preached on that Paſſage in *Ezek.* 33. 7. *Son of Man, I have ſet thee a Watchman*, will by being here tranſcrib'd, help to finiſh the *Picture*, which we have undertaken.

'Be much in Prayer for your *Watchmen*, and 'particularly for him, who is this Day to be eſta'bliſhed in the VVork of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt 'among you; You have honoured *Your ſelves* in 'thus expreſſing the Love and Honour which 'you had for his Excellent *Father*; and as it was 'ſaid in *Ruth* 2. 20. *Bleſſed be he of the Lord,* '*who hath not left off his Kindneſs to the Living,* '*and to the Dead*; ſo I will ſay to you, *Bleſſed* '*be this Church of the Lord, that you ſhow Kind*'*neſs unto your Dead Paſtor, and to his Living Son.* 'As for him, that is now to become your *Watch*'*man*, he needs your *Prayers*; I may ſay of him 'as *David* of *Solomon*, *My Son is young and tender,* '*and the Houſe is magnificent!* I know not whe'ther any ſo *young* as he, was ever left alone 'with ſuch a *Charge*. Now tho' the *Work be great*, 'yet the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is able to carry him 'well through it all; but it muſt be through the 'Help of your *Prayers*, that he comes to have 'ſuch a *Supply of the Spirit*, pray for him in par'ticular, and that ev'ry Day! VVho knows 'what God may do for you, in *him*, and by '*him*, as in and by his *Father* before him? Let 'it be your Prayer, that He would take of the 'Spirit, that was in his *Father* and his *Grand*'*father*; who were both of them *Great Men* in 'their Generation, and beſtow thereof a *Double* '*Portion* upon him. And let that VVord encou'rage you, *My Spirit which is upon thee, and my Word* '*which I have put in thy Mouth, ſhall not depart* '*out of thy Mouth, nor out of the Mouth of thy* '*Seed, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed's Seed*; '*ſaith the Lord.*

Thus did he become the Paſtor of *Charlſtown*, and herein he did not *leap* from a vain, lewd and unſanctified *Youth* into the Pulpit, as into a *Shop*, where to earn a *Living*, and there ſuddenly put on juſt ſo much *External Devotion*, as may ſerve to recommend one's Performances unto an Auditory of the Faithful. *Evan* the Heathen Moraliſt, obſerved the great Miſchief done in the VVorld by the *Mercenary* Maſters of Precept, who endeavoured more to *talk* juſt Things, than to *do* them; τὰ δίκαια μὲν λέγειν πράττειν δὲ ὐδαμῶς. Our *Shepard* was none of theſe. But after long Preparations of a Renewed *Heart* and a Religious *Liſe*, and with Awful Apprehenſions of the *Account*, which he was to give unto the *Lord of the Flock*, and of the *Worth* and *Charge* of Immortal *Souls* in his *Flock*, he was *thruſt forth* into publick *Labours*. And the Lord encouraged his Holy *Labours* by making of ſuch Additions unto *his* Church, as *few* Churches in the Country for the time had the *like*; but yet, as when *Peter* had a mighty Draught of *Fiſhes*, he cryed out, *Lord! I am a ſinful Man!* Thus the mighty Draught of *Souls*, which this young Diſciple found in his *Goſpel-Net*, was indeed ſo far from Lifting of him up, that he ſenſibly grew in his *Humility*, and in his low and vile Thoughts of his own Attainments.

§. 6. Although he were a *Young Man*, yet might be applied unto him, a Stroke in the Epitaph on one of Mr. *Henries* Children, *Præterquam ætatem, nil Puerile fuit*: And he made the moſt Judicious of his People paſs this Judgment on him, that he was no *Novice*: And ſuch an Example was he *In Word*, *in Converſation*, *in Civility*, *in Spirit*, *in Faith*, *in Purity*, that he did *Let no Man deſpiſe his Youth*. Such indeed was his whole Conduct of him, that he made one think of thoſe Words of *Origen*, *Senum eſt prophetare*; *etiamſi videas aliqando Juvenem prophetantem, non dubites dicere de eo, quià ſecundum interiorem hominem ſenuit, propterea Propheta eſt.* By the *Gravity* by his Deportment he kept up his *Authority* among all ſorts of Perſons, and by the *Courteſie* of it he won their *Affection*. He ſet himſelf to *Do good* unto all among his People, and the *Charity* of his *Purſe*, as well as of his *Tongue* and *Heart*, was felt on all juſt Occaſions. But there were none dearer to him than the *Good Old People*; thoſe Holy Devout Aged Souls, who had grown well towards *Ripe for Heaven* under his Bleſſed *Father's* Miniſtry: He was much in *their* Company, and he valued *their* Prayers for him, and *their* Serious and Savoury and Heavenly Communications at no ordinary Rate. Nor ſhall I ever forget the Conſolation, which he told me, he had received from the Words, which one of thoſe plain, old *Saints* uſed unto him, when he was under diſcouraging *Fears*, how he ſhould go through his Work: *Sir* (ſaid he) *If you'll give up your ſelf to do the Work of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, never fear but He will help you to do yours.* When he came to have a *Family* of his own, it was a *Well-Ordered* One: He Morning and Evening read in it a Portion of the *Scripture*, and then pray'd out of what he *read*: But on the *Satur-day Nights*, he choſe to *Repeat* a Sermon, commonly what had been preached on ſome *Lecture* the forgoing *Week*, or One of his deceaſed *Father's*; and on *Lord's-*

Day

Day Nights he *Repeated* the Sermon of the *Day* foregoing. And while he made his Houſe a *Bethel*, for the Devotion therein performed; he made it a *Betheſda*, for the Hoſpitable Entertainment which he gave unto thoſe that repaired unto him: And *Munerarius Pauperum et Egentium, candidatus ſic feſtinavit ad Cœlum* For all other things he ſo made the *Hundred and Firſt* Pſalm the *Rule of his Houſe*, as to give therein a Demonſtration of his Ability to *Rule the Church of God*. From hence, if we follow him unto his *Beloved Study*, there we ſhall find him affording yet a more Notable, and Eminent Inſtance of an *Holy Walk*. Here beſides his *Daily Supplications*, he did *One Thing*, which had a mighty Tendency, to keep his own *Spirit* in an healthy, vigorous, thriving Temper, and bring down the manifold *Bleſſings* of God upon all the *Weighty Concerns*, which he had in his Hands; and a *Thing* it was, without which he thought, he could never prove either a *VVatchful Chriſtian*, or a very *Uſeful Miniſter*: This was that he ſcarce permitted *one Month* to paſs him, without ſpending at leaſt *One Day* in the Exerciſes of a *Secret-Faſt* before the Lord. It is remarkable, that ev'ry One of thoſe *Three*, who are famous in the Book of God for *Miraculous Faſting*, were honoured by God with the *Miraculous Feeding* of other Men Our *Shepard* thought, that he ſhould never do any great Things in *Feeding* of his Flock, if he did not great Things in *Faſting* by himſelf. The Commendations given to *Faſting*, by *Baſil* and *Cyprian*, in their Orations about it, and by *Ambroſe* in his Book of *Elias*, were believed by our *Shepard*; his Holy Heart could ſubſcribe unto the VVords of *Chryſoſtom* concerning this Duty, who in his *Homily* ſays, *Faſting is, as much as lies in us, an Imitation of the Angels, a Contemning of Things preſent, a School of Prayer, a Nouriſhing of the Soul, a Bridle of the Mouth, an Abatement of Concupiſcence: It mollifies Rage, it appeaſes Anger, it calms the Tempeſts of Nature, it excites Reaſon, it clears the Mind, it disburthens the Fleſh, it chaſes away Night-Pollutions, it frees from Head-ach. By Faſting, a Man gets compoſed Behaviour, Free Utterance of his Tongue, Right Apprehenſions of his Mind.* VVherefore he ſtill would ſet apart a *Day* every *Month*, wherein he would ſtrictly *examine* the *Error* of his *Heart* and *Life*, and confeſs and bewail thoſe *Errors*, and obtain the *Sealed Pardon* thereof, by a *Renewed Faith* in the Obedience of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and then wreſtle with Heaven for New Supplies of *Grace*, to carry him well thro' the whole Service incumbent on him; and therewithal implore the Smiles of Heaven on all the *Souls* that were under his Charge, and on the *Land* and *World*. And this his *Piety* was accompanied with proportionable *Induſtry*, wherein he devoured Books even to a Degree of *Learned Gluttony*; inſomuch, that if he might have changed his Name, it muſt have been into *Bibliander*. VVhence, tho' he had a fine, and large, and a continually growing *Library*, yet, that he might avoid the Diſgrace of that Salutation, *Salvete Libri ſine Doctore*, he took a very particular courſe, to make himſelf Maſter of the *Learning*, which was lodg'd in ſo Rich a Treaſury: For ſo little did he deſerve to be numbred among the Chaplains of K. *Lewis* the XI. the *French* King, who ſeeing their *Learning* to bear no proportion unto their *Libraries*, wittily ſaid of them, *They were like ſuch as had crooked Backs, carrying a Burden about with them, which they never ſaw in their Lives*, that he had hardly left a Book of Conſequence to be ſo uſed, in his *Library* (ſhall I now call it, or his *Laboratory*) which he had not ſo peruſed as to leave with it in an *Inſerted Paper*, a Brief *Idea* of the whole *Book*, with *Memorandums* of more Notable Paſſages occurring in it, written with his own *Diligent* and ſo *Enriching Hand*. He might ſay with *Seneca*, *Nullus mihi per otium exiit Dies, partem etiam Noctium ſtudiis vendico*; and it is well if he were not a little too much of a *Seneca*, in hurting of his *Health* by ſo ſpending of his *Life*.

§. 7. He faithfully ſet himſelf to diſcharge the whole Duty of a *Paſtor*; and as he walked humbly under the Awe of that VVord in *Heb.* 13. 17. *They watch for your Souls, as thoſe that muſt give an Account*; ſo methinks, I hear him give up this *Account* unto the *Judge* of all.

'Gracious Lord; *I watch'd*, that I might ſee what '*ſpecial Truths* from time to time, were moſt proper to be inculcated on my *Flock*, and I throughly 'preached thoſe *Truths*. *I watch'd*, that I might 'ſee what ſort of *Temptations* did moſt threaten 'my *Flock*, and I ſet my ſelf to ſtrengthen them 'againſt thoſe *Temptations*. *I watch'd*, that I 'might ſee what ſort of *Afflictions* did moſt aſſault my *Flock*, and I ſet my ſelf to comfort them 'under thoſe *Afflictions*. I did *watch*, to Learn 'what ſort of *Duties*, were moſt *ſeaſonable* to be 'recommended to my *Flock*, and I vigorouſly recommended them in the Seaſons thereof. I did '*watch*, to ſee what *Souls* of my *Flock* did call for 'my more particular Addreſſes, and I often addreſs'd one or other of them. *Yet not I, but 'the Grace which was with me!*

But if we conſider him yet more particularly, as a *Preacher*, he did thus acquit himſelf. In the writing of his Diſcourſes for the Pulpit, he did, as they ſay, *Ariſtotle* did, when he wrote one of his Famous Books, *Dip his Pen into his very Soul!* VVhen he was going to compoſe a Sermon, he began with *Prayer*; thinking, *Benè oraſſe eſt benè ſtuduiſſe*. He then read over his Text in the *Original*, and *weigh'd* the Language of the Holy Ghoſt. If any Difficulty occur'd in the *Interpretation*, he was wary, how he ran againſt the Stream of the moſt ſolid Interpreters, whom he ſtill conſulted. He was then deſirous to draw forth his *Doctrines*, and perhaps other *Heads* of his Diſcourſe in the *Beginning of the Week*, that ſo his *Occaſional Thoughts*, might be uſeful thereunto. And he would ordinarily improve his *own Meditations* to ſhape his Diſcourſe, before he would conſult any *other Authors* who treated on the Subjects, that ſo their Notions might ſerve only to *Adorn* or *Correct* his own. Laſtly, Having finiſhed his Compoſure, he concluded with a *Thankſgiving* to the *Lord, his Helper*. And then for the *Utterance* of the Sermons thus prepared, though his *Pronunciation* were not ſet off with all the Advantages, that *Itching Ears* would have asked for, yet he had the *Divine Rhetorick*, recommended by Dr. *Stoughton* in that Speech of his, *This I know and dare avouch, that*

the higheſt Myſtery in Divine Rhetorick is, To feel what a Man ſpeaks, and then to ſpeak what he felt. In thus *fulfilling his Miniſtry*, he went through a Variety of Subjects; but there were eſpecially *Two Subjects*, that were ſingled out by him towards the Cloſe of it. *Firſt*, It being a Time, when a Conjunction of *Iniquity* and *Calamity* made but an *Ill Aſpect* upon the Countrey, he did in *One part* of the *Lord's Day* chooſe to inſiſt upon the *Prayer of* Jonas; which he handled in Forty five Sermons, whereof the laſt was uttered about a Month before his End. *Secondly*, A *Synod* of Churches having diſcovered, and condemned a Number of *Provoking Evils*, by degenerating whereinto, the Land was expoſed unto the Judgments of Heaven, he did on the *other part* of the *Lord's Days* inſiſt on thoſe *Provocations*; and having diſpatch'd what he intended hereof alſo, he took Two Texts; the One to awaken the *Obſtinate*, namely, that in *Jer.* 13. 17. *If you will not hear, my Soul ſhall weep in ſecret places for your Pride.* The Other to encourage the *Penitent*, namely, that in *Mat.* 11. 28. *Come to me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you Reſt.* And he was never after heard ſpeaking in the Name of the Lord.

§. 8. A while before his Death, he preached *Thirteen Sermons* on that Paſſage *Eccleſ.* 12. 5. *Man goeth to his Long Home.* And he had a ſtrange and ſtrong *Præſage* on his own Mind, that he was himſelf to be not *long* from that *Home*.

I find the Patriarch *Iſaac*, in *Gen.* 27. 2. fill'd with many Thoughts about the *Day of his Death* at hand, and enquiring after ſome ſpecial Reaſon for it, I find that *Iſaac* was now come to that Age, at which his Brother *Iſhmael* died fourteen Years before. *This* probably *now*, above any other time, awakened him to think of his *own Death* as near unto him. It may be, the *Præſage* of our *Shepard*, that he ſhould not outlive the Age of *Twenty ſeven*, might be ſomewhat excited, by his calling to Mind, the Age at which his Uncle expired.

Our Firſt *Shepard* of *Cambridge* had *Three* Sons, whereof, if the Eldeſt, namely, *Thomas* (the Father of our *Thomas* of *Charlſtown*) were one ſingularly *Enlarged* in his Endowments and Improvements; I am ſure, the Second was one, whoſe *Heart* was a *Tent* in which the Lord remarkably choſe to *Dwell*: It was Mr. *Samuel Shepard*, of whoſe Holy *Life* and *Death* I may here interweave a diſtinct Account, by but reciting the Words which I find written in a private Manuſcript of our Excellent Mr. *Mitchel* concerning him. His Words are theſe,

On *April* 7. 1668. dyed Mr. *Samuel Shepard*, ‘Paſtor of the Church of *Rowly* (juſt two Months ‘after his Wife) a very Precious, Holy, Meditating, Able and Choice Young Man; *One of the Firſt Three.* His Attainments in Communion ‘with God, and in daily *Meditation* and Cloſe ‘Walking, may ſhame thoſe that are Elder than ‘he. He was but *Twenty ſix years* of Age in ‘*October* laſt. He was an Excellent Preacher, ‘moſt dearly Beloved at *Rowly*, and of all that ‘knew him; but juſt ſettled among them. The ‘People would have *Plucked out their Eyes* for him, ‘to have ſaved his Life. But he was ripe for ‘*Heaven*, and God took him *thither*: A *Gain* to ‘him but an invaluable *Loſs* to us.

Now this our *Thomas* had an almoſt unaccountable Apprehenſion, that in his *Early Death* he ſhould be like his Uncle *Samuel*; and under the Influence of this Apprehenſion, he ſo liv'd, and ſo preach'd, as to avoid the *Danger* of a *Sudden Death*, by being always prepared for it. Accordingly, it came to paſs that about *June* 5. 1685. on *Friday* being indiſpoſed in his Bowels, he yet continued his *Pains* and *Hopes*, all the *Saturday* following, to be ready for the Exerciſes of the *Lord's Day*, when the *Lord's-Supper* alſo was to have been adminiſtred. But on the *Saturday* Night his Illneſs grew ſo much upon him, that he ſaid unto his Wife, *I would gladly have been, once more, at the Table of the Lord, but I now ſee that I ſhall no more partake thereof, until I do it after a new Manner in the Kingdom of Heaven.* On Lord's Day Noon I viſited him, and at my parting with him, he ſaid, *My Hopes are built on the Free Mercy of God, and the Rich Merit of Chriſt, and I do believe, that, if I am taken out of the World, I ſhall only change my* Place; *I ſhall neither change my* Company, *nor change my* Communion: *And as for you, Sir, I beg the Lord Jeſus to be with you unto the End of the World!* After this, he ſpoke little to his Attendants; but was often over-heard pouring out Prayers, eſpecially for the *Widow-Church*; (as he often expreſſed it) which he was to leave behind him. And in the Night following, to the extream Surprize of his *Friends* on *Earth*, he went away to thoſe in *Heaven*! If his *Age* be now enquired after, it is remarked, that altho' the Scripture doth mention the particular *Age* of many *Heroes* eternized in it's Oracles, yet after the Lord Jeſus Chriſt came, and continued in this lower World, no longer than *Thirty two Years and an half*, the Scripture does not mention the *Age* of any one Perſon whatſoever, as if the time of any one's Continuance in this World more or leſs, were not worth minding, ſince the *Son* of the Moſt High *Tabernacled* ſo little a while among us. However, we will here mention the Age of our *Shepard*; it was a Month ſhort of *Twenty ſeven.* But,

An miſerum dices, citò quòd Terrena reliquit!
Fœlicem certè, quòd meliora tenet.

§. 9. *Wiſdom, Gravity, Prudence, Temperance* (as One ſpeaks) *are not always confined unto them, that have wrinkled Faces, furrowed Brows, dim Eyes, and palſey Hands, leaning on a Staff*; nor is a *Young Man* uncapable of being a *Divine.* Although our *Shepard* had not *outlived* the *Years of Youth*, when he went from hence, yet he had *outgrown* the *Airs* of it; and among all the Vertues of an *Old Man* which adorn'd him, not the leaſt of his Ornaments was, his being well eſtabliſhed in the Study of *Divinity.* To accompliſh himſelf in that Study, he did not apply himſelf unto the Reading of thoſe Authors, who, pretending to deſcribe unto us, *The Whole Duty of Man*,

Man, and the *Condition of our Obtaining the Benefits purchaſed by Chriſt*, are careful to inſiſt on any thing rather, than that a Reliance on the *Righteouſneſs* of the Obedience, yielded by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt as our *Surety* unto God for us, which is the *One thing needful*, or that *Faith*, whereby we come to have the *Union* with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, from which alone all *Good Works* ariſe: And thoſe, who amidſt their Voluminous Harangues upon *Moral Virtue*, are very careful to avoid the leaſt Inſinuation, that a Man cannot *be* truly *Virtuous*, until the *Spirit* of God by a Supernatural Operatiou, infuſing a *New Principle* into him hath *regenerated* him, and that a Man can do nothing truly *Virtuous* without the Supernatural Aids of that *Spirit*. He look'd upon many late Books written to undermine the Orthodox *Articles of the Church of* England, in theſe Matters, by Perſons, who perhaps had got into Preferments by ſuſcribing thoſe very *Articles*, as Books that indeed *betray'd* the *Chriſtian Religion*, under the Pretence of *Upholding it*. And the *Mercy* of God having preſerved the Mind of this our Young Student from the wrong *Schemes*, which might have afterwards entailed ſuch an Eternal *Unſucceſsfulneſs* upon his Miniſtry, as uſes to attend the Miniſtry, wherein the *Grace of the Goſpel* is not acknowledged, he choſe to read thoſe Authors, which have the Truer *Spirit of the Goſpel* in them. I find therefore under his own Hand, a Liſt of ſuch *Authors* as theſe, to be conſidered by him, as indeed worthy to be peruſed and conſidered; Mr. *Perkins*, Dr. *Preſton*, Dr. *Uſher*, Dr. *Manton*, Mr. *Jeans*, Mr. *Strong*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Swinnock*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Polhill*. And however he ſaw a *Sherlock*, after a very *Unevangelical* Manner, abuſing the Writings of his Grandfather *Shepard*, his Value for thoſe Writings, and the Writings of ſuch Men as Mr. *Hooker* or Dr. *Goodwin*, was thereby not abated; but his Deteſtation of the *New-Divinity*, wherein he ſaw the Myſteries of *Union with Chriſt* confounded, *Acquaintance with Chriſt* reproached, and *Living by Faith on Chriſt*, and *Coming to Chriſt with nothing for all things* made a Ridicule, was more than a little augmented. And as it was a Principal Endeavour with him, to ſettle himſelf in the True, *Proteſtant*, *New-Engliſh Anti-Arminian Points* of *Truth*, ſo on all Occaſions he prov'd himſelf One able to maintain the *Truth* againſt all Oppoſers: Whence, the *Immature Death* of ſo Accompliſh'd a *Divine*, cannot but be a ſenſible Wound unto our Churches. But He that *Holds the Stars in his Right Hand*, can, if we addreſs him for it, upon the *Setting* of *ſome*, cauſe *others* to *riſe*; yea, it is *poſſible*, and it is indeed *propoſed*, that by writing the *Lines* of *ſome* ſuch, others may be excited and aſſiſted, in *ſhining* like unto them.

This was the *Short Life* of my Dear *Shepard*. I confeſs my Affection unto him to have been ſuch, that if I might uſe the Poet's Expreſſion of his Friend, *Animæ dimidium meæ*, I muſt ſay, *I am half buried ſince he is dead*, or, *He is but half dead ſince I am alive*. Nevertheleſs, this *Affection* hath not bribed my *Veracity* in any part of the Character which I have given of him; for as on the one ſide, I count it baſe to throw *Dirt* on the Face, which *Duſt* hath been caſt upon; ſo, on the other ſide, I think, that *Painting* becomes *Dead* People worſe than *Living*.

A Line or Two of *Emanuel Theſaurus*, upon that Firſt and Young *Shepherd* ABEL, we may now leave upon him for his

EPITAPH.

Conditur ſub hoc Ceſpite, Virgineus PASTOR,
Qui mortem, omnibus, vitam nemini flendam tranſegit.

Or This,

Great Minds muſt like *New Stars*, but look about,
Be wondred at a little, and go out.

Or, This.

Dear *Shepard*, ſure we dare not call thee *Dead*:
Tho' *gone*, thou'rt but unto thy *Kindred* fled.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

EARLY PIETY, Exemplified in the Life *and* Death *of Mr.* Nathanael Mather; *Who having become at the Age of Nineteen, an Inſtance of more than Common* Learning *and* Virtue, *changed Earth for Heaven,* Octob. 17. 1688.

Si ſpectes Annos, Annis Puer ille videtur:
Si Mores ſpectes, Moribus eſſe Senex.

The Fourth Edition.
With a *Prefatory* Epiſtle by Mr. *Matthew Mead.*

To the READER.

O*F all Reading, Hiſtory hath in it a moſt taking Delight, and no Hiſtory more delightful than the Lives of good Men, it being not only pleaſant but profitable; and ſo while other Pleaſures become a* Bait *to Vice, this becomes a* Motive *to Virtue. It may be ſaid of ſuch Lives, as that Excellent Mr.* Herbert *ſaid of Verſes,*

A Life may find him who a Sermon flies,
And turn Delight into a Sacrifice.

Thou haſt here a rare Hiſtory of a Youth, that may be of great Uſe and Advantage both to Old and Young: That the Aged ſeeing themſelves out-done by Green Years, may Gird up their Loins, *and mend their Pace for Heaven; and that Young Ones may be ſo wrought into the Love of Religion, as it is Exemplified in this Holy Perſon, as to endeavour with all Diligence to write after his Excellent Copy.*

It is a great Work to dye, *and to* dye well *is a greater; and no Work calls for greater Diligence than this, becauſe the Errours of the firſt Work can never be corrected in a ſecond. One great Reaſon why this Duty is ſeldom well done, is becauſe we grudge Time to do it in, and leave it to be done at once. It is never like to be well done, unleſs it be always doing; and therefore we ſhould, in Conformity to that great Apoſtle, die daily.*

This was the Practice of this Young Diſciple, *who among all his other Learning (wherein for his time he excelled moſt) had in* Nineteen Years *ſo perfectly learned this Leſſon, that the Wiſe God ſaw it fit he ſhould* take out.

About Fourteen Years *old he did dedicate himſelf wholly to God and his Service, and entred into a* Solemn Covenant *with God to that purpoſe; which as he did not begin* raſhly, *and without great* deliberation, *ſo he did not tranſact it ſlightly, but with great* Senſe *and* Seriouſneſs: *The Matter and Form of which* Covenant *you have in this enſuing Narrative ſigned with his own Hand, according to that Word of the Prophet,* (Iſa. 44. 5.) One ſhall ſay, I am the Lord's, and another ſhall call himſelf by the Name of *Jacob*, and another ſhall ſubſcribe with his Hand to the Lord. *And with what Care and Conſcience he performed this Covenant in Faſting, in Prayer, in Watchings, in Self-Examination, in Meditation, in Thankſgiving, in Walking with God in all, is fully witneſſed in what follows, which ſhews that he was a true* Nathanael, an Iſraelite indeed in whom was no Guile. *Not like thoſe* Iſraelites *which the Prophet reproveth, for that* they flattered God with their Mouth, —— lied to him with their Tongues, their Hearts not being right with him, nor ſtedfaſt in his Covenant. *For having once given up himſelf to God,* He kept the Ways of the Lord, and did not wickedly depart from his God.

When his Worthy Father (my Dear Friend) was pleaſed to ſend this Narrative to me, I confeſs I could not read it without great Reflection and Shame: Thought I, God will not gather his Fruit till it is ripe, and therefore I live ſo long; nor will he let it hang till it is rotten, therefore Nathanael *dyed ſo ſoon. We are not ſent into the World meerly to fill up a Number of Years, but to fill up our meaſures of Grace, and whenever that is done, our Time is done, and we have lived to Maturity, and ſo did this Youth, and therefore* came to his Grave in a full Age (*tho' at Nineteen*) like as a Shock of Corn comes in in his Seaſon.

The following Hiſtory is written by his own Brother, (a Worthy Miniſter) the fitteſt of any for ſuch a Province, the Nearneſs of Relation occaſioning that Intimacy which others could not eaſily have. In what he hath done herein, he hath deſerved highly of all who love Goodneſs and Virtue, having uſed great Faithfulneſs, and great Modeſty: Great Faithfulneſs, and that both to the Dead and to the Living; to the Dead, in raiſing up the Name of ſuch a Brother; and to the Living, in giving us a Narration *of his Life,*

without

without an Oration *in his Praiſe; which indeed was altogether needleſs, when it was ſo fairly written by himſelf, for his own Works praiſe him in the Gates. And he hath uſed great Modeſty, in ſpeaking for the moſt part out of the Journal of the Deceaſed, ſo that it is the* Dead *who ſpeaks while the* Living *writes. And ſince his End is more to provoke to Imitation than to beſpeak Admiration, How greatly doth it concern them into whoſe Hands this* Narrative *ſhall happily fall, to joyn earneſt Prayer and diligent Endeavour together in following this great Example, otherwiſe he that gave it, and he that writes it, will both riſe up in Judgment againſt an unteachable Generation.*

London, *June* 17. 1689.

Matthew Mead.

To the READER.

I*T is not for me to ſay much of the Perſon who is the Subject of the Enſuing Hiſtory, for that I am his younger Brother. I have read a Letter (dated* October 25. 1688.) *written to* his *and* my *Ever Honoured Father, wherein are theſe Expreſſions.*

Never could Parent have cauſe of more Comfort in a Child, than you have in that Son of yours. I have ſeen his private Papers, and in them ſuch an Inſtance of a Walk with God, as few Ancient Miniſters perhaps have Experience of, eſpecially for the three laſt years of his Life, I find that he maintained a Courſe of wonderful Devotion, Supplication and Meditation every Day; that ſolemn Humiliations and Thankſgivings in ſecret, were no Strangers to his Practice, that he would be often thinking with himſelf, *What ſhall I do for God?* And in a Word, that Dr. *Owen*'s Book about *Spiritual Mindedneſs*, has been in a very rare Manner tranſcribed into his Converſation.

He has bin for his Years a great Scholar, but a better Chriſtian. The Life of the Famous Young *Janeway*, I think, has not more of Holineſs illuſtrious in it, than that of your Dear *Nathanael*'s.

I write theſe Things, becauſe I judge you have no greater Joy. Some Eminent Miniſters here, have maintained a pleaſant, intimate, familiar Converſation with him, and the Character which they gave of him, is very Extraordinary. *Thus that Letter.*

I have likewiſe heard my Father ſay, that he was more grieved for the Loſs which the Church of God has ſuſtained in the Death of that my Brother, than for his own Loſs thereby.

When I parted from him not a Year ago, I hoped that would not have been my Ultimum Vale; *but I now lament my Unhappineſs, in that I gain'd no more by him: And yet muſt acknowledge, that the little Underſtanding which God has given me in the* Hebrew *or* Greek *Tongues, was by that my Brother as the Inſtrument: So that I have cauſe whilſt I ſhall live, to honour his Memory. His Death makes me remember the Poet's Words.*

Ὃν φιλεῖ Θεὸς ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

I cannot but know, that if I ſhould not fear and ſerve the God of my Brothers, and of my Fathers, and of my Grand-Fathers, the neareſt Relations I ever had in the World, will be Witneſſes againſt me at the Laſt Day. The Lord give us a joyful Meeting in Day of Chriſt.

London, *February*, 5th. 1689.

Samuel Mather.

The INTRODUCTION.

MY Reader will quickly diſcern *what* it is that I attempt the doing of; and I ſuppoſe he will then ſee no Occaſion of enquiring *Why*. The *Apology*'s wherewith Writers uſually fill the *Prefaces* of their Books, *Do come of Evil*; either the Vanity of the *Compoſers* is diſcovered, or the Candor of the *Peruſers* queſtioned in them. That I write the *Life* of a *Chriſtian*, cannot be faulted by any one who conſiders, That the *Lives* of Pious Men have been juſtly eſteemed among the moſt uſeful *Hiſtories* which the Church of God enjoys; or that the *beſt Pens* in the World have been employ'd in thus helping the *Juſt* unto *Eternal Memory*. Our Lord will have as mean a Thing as one Act of Devotion and Charity, in a poor *Woman*, to be mentioned wherever his *Goſpel* comes. That I write the *Life* of a *Brother*, will not be reckoned abſurd by them who underſtand what *Patterns* I have, both *Ancient* and *Modern*, for my doing ſo. *James Janeway* among the reſt has had our Thanks for what an Account he has given of his Brother *John*. Indeed, if I ſhould not thus raiſe up for my Departed Brother a Name in *Iſrael*, I were not worthy to *wear a Shoo*, or to have a *Face unſpit upon*. My *Natural Relation* to him doth oblige me to beſtow an Epitaph upon his Grave; that the Survivers may not forget whoſe

Duſt

Duſt they tread upon: But I am by (that which *Ambroſe* calls) a *Greater and Better Fraternity*, concerned to Embalm the Memory of One, who maintained ſuch a *Walk with God*, as he did until *God took him* to Himſelf. It has been obſerved, That they who *Live in Heaven while they are on Earth*, often *Live on Earth after they are in Heaven.* It were lawful for me to deſire and ſtudy ſuch a Thing on the behalf of my Brother, whoſe *Early Piety* is at once my own *Shame* and *Joy*: But I purſue an higher End than this, deſigning rather to procure *Followers*, than to beſpeak *Admirers* of this good Example: That this is my *Main Scope*, in what I am now doing of, I declare ſincerely and very ſolemnly. And hence I have not here made an *Oration* in his *Praiſe*, but given barely a *Narrative* of his Life, and this moſtly by tranſcribing of his own *Memorials*, in all affecting the *plain Style* of a juſt *Hiſtorian.* I do therefore addreſs this *Exemplary Life* unto the young People of *New-England*, and eſpecially unto thoſe of *North-Boſton*, who are the *Lambs* that I have received a peculiar Charge from the Lord Jeſus about the *Feeding* of. To you do I preſent this *Mirrour*, wherein you may ſee the Exerciſes of a *Virtuous Youth*, not only *preſcribed*, but alſo *practiſed* before your Eyes: You ſhall ſee, as what *ſhould* be done, ſo what *may* be done by a *Young* Perſon, in order to Everlaſting Felicity; ſee him and hear him as *One come from the Dead*, ſaying, *Do as I have done.* The *Father* of him whom I deſcribe has laboured exceedingly for the *Converſion of the Riſing Generation in* New-England; and his CALL to them has been printed and reprinted here among us. Tho' the News of a *Sons* Death muſt needs be afflictive to him, when he ſhall have the Report of it arriving to him in the other *England*, yet I make no doubt, but his Parental Griefs will be not a little mitigated, when he ſhall behold *that Son* thus renewing his CALL by *ſpeaking* after he is dead. This young Man did *pray* much for *you* while he was alive, that *you* might be truly converted unto God; he does *preach now* to *you* from the *Grave*, or rather from the *Sky*, that you would *Remember your Creator in the Days of your Youth.* I wiſh that he may (to uſe *Chryſoſtom*'s Phraſe) become a *Brother* to you by *Faith*, as he is to me by *Blood*: And I extend this my Wiſh with a moſt Affectionate Application to the young Gentlemen, who belong to the *Colledge* which he was a Member of. As you have had in his *Father* a *Rector*, whoſe Generous and Expenſive Cares have not been for your Diſadvantage; ſo you have in his *Diligence* and his *Devotion*, a *Copy* which is not altogether unworthy of your Imitation; I am ſetting before you the *Exerciſes* and *Accompliſhments* of a *Scholar*, whoſe Chief Study it was, *to be wiſe unto Salvation*; a *Scholar*, which laboured while he was learning all other Things, not to be ignorant of Him, *Whom to know was Life Eternal.* I am not without Hope, that ſome of you will now reſolve as *Jerom* did when he had read the Life of *Hilarion*, ſhutting up the Book and ſaying, *Well, here ſhall be the Champion whom I will follow*: When you come to dye, you will certainly commend ſuch a *Life* as his; God grant that none of you may then have cauſe to ſigh *Qualis Artifex pereo!* Or to complain, *Surgunt Indocti & rapiunt Cœlum; Nos cum noſtris Doctrinis mergimur in Infernum.* That Great Man *Hugo Grotius* near his End profeſſed, That he would gladly give all his Learning and Honour for the Integrity of a *poor Man* in his Neighbourhood, that ſpent *Eight Hours* of his Time in *Prayer*, *Eight* in *Labour*, and *Eight* in *Sleep* and other Neceſſaries; and unto ſome that applauded his marvellous *Induſtry*, he ſaid, *Ah, Vitam perdidi operoſe nihil Agendo!* But unto ſome that asked, the beſt Counſel which a Man of his Attainment could give, he ſaid, *Be ſerious.* 'Tis with this *Counſel* that I humbly offer you the Enſuing Hiſtory.

THE *LIFE* and *DEATH* OF Mr. Nathanael Mather.

I Write the *Life* and *Death* of a Young Man, whoſe Ornaments will awaken in the Reader, an Enquiry like that which the Atchievements of *David*, produced concerning him, *Whoſe Son is this Youth?*

To Anticipate that Enquiry:

Nathanael Mather had for his Grand-Fathers Two of *New-England*'s Fathers, the Famous *Richard Mather*, and the not leſs Famous *John Cotton*; whoſe *Names* have been in the Church of God, as an *Ointment poured forth*, and whoſe *Lives* bear no little Figure in the *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories* of our *Engliſh Iſrael.* His *Parents* being yet living, it's too ſoon to give them their Character; yet I may venture to ſay, It's no Diſgrace unto him in the Opinion of Men that love *Learning* and *Virtue*, that he was the Son of *Increaſe Mather*, the well-

well known Teacher of a Church in *Boſton*, and Rector of *Harvard-Colledge* in *New-England*. What *Gregory Nazianzen* judged not improper to be ſaid about his yet ſurviving *Father*, in his Funeral Oration upon his Deceaſed *Brother*, I may without any culpable Adulation on this Occaſion, ſay of him, *He is another Aaron or Moſes in the Houſe of his God.*

Our *Nathanael* was born on *July* 6th. 1669. which I find him recording in his *Diary*, when he was fourteen Years old, with ſuch an humble Reflection thereupon, *How little have I improved this time to the Honour of God as I ſhould have done!* He wanted not the Cares of his Father to beſtow a good *Education* on him, which God bleſſed for the *Reſtraining* him from the lewd and wild Courſes by which too many Children are betimes reſigned up to the poſſeſſion of the Devil, and for the *Furniſhing* him with ſuch Accompliſhments as give an *Ornament of Grace unto the Head of Youth*. He did *Live* where he might learn, and under the continual Prayers and Pains of ſome that looked after him, he became an Inſtance of unuſual *Induſtry*, and no Common *Piety*; ſo that when he dyed, which was *Octob.* 17th. 1688. he was become in leſs than twenty Years, *An Old Man without gray [illegible] upon him.*

[illegible] *Two* Heads, with a ſorrowful Addition o[illegible], I ſhall confine my Account of this Y[illegible] Man; in which the *Picture* to be now dr[illegible], has nothing but the *Truth*, and at leaſt ſo [illegible]n of *Life* in it, as to look upon every Reader, yea, *ſpeak* unto every young Reader, ſaying, *Go and Do likewiſe.*

I. His INDUSTRY.

He was an hard *Student*, and quickly became a good *Scholar*. From his very Childhood, his *Book* was perhaps as dear to him as his *Play*, and hence he grew particularly acquainted with *Church-Hiſtory*, at a rate not uſual in thoſe that were above thrice as Old as *He*. But when he came to ſomewhat more of *Youth*, his Tutor (who now writes) was forced often to chide him *to* his Recreations, but never that I remember *for* them. To be *Bookiſh* was natural unto him, and to be *plodding* eaſie and pleaſant rather than the contrary. Indeed he afforded not ſo much a *Pattern* as a *Caution* to young Students; for it may be truly written on his Grave, *Study kill'd him*. When One told the Excellent Mr. *Charnock*, that if he *Studied* ſo much it would *Coſt him his Life*; he replied, *Why? It coſt Chriſt his Life to ſave, and what if it coſt me my Life to ſtudy for Him?* Our Studious *Nathanael* was of this Diſpoſition. The *Marks* and *Works* of a Studious Mind were to be diſcerned in him, even as he walked in the Streets; and his Candle would burn after *Midnight*, until, as his own Phraſe for it was, *He thought his Bones would all fall aſunder*. This was among the Paſſages once noted in his Diary.

10 *M.* 26 *D.* three quarters of an Hour after 12 at Night.

'After the many weariſom *Hours*, *Days*, *Months*, 'nay, *Years*, that I have ſpent in humane Literature; and after my many toilſom Studies in thoſe 'Hours, when the *General Silence* of every Houſe 'in Town, proclaimed it high time for me to 'put a ſtop unto my working Mind, and urged 'me to afford ſome Reſt unto my *Eyes*, which have 'been almoſt put by my Intenſeneſs on my Studies; after theſe, I ſay, and when I am ready 'to do it: Oh! how unwilling am I to do it, 'conſidering; *How little have I ſerved God in the 'Day!*

While he thus *devoured Books*, it came to paſs that *Books devoured* him. His weak Body would not bear the *Toils* and *Hours*, which he uſed himſelf unto; and his Neglect of *Moderate Exerciſe*, joyned with his Exceſs of *Immoderate Lucubration*, ſoon deſtroyed the *Digeſtion* which his Blood ſhould have had in the laſt Elaboration of it; by that time ſixteen *Winters* had ſnow'd upon him, he began to be diſtempered, with many *Pains* and *Ails*, eſpecially in ſome of his *Joynts*, which at laſt were the *Gates of Death* unto him; not without ſuch very afflictive Touches of *Melancholy*, too, as made him ſometimes to write himſelf *Deodatus Melancholicus*. This was his Way of *Living*, ſhall I ſay, or of *Dying?* And the *Succeſs* of this Diligence was according to the *Temper* of it, *Great*. When he was but twelve Years old he was admitted into the *Colledge*, by ſtrict Examiners: And many Months after this paſſed not, before he had accurately gone over all the *Old Teſtament* in *Hebrew*, as well as the *New* in *Greek*, beſides his going through all the *Liberal Sciences*, before many other Deſigners for Philoſophy do ſo much as begin to look into them. He commenced *Batchelour of Arts* at the Age of ſixteen, and in the *Act* entertained the Auditory with an *Hebrew Oration*, which gave a good Account of the Academical Affairs among the ancient *Jews*. Indeed the *Hebrew Language* was become ſo Familiar with him, as if (to uſe the Expreſſion which one had in an *Ingenious Elegy* upon his Death) he had apprehended, it ſhould quickly become the *only Language*, which he ſhould have Occaſion for. His *Second* Degree, after ſeven Years being in the Colledge, he took juſt before Death gave him a *Third*, which laſt was a promotion infinitely beyond either of the former. He then maintained for his Poſition, *Datur vacuum*; and by his Diſcourſes upon it (as well as by other *Memorials* and *Experiments* left behind him in Manuſcripts) he gave a Specimen of his Intimate Acquaintance with the *Corpuſcularian* (and only right) Philoſophy. By this time he had informed himſelf like another *Mirandula*, and was admirably capable of arguing about, almoſt every Subject that fell within the Concernments of a Learned Man. The Difficulties of the *Mathematicks* he had particularly overcome, and the abſtruſe parts both of *Arithmetick* and *Aſtronomy*, were graſped in his Knowledge.

His Early *Almanacks* and *Calculations* do ſomething, but the MSS *Adverſaria*, left behind him in his Cloſet, much more, ſpeak ſuch Attainments in him. His *Chronology* was exact unto a Wonder, and the State of *Learning* with the *Names* and *Works* of Learned Men, in the World, this *American* Wilderneſs hath few that underſtand as well

Mmmm as

as he. Beſides all this, for the vaſt Field of *Theology*, both *Didactick* and *Polemick*, it is hardly credible how little of it his Travel had left *unknown*. *Rabbinick Learning* he had likewiſe no ſmall meaſure of; and the Queſtions referring unto the *Scriptures* which *Philology* is converſant about, came under a very Critical Notice with him. Indeed he was a Perſon of but few Words, and his *Words* with His *Looks*, made the *Treaſure* in him wholly unſuſpected by Strangers to him; yet they that were intimately acquainted with him, can atteſt unto the Veracity of him that giveth this Deſcription; and there are no mean Perſons who will profeſs with Admiration, *That they cou'd ſcarce encounter him in any Theme of Diſcourſe, which he was not very notably acquainted with.*

But the *Bark* is now ſplit in which all theſe Riches were ſtowed. A *Spaniſh* Wrack hath not more *Silver* than the Grave of ſuch a Young Man hath *Learning* buried in it. Indeed theſe things, *Mortis Erunt*; perhaps they dyed with him: But there is a more *Immortal* Thing to be obſerved in him; and that is,

II. His PIETY.

Tho' a *fine Carriage* was the leaſt thing that ever he affected, yet a *Good Nature* made him dear to thoſe that were familiar with him. He was always very obliging and officious, and more ready to *do*, than others could be to *ask* a good turn at his Hands: But he was above all *happy*, by being *Early* in *pure Religion*.

The Common Effects of ſuch a *Pious Education*, as the Family in which he lived afforded unto him, were ſeen even in his Childhood; and *ſecret Prayer* became very betimes one of his Infant Exerciſes. He does in his MSs. particularly take notice of a *Scripture Copy* ſet for him when he learned to *Write*, as a thing that had much Efficacy on him; but when he was *Twelve* (or more) Years old, more powerful Conviction did the Spirit of God ſet home upon him than he had been uſed unto; ſome Records therefore I find in his Papers, with this Clauſe in the Head of the Account, *Rejoyce, O my Soul, for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.* Now it was that he allowed his Pen to write theſe, among other Expreſſions of his Trouble about his Eſtate.

Feb. 19. 1682.

'What ſhall I do? *What ſhall I do to be ſav'd?* 'Without a Chriſt I am *undone, undone, undone* 'for Evermore! O Lord, let me have *Chriſt*, tho' 'I lye in the Mire for ever! O for a Chriſt! O 'for a Chriſt! a Chriſt! Lord, *Give me a Chriſt* '*or I dye!*

It was now another of his regiſtred Meditations.

'I have been in a great Heſitancy, whether I 'ſhould chooſe *Jeſus Chriſt* for my Prophet, Prieſt 'and King, with all his *Inconveniencies*, to take 'up my *Croſs* and follow him: Wherefore I do 'now take him as mine; my whole Chriſt, and 'my only Chriſt; and I am reſolved to ſeek him. 'All that I have ſhall be at his *Service*, and all my '*Members*, and all my *Power*, ſhall endeavour 'his Glory.

And yet again there were theſe Conſiderations in his Mind.

'Had I not better ſeek the Lord Chriſt, while 'I have a *Time* of Proſperity and Peace, while he 'offers himſelf to me, ſaying, *Come unto me, and* '*I will ſave thee, and lay all thy Burdens upon me,* '*and I will ſuſtain thee:* Than in Affliction to cry 'and not be heard? when he ſtretcheth forth his 'Hand and ſays, *Believe on me and thou ſhalt be* '*ſaved*; and now to *Day* he offers himſelf, ſhall 'I refuſe, and ſay, Lord, *To Morrow?* No ſurely. And theſe pathetical *Groans* then likewiſe got a Room in his Papers.

'O that I had a *Chriſt*! O that I had Him who 'is the *Delight* of my Soul! Then, O then I 'ſhould be perfectly Bleſſed, and want no Food 'that would make me ſo!

This is a *Copy* of the Paſſages then recorded in this Young Believers Diary.

Thus did he now labour to affect his *own Soul* with his *own State*, and leave things no more at *peradventures* between God and him. He read many ſavoury Books about *Faith*, and *Repentance*, and *Converſion*, and he tranſcribed many Notes therefrom, not reſting ſatisfied within himſelf, until he had ſome Experience of a true *Regeneration*. Among other Workings of his Heart at this Age, his Papers have ſuch things as theſe.

'Reaſons for my ſpeedy cloſing with Jeſus 'Chriſt.

'*Firſt*, It's the *Command* of Jeſus Chriſt, that 'I ſhould come unto him.

'*Secondly*, Jeſus Chriſt *Invites me* alſo in *Mat* '11. 28. *Come unto me.*

'*Thirdly*, He hath laid me under many *Obligations* to turn unto him, in that he hath recover'd 'me from *Sickneſs* ſo often, and now given me a 'curious *Study*.

'*Fourthly*, In that I have vow'd unto the Lord, 'if he would do ſo and ſo for me, I would make 'a Solemn *Covenant* with him, and endeavour to 'ſerve him.

And again elſewhere.

'O that God would help me to ſeek Him 'while I am *Young*! O that he would give unto me me His *Grace!* However, I will lay my 'ſelf down at his Feet. If he *Save* me, I ſhall 'be happy for ever; if he *Damn* me, I muſt juſtiſie him. *O thou Son of God, have mercy on me!* 'I know not what to ſay, but I will take thee at 'thy Word: Thou ſayſt, *Come unto me*; my Soul 'anſwers, *Lord, at thy Command I will come.*

He thus continued *following hard after God*, enjoying and anſwering many *Strivings* of his Holy Spirit until he was about *Fourteen* Years old.

In this time he did not a little acquaint himſelf with *profitable Godlineſs*, being frequent and fervent in his *Prayers* to God upon all Occaſions, and careful not only to *hear Sermons*, but alſo to conſider after them *what Improvement he ſhould make of what he heard.* Not only his *Prayers*, but his *Praiſes* too now took Notice of even the ſmalleſt Affairs before him. I know not whether you can ſee any thing *Childiſh*, I am ſure I ſee ſomething *ſerious*, in a paſſage or two that I ſhall fetch out of his *Diary*, written when he was was about *Thir-*

teen

teen Years old: On *March* 13. he wrote, *This day I received of my Father, that Famous Work, The* Biblia Polyglotta, *for which I deſire to praiſe the Name of God:* Again on *June* 29. he wrote, *This day my Brother gave me* Schindlers Lexicon, *a Book for which I had not only longed much, but alſo prayed unto God: Bleſſed be the Lord's Name for it.* The Thoughts of *Death* alſo now found a Lodging in his Heart, and he rebuked himſelf becauſe he had been ſo much without them. Tho' at this Age for the moſt part, Perſons think of *any* thing, *every* thing more than of their *dying Day*. And his Writings diſcovered him to be peculiarly affected with that Ancient *Hiſtory* (or *Apologue*) of him who after a diſſolute and ungodly *Youth*, going to repent in Age, heard that Voice from Heaven to him, *Des illi Furfurem cui dediſti Farinam:* The Devil had thy *Flower*, and thou ſhalt not bring thy *Bran* to me.

Self-Examination was alſo become one of his Employments; and once particularly in one of his *Diaries*, he does thus expreſs himſelf.

April 8. 1683.

'This Morning I was much caſt down with the 'Senſe of my Vileneſs. I Examin'd,

'I. What *Sins* I had that were not mortified: '1. My Sin of *Pride*. 2. My Sin of *Unthankfulneſs*. 3. My not improving the *Means of Grace*, 'as I ought to do.

'II. What *Graces* I find need of. 1. *Converting* and *Regenerating* Grace. 2. *Humiliation* for 'my many Sins againſt ſuch a good God as 'the Lord is.

'III. What *Mercies* I had received, for which 'I deſire to bleſs the Lord's Name. 1. He hath 'given me to be born of *Godly Parents*. 2. I 'have always had the *Means of Grace* lengthen'd 'out unto me. 3. The Lord Lord hath graciouſly pleaſed to give me ſome *Anſwers of Prayer* '1. As to the lengthning out of my *Health*. 2. As 'to the Increaſe of my *Library*, *What ſhall I render to the Lord* for all his Loving Kindneſs towards me? I reſolved to *Dedicate* my ſelf wholly 'to God and his Service.

And he did accordingly.

This Year did not roll about, before he had in a manner very ſolemn entred into *Covenant* with God. This weighty and awful thing was not raſhly done by him, or in a ſudden *Flaſh* and *Pang* of Devotion: He *Thought*, he *Read*, he *Wrote*, and he *Prayed* not a little before this Glorious Tranſaction between God and him, and upon mature Deliberation, he judged it moſt adviſeable for him to make his *Covenant* with God as *Explicit* as *Writing* and *Signing* could render it; that ſo it might leave the more Impreſſion upon his *Heart* and *Life*, and be an Evidence likewiſe, which in Temptation or Deſertion he might have recourſe unto: Wherefore he ſet apart a *Time* for (I think) ſecret *Faſting* and *Prayer* before the Lord, and then behold how this *Young Man* counting it high time for him to be *bound* out unto ſome *Service*, took a courſe for it: He ſubſcribed an holy *Covenant*, of which this was the *Matter*, this the *Form*.

'The *Covenant* between God and my Soul, renewed, confirmed and ſigned, *Nov.* 22. 1683.

'*Whereas* not only the *Commands* of God [who 'hath often called upon me, by his *Word preached*, 'to give up my ſelf, both Body and Soul, to be 'at his Diſpoſal, which calls by the publick Miniſtry, were enough to engage me unto this] 'but alſo the *Chriſtian Religion* which I profeſs, 'and my *Baptiſm* in which I took the Lord to be 'my God, and promiſed to renounce the *World*, 'the *Fleſh*, and the *Devil*, and to dedicate my ſelf 'unto the *Service*, *Work* and *Will* of God, do bind 'me hereunto; *In that* God is ſuch *a God* as deſerves this, yea, infinitely more than this, at my 'hands; my *Creator*, the Fountain of my Being; 'my *Preſerver*, my Benefactor, my *Lord*, my Soveraign, my Judge; He in whoſe Hands my *Life*, 'my Breath, and all my Concerns are; He that 'doth *protect* me from all Dangers, and *ſupply* me 'in all Wants, *ſupport* me under all Burdens, and '*direct* me in all Streights; He alone that can make 'me *happy* or *miſerable*; He alone that can *ſave* 'me or *damn* me; He alone that can give inward '*Peace* and *Joy*, that is my Friend, my God; *In that*, Self-Dedication is the Creatures Advancement; theſe *Firſt-Fruits*, if in Sincerity, putting 'upon me a Glorious neſs and Excellency.

'*In that* Felicity hereafter depends upon my 'dedicating of my ſelf unto God now.

'*In that* this is the higheſt piece of *Gratitude* I 'am capable of expreſſing unto God, and I know 'no better way to Obey the *Will* of God, than 'firſt to give up my *ſelf* unto him.

'And *whereas* the *Mercies* which the Lord hath 'been pleaſed graciouſly to beſtow upon me, are 'ſo many, that even *bare Morality*, doth ſhew 'me that I can never enough requite one that 'hath done ſo much for me, except by *Giving up my ſelf wholly to him*.

[1669]

'*Whereas* God hath given me a Godly Father 'and Mother.

[1674]

'*In that* when I was like to dye, being twice 'ſick of a *Feaver*, God was pleaſed to bleſs means 'for my Recovery, and lengthen out the Thread 'of my Life.

[1675]

'*Whereas*, when I by an Accident fell down, 'and had like to have been deprived of the uſe of 'my Tongue, God was in his good Providence 'graciouſly pleaſed to give me the uſe of it.

[1678]

'*Whereas*, when I was ſick of the *Small-Pox*, 'God was pleaſed to bleſs Means for my Recovery.

'*Whereas*, then I made Promiſes unto God, that 'if he would give me my *Health*, I would endeavour to become a *New-Creature*, and he hath 'done ſo for theſe *five Years:* And *whereas* God 'hath of late been beſtowing many and wonderful Mercies upon me, *What can I do leſs than give up my ſelf wholly to him?*

'Which now I do.

'And, O Lord God, I beſeech thee to accept 'of thy poor *Prodigal*, now proſtrating of himſelf before thee. I confeſs, O Lord, I have 'fallen from thee by my Iniquity, and am by 'Nature a *Son of Hell*; but of thy Infinite Grace

 'thou

'thou haſt promiſed Mercy to me in Chriſt, if 'I will but turn unto thee with all my Heart: 'Therefore upon the Call of thy Goſpel, *I come in*, and from the bottom of my Heart I renounce 'all thy *Enemies*; with whom I confeſs I have 'wickedly ſided againſt thee, firmly *Covenanting* 'with thee, not to allow my ſelf in any known 'Sin, but conſcientiouſly to uſe all Means which 'I know thou haſt preſcribed, for the utter De'ſtruction of all my Corruptions. And where'as I have inordinately let out my Affections upon 'the World, I here reſign my Heart unto thee 'that made it; humbly proteſting before thy Glo'rious Majeſty, that it is the firm *Reſolution* of my 'Heart (and that I do unfeignedly deſire *Grace* 'from thee, that when thou ſhalt call me there'unto, I may put in *Practice* my Reſolution) 'through thine Aſſiſtance, to forſake all that is 'dear unto me in the World, rather than to turn 'from thee to the *Ways of Sin*; and that I will 'watch againſt all its *Temptations*, whether of '*Proſperity* or *Adverſity*, leſt they ſhould with'draw my Heart from thee, beſeeching thee to 'help me.

'I renounce all my own *Righteouſneſs*, and ac'knowledge that of my ſelf I am helpleſs and 'undone, and without Righteouſneſs.

'And whereas, of thy bottomleſs Mercy, thou 'haſt offer'd to accept of me, and to be reconci'led to me, and to be my God *through Chriſt*, if 'I would accept of thee, I do this Day *avouch 'thee to be the Lord my God*. I do here take the 'Lord *Jehovah*, Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, 'for my Portion and Chief Good, and do give 'up my ſelf *Body* and *Soul* for thy Servant, pro'miſing to endeavour to ſerve thee in *Righteouſ'neſs* and *Holineſs*. I do here alſo on the bended 'Knees of my Soul, accept of the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt as the only and living *Way*, by which 'Sinners may have acceſs to thee, and do here 'joyn my ſelf in a *Marriage-Covenant* with him. 'O Lord Jeſus, I come to thee, hungry, poor, 'miſerable, blind and naked, and a moſt loath'ſome Creature, a condemned Malefactor: *Who 'am I, that I ſhould be married unto the King of 'Glory!*

'I do accept of thee for my *Head* and *Husband*, 'and embrace thee in all thy Offices. I renounce 'my own *Worthineſs*, and do chooſe thee the *Lord 'my Righteouſneſs*. I do renounce my own *Wiſ'dom*, and do take thine for my Guide. I take 'thy *Will* for my Will, and thy *VVord* for my 'Law. I do here willingly put my Neck under 'thy *Yoke*; I do ſubſcribe to all thy Laws as *Holy*, '*Juſt* and *Good*; and do promiſe to take them 'as the *Rule* of my *Thoughts*, *VVords* and *Actions*; 'but becauſe I am ſubject to many *Failings* through 'Frailty; I do here proteſt, here before thee, 'that *unallowed Miſcarriages*, contrary to the 'conſtant bent of my Heart, ſhall not diſanull 'this Everlaſting Covenant.

Nathanael Mather.

It may be juſtly taken for granted, that ſuch a Work as this, would have an Influence into his *Converſation* afterwards; and *ſo it had*, producing in him, a *Converſation which became the Goſpel of Chriſt* He kept waiting upon God, not only in the *Family*, but alſo under the *Miniſtry* of two that were a-kin unto him; namely, his *Father* and his *Brother*, whereby the Grace thus begun in him was not little cheriſhed and promoted: And unto all *known Sins* he now kept ſaying, as I find once in Short-hand written by him.

To my Luſts.

I have had Communion with you all this while, but I dare not have ſo any longer: VVherefore I renounce all Communion with you any more; I will cleave to the God that made me. But a Year or two after this, it was with him, as I have obſerved it is too commonly with ſuch as are *Converted betimes* unto God. And unhappy gradual *Apoſtacy* carried him aſide from thoſe Degrees of Seriousneſs and Intenſeneſs in Divine Things, which he had been uſed unto: 'Tis poſſible an Entanglement in a Familiarity with ſome that were no better than they ſhould be, did abate of the *good Savour* which had been upon him, and decoy him by *inſenſible Steps* to ſome Vanities (tho' not to any ſcandalous Immoralities) that were diſadvantageous to him. For divers *Months* he ſeemed ſomewhat, yet not *totally*, much leſs *finally*, forſaken of that *VViſdom* and *Vertue* which he had before been an Example of; but the good Spirit of God will not let go his *Intereſt* in a Soul of which he hath taken a ſaving Hold. This Young Man ſoon entertained juſt Reſentments of his own Declenſions, and it was impoſſible for the moſt *Badger-tooth'd Malice* in the World to aggravate any of his Errors half ſo much as he did himſelf in his own Repentance for them. In the Year 1685. God viſited him with ſore Terrors and Horrors in his *wounded* Soul, the anguiſh whereof he thought intollerable; yet he made not his Condition known to any Body all the while. He could ſay, *My Complaint is not to Man*, but he made it unto the Lord; *This poor Man cryed and the Lord heard, and delivered him out of Diſtreſſes.* He arrived in time unto ſettlement and renewal of his *Peace* with God: He confeſſed and bewailed his own Sins before the Lord, and declared his Deteſtation of them, and applied himſelf unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt for Salvation from them all. *Good Terms* being thus eſtabliſh'd between the Almighty Lord and this Immortal Soul, he maintained, I think, a conſtant and an even *VValk with God*, until he dyed. I find now that Language in his MSS: *Let me be as active a Servant of Chriſt, as I was of Satan heretofore.* For more than the *three laſt years* of his Life, he lived at a ſtrange rate for Holineſs and Gravity, and retired Devotions. He read Mr. *Scudder*'s Chriſtians *daily VValk*, and Dr. *Owen* of *Spritual Mindedneſs*, and had a reſtleſs raging Agony in his Mind until the Methods of Religion adviſed by thoſe Worthy Men, were Exemplified in his own Behaviour. 'Tis a Note in one of his *Diaries*.

'O my great *Unprofitableneſs* under the means 'of Grace! I have cauſe to bleſs God for ever 'for the Writings of that never enough to be ad'mired

'mired and loved by *me*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and for 'the Light I have received thereby, concerning 'the *Sinfulneſs of Sin*; as alſo that Excellent 'Book of him whom I ſhall always honour, Dr. '*Owen* of *Spiritual-mindedneſs*, and Mr. *Scudder's* 'Chriſtians *daily VValk*, by which three Books 'I have profited more than by any other (*S.* '*Scripturis exceptis*) in the World.

He was at firſt ſurprized at the meaſure of *Spiritual-mindedneſs*, without which that *Great Saint* Dr. *Owen*, apprehends the *Life* and *Peace* of Souls to labour under Prejudices; and he thought a Mind ſwallowed up in ſuch *Heavenly* Frames and Works as were needful thereunto, almoſt wholly to be deſpair'd of; until (as himſelf a few Hours before he dyed ſaid unto me) he deem'd he ſaw an Inſtance of ſuch a *Walk with God*, not very far from the Place of his Abode: To which purpoſe his reſerv'd Papers have a large Diſcourſe, of which this is in the Concluſion: *There might be a greater Progreſs in Religion, than is commonly thought for. What have I Examples for, but to imitate them?* Abraham *is fam'd for believing ſo ſtrongly, when he had no Example before him: Let me try and ſee, whether I having ſuch Opportunities may not arrive to as high a pitch in Chriſtianity, as any that I have known.* He then in the Strength and thro' the Love of God ſet himſelf into a way of ſtrict, ſecret, laborious Devotion; whereby tho' none but *God* and *He* fill'd the *Theatre*, which he acted upon, he would be *in the Fear of the Lord all the Day long*. He withdrew from the Delights of this World, and gave himſelf up to an aſſiduous *Contemplation* of God and Chriſt, and a ſedulous Endeavour after utmoſt Conformity unto him: Thus he kept *abounding in the Work of the Lord*, until three Years of wonderful *Holineſs* had ripened him for Eternal *Happineſs*.

My Account of him will be an *Unfiniſhed Piece*, unleſs all the Enſuing Strokes go to make it up. Theſe Things he w[illegible] Exemplary for.

Firſt, He was one that *walked by RULE*. He was very Studious to learn the *VVay* of Converſing with God in every Duty, and there was a *Rule* which he attended ſtill unto.

In his private Papers, I find a wiſe Collection of *Rules*, by which he governed himſelf in the ſeveral Duties of Chriſtianity, and in all the *Seaſons* and *Stations* of his Life. He conſulted the beſt Authors for Inſtruction in the Affairs of *Practical Religion*, and not into *Paper* only, but into *Action* to be tranſcribed what he moſt approved; in all which *The will of God* was the bright Pole-Star by which he ſteer'd his Courſe.

The Reader ſhall *enjoy* (and O that he would *follow*) two of this Young Man's *Directories*. One of them was this.

'I. O that I might lead a *Spiritual Life!* Wherefore let me regulate my Life by the *VVord* of 'God, and by ſuch Scriptures as theſe.

'1. For regulating my *Thoughts*, Jer. 4. 14. '*Iſa.* 55. 7. *Mal.* 3 17. *Pſal.* 104 34. *Phil.* 4. 8. '*Prov.* 23. 26. *Deut.* 15. 9. *Eccleſ.* 10. 20. *Prov.* '24. 9. *Mat.* 9. 4. *Zec.* 8. 17.

'2. For regulating my *Affections*, Col. 3. 2, 5. '*Gal.* 5. 24.

'For my *Delight*, Pſal. 1. 2. *Pſal.* 37. 5. For 'my *Joy*, Phil 4. 4. *Pſal.* 43. 4. My *Deſire*, Iſa. '26. 8, 9. *Ezek.* 7. 16. My *Love*, Mat. 22. 37. '*Pſal.* 119 97. My *Hatred*, Pſal. 97. 10. My '*Fear*, Luke 12. 4, 5. My *Hope*, Pſal. 39. 7. My '*Truſt*, Pſal. 62. 8. *Iſa.* 26. 4.

'3. For regulating my *Speech*, Eph. 4. 29. *Col.* '4. 6. *Deut.* 6. 6, 7. *Pſal.* 119. 46. *Pſal.* 71. 8, '24. *Prov.* 31. 26.

'4. For regulating my *VVork*, Tit, 3. 8. 2 *Tim.* '2. 12. 1 *Tim.* 5. 10. *Titus* 2. 14. *Mat.* 5. 47 '1 *Tim.* 6. 8. *Rev.* 3. 2. *Rom.* 13. 12. *Acts* 26 '20.

Another of them was form'd into an *Hymn*, the ſinging of which might produce freſher and ſtronger *Efforts* of Soul towards *the Thing that is good*.

It ſhall be here inſerted.

II. '*Lord*, what ſhall I return unto
'Him from whom all Mercies flow?

'(I.) To me to *live*, it *Chriſt* ſhall be
'For all I do I'll do for *Thee*.

'(II.) My Queſtion ſhall be oft beſide,
'*How thou may'ſt moſt be Glorify'd?*

'(III.) I will not any Creature love,
'But *in the Love* of Thee above.

'(IV.) Thy *Will* I will embrace for *mine*,
'And every Management of thine
'Shall pleaſe me. (V.) A *Conformity*
'To thee ſhall be my *Aim* and *Eye*.

'(VI.) *Ejaculations* ſhall aſcend
'Not ſeldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend
'*Occaſional Reflections*, and
'Turn all to *Gold* that comes to hand.

'(VIII) And in particular among
'My Cares, I'll try to make my *Tongue*
'A *Tree of Life*, by ſpeaking all
'As be accountable who ſhall.

'(IX.) But *laſt*, nay *firſt* of all, I will
'Thy *Son* my *Surety* make, and ſtill
'Implore him, that he would me bleſs
'With Strength as well as *Righteouſneſs*.

Beſides theſe *Rules* which concerned his *whole Walk*, he treaſur'd up many more, that referr'd to this and that *Step* in it; and it was the predominant Care and Watch of his Heart, not to *tread awry?* Thus one might ſee a *Skilful Chriſtian* in him. And as he was deſirous to live by *Precept*, ſo he was to live by *Promiſe* too.

He fell into a particular Conſideration, how to improve the *Promiſes* of God in all the *Occaſions* of Life; which is indeed one of the moſt *ſanctifying Exerciſes* in the World.

It was a Propoſal which I find he made unto himſelf.

'Let me ſalute theſe *Promiſes* once a Day.

'1. For ſupplying the *Wants* of the Day, *Phil.* '4. 19.
'2. For Growth in *Grace*, Hoſ. 14. 5.
'3. For ſubduing my *Sins*, Mic. 7. 19.
'4. For *Succeſs* in my Undertakings, *Pſal.* 1. 3.
'5. For turning all the Events of the Day for '*good*, Rom. 8. 28.
'6. For Audience of my *Prayers*, Joh. 14. 13, '14.
'7. For *Strength* to manage all the Work of 'the Day, *Zech.* 10. 12.
'8. For Direction in *Difficulty*, Pſal. 32. 8.
'9. For *Life Eternal*, Luke 12. 31. *Joh.* 3. 16. Beſides theſe two, *Mat.* 11. 28. and *Iſa.* 44. 3.

Certainly that Man muſt quickly grow another *Enoch*, who does thus *Walk with God*.

Secondly, He was one that *lived in PRAYER*. He was oft and long in the *Mount with God*: It was his Cuſtom every Day to *Enter into his Cloſet, and ſhut his Door, and pray to his Father in ſecret.* And I gueſs from ſome of his Writings, that he did thus no leſs than *thrice* a Day, when he met with no Obſtruction in it: Nor did he ſlubber over his Prayers with haſty *Amputations*, but wreſtle in them for a good part of an Hour together.

It was a moſt refreſhing Communion with God, which his Devotions brought him ſometimes unto. Thus in one of his *Diaries*.

Dec. 10.

In the Margin he wrote, *Remember*.

'I *prayed* earneſtly unto God, 'earneſtly petitioning that Jeſus 'Chriſt might be my *Compleat* '*Redeemer*. There was immedi'ately *Something that did as it were perſwade me* '*it ſhould be ſo.*

Again, *Aug.* 19.

'My *Thoughts* were ſome little while buſied a'bout the *Condeſcenſion of Chriſt in taking of humane* '*Nature on him*; but for the moſt part in *Ejacu*'*lations*, and Acts of Faith on a *Crucified* (ah! 'ſweet Word) *Jeſus*. I ſaw I gained not much 'by thoſe: Wherefore I addreſſed my ſelf to *ſo*'*lemn Prayer*, and had ſome *Aſſurance* in it.

Once more, *Aug.* 20.

'I was much affected in *Prayer*, and exerciſed '(I hope) many Acts of *Faith*, and *Love*, and '*Delight* in God. I ſeveral times was breaking 'off, but I was as it were *conſtrain'd* to go on in 'the Duty with much Enlargement. *Lord, An*'*ſwer me for the ſake of Chriſt.*

Thus under the *Fig-tree* did our Lord Jeſus often behold this *Nathanael*; yea, unto Prayer he became ſo habituated, that while others can *ſleep* in *Prayer*, he ſometimes would *pray* in *Sleep*. He records it among his Experiences, that upon Aſſaults of *Imagined Temptations*, when he has been aſleep, he has quickly been at Prayer; and ſo cauſed the *Phantaſms* to leave annoying of him.

And *Extraordinary Prayer* was alſo with him not altogether *Extraordinary*. Tho' he were a *Bottle* that ſeemed incapable of holding it, yet this *Wine* agreed with him very well. As *Young* as he was, he knew the Myſtery of a Soul *fatning* by *faſting*, and *thriving* by *hungring and thirſting after Righteouſneſs.* He was very inquiſitive after the right way to manage a *Day of Faſting and Prayer*, and he would ſometimes keep ſuch a Day. On *ſuch a Day* it was his Cuſtom to make a very particular and penitent *Confeſſion* of all the Sins that he could perceive himſelf guilty of; and renew his *Covenant* with the Holy One of *Iſrael*; to this End, he had by him in writing a large *Catalogue* of Things forbidden and required in the *Commandments* of God, which was the *Glaſs* in which he then viewed his Ways; and having found what *Achans* might procure *Trouble* to him, he then fell to ſtoning of them. One may ſhape ſome Conjecture at his *Humiliations*, by the *Indignation* with which he ſpoke, and wrote of the *Vanities* which his *Childhood* had. 'I came into 'the World (ſaith he in one of the Papers penn'd by him on a *Day of ſecret Faſting and Prayer, October* the 17th. 1685.) without the *Image* of 'the Holy God on my Soul; my Underſtand'ing, my Will, my Affections, and my *whole* '*Soul* were altogether depraved, and wounded. 'When very *Young* I went aſtray from God, 'and my mind was altogether taken with *Vanities* 'and *Follies*; ſuch as the remembrance of them 'doth greatly abaſe my Soul within me. Of the 'manifold Sins which then I was guilty of, none ſo 'ſticks upon me, as that being very young, I was '*whitling on the Sabbath-day*; and for fear of be'ing ſeen, I did it behind the door. A great 'Reproach of God! A Specimen of that *Atheiſm* 'that I brought into the World with me!

This was more than the more meagre and feeble ſort of Chriſtians, though much older than he, are us'd to do. But *paulo majora!* There was a Sublimer Way of *Drawing near to God*, which he was not willing to leave unattempted. He underſtood that *ſecret Days of Thankſgiving* had not been unpractiſed by ſome whom he deſigned to imitate; and therefore he would make ſome *Eſſays* for ſuch an Intimate *Fruition* of God, and generous *Devotion* to him, as would fill ſuch Days as theſe.

Hence this I find among the Records of his Soul: ——

'*Reſolved*, To ſet apart every two Months, a '*Day* for Solemn Examination and Meditation, 'to *humble* my ſelf; and every two Months to 'keep a Day of *Private Thankſgiving*.

But though his Prayers were chiefly *in*, yet they were not confined *to* his Cloſet. There were divers private Praying *Meetings* of younger People in *North-Boſton*, which he viſited as often as he could; and one of thoſe might peculiarly be called *His*. Yea, it was his Deſire, though with as little Aim *to be ſeen of Men* as could be, to ſupport all ſuch Opportunities of Good among them, that were of the ſame Age with him.

Wherefore I find this among the Notes in his *Diary*:

'Queſt. *What ſhall I do for God?*

'*Anſw.*

'*Anſw.* It was ſuggeſted to me, to get ſome 'of my Acquaintance to ſpend ſome while every '*Friday* night in Prayer, for the Succeſs of the 'Work of *Grace* in *New-England*, eſpecially in '*Boſton*, on the *Souls of the Riſing Generation*.

'Let me propound this to ſome ſerious devout 'young Perſons.

Thus was his *Prayer* as it were his *Breath*, and thus he was always fetching of it, until at laſt it expir'd in Eternal *Praiſe*.

Thirdly, He was one that *Thought much of his GOD, and his END.* There was a ſort of *Heaven* formed in the *juſt Soul* of this Young-man, by the *Thoughts* that were continually ſparkling there. He had an unpacifiable Diſſatisfaction at himſelf until *good Thoughts* were lodg'd in him, and *vain ones* were forced to *gnaſh their Teeth, and melt away:* Nothing would content him, but the bringing of his *Thoughts into a Subjection to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Wherefore he chew'd much on the Excellent Sermon of Mr. *Charnock* about *Thoughts*; which he *wrote out* not only with his *Hand*, but in his *Heart*, and made it the very *Mould* of his Gracious Mind. There are none, but very *Renew'd Souls*, that are at great Pains in a Courſe of *Meditation* on the Things of God. Yet this Young-man, like another *Iſaac*, was grown very *expert* at it, and *frequent* in it. It was his manner in the Morning to *meditate* very ſeriouſly and fixedly upon ſome *Truth*, or ſome *Text*, for a good part of an Hour together. He had collected a good variety of *Subjects* and *Scriptures* to handle, in thus *communing with himſelf*, and went over more than a little *Divinity* in this tranſcendent Exerciſe. Sometimes, when thus he *ſeparated himſelf to intermeddle with all Wiſdom*, I find him committing his *Thoughts*, or ſome *breviate* of them, unto the durable Cuſtody of his Papers; from which *Memoirs* I will produce but an Inſtance or two of many.

Auguſt 16. 1685.

'*Med.* about, *The Reaſon I have to love God*; 'becauſe of what he has been to me, and what 'he is in himſelf. And I thought, is not God 'the *Beſt Good?* Surely then he is worthy to 'be my *Laſt End.* Has he not been ſhewing 'many *Mercies* to me? and what! ſhall I not 'give up my ſelf to *Live* unto God, becauſe of 'his Goodneſs to me? *Much affected with the 'Thoughts of theſe Things:* And, I hope, I cloſed 'with the Motion.

Again, *October* 1.

'*I Meditated* on that; *If a Man does intend to be 'truly Religious, he muſt expect nothing but to ſave 'his Soul?*

'But how can this be true?

'Muſt I loſe my *Body* altogether?

'Muſt I be willing that the *Union* between my '*Body* and *Soul* ſhould for evermore be looſed?

'Muſt I be willing to be for ever without a '*Body?* No, no.

'All that the Lord requires of me, is, to have 'my *Body* for a *few* Days or Years (a *few* I ſay, 'for they cannot be *many*) to be wholly at the '*Service* of my *Soul*, and to be willing that the '*Union* between thoſe two *Mates*, then ſhould be 'diſſolved; the *Soul* firſt taking its progreſs into 'everlaſting Bliſs; the *Body* being laid in the 'Duſt, to riſe at the Reſurrection, accompanying the *Soul* into its Eternal Felicity.

'My preſent Notion of this Thing is this:

'This *Diſſolution* of the Union between the Soul and Body, is but a *Diſmiſſion* of the Spirit into its Happineſs, after a wearíſom Conflict here. And as long as it ſhall be beſt for me to be here, here I ſhall continue. Infinite *Wiſdom* is 'to be the Orderer of this; and it will be a grie'vous and ſhameful Reflection thereupon, for me 'to ſay, *It will be better for me to live, than to 'dye*, at ſuch a time when I am called thereunto.

'With my *Body* I muſt expect to loſe all the 'pleaſant Enjoyments of this World, *Liberty*, '*Library*, *Study* and *Relations*. But yet neither 'ſhall I loſe thoſe. As for my *Liberty*, by True 'Religion, and by Dying for it too, when Need 'requires, I ſhall gain the only *Liberty*, even 'from the *Body of Sin*.

'As for my *Library*, if I dye *for* Chriſt, or *in 'the* Lord, I ſhall have no need of it. My Un'derſtanding ſhall be enough *enlarged*, and I ſhall 'not need to turn over *Books* for Learning. As 'for my *Study* (my *Paradice*) I ſhall have a bet'ter, a larger, and a more compleat than this.

'As for my *Relations*, thoſe of them that are '*truly pious*, I ſhall only *go before* them; and if 'there ſhould be any of them not *pious*, the lon'ger I ſhould ſtay with them here (if they con'tinue impenitent) it would but make my Grief 'more intolerable, to think when I leave them, 'that *I ſhall have no hopes to ſee them again for 'ever*.

'But this is not all neither. ——

'My *Body* muſt be uſed as the *Souls Inſtrument*; 'and here all that *Strength* and *Eaſe* which I have, 'muſt be uſed for the Soul: And truly there is 'Reaſon enough for it, that ſo there may be Eter'nal Happineſs for both together.

'In *Marriage*, the Husband and Wife ſhould 'have the *ſame Deſign*. Would it not be inhu'mane, for the one to have a Deſign which tends 'to the Ruine of the other? Juſt ſo my *Soul* and '*Body* ſhould have the *ſame Deſign*; and the *Body* 'being the more vile of the *two*, ſhould be ſub'ordinate to the *Soul*. And it is a neceſſary Diſ'junction, either the *Body*, the *Strength*, and *Eaſe*, 'and *Members* of it, muſt be uſed for the good, 'or for the *Hurt* of the Soul; for there is no '*Medium here*.

'Let me then herein make my *Body* uſeful to 'my *Soul*, in accompliſhing all the *good Deſigns* 'of it, which it is capable of being intereſted in.

'Let me then herein make my *Body* uſeful to 'my *Soul*, in accompiſhing all the *good Deſigns* 'of it, which it is capable of being intereſted 'in.

'Nor is there is any thing elſe worth ſpeaking 'of, that muſt be foregone, except *Health*, and 'the *Momentaneouſneſs* of all bodily Torments, 'will make *them* very tolerable.

My

'*My Reſolutions be.*

'*That* I will not expect, by devoting my ſelf unto the Fear of God, to gain any thing as to my *Body* in this World.

'*That* through the Grace of Chriſt, I will uſe the *Strength*, *Eaſe*, and *Health* of my *Body*, yea, my *whole Body* in ſubordination to my Soul, in the Service of the Lord Jeſus.

With ſuch *Meditations* as theſe, he kept *mellowing* of his own Soul, and preparing it for the ſtate wherein *Faith* is turned into *Sight*.

But there was yet a more delightful and ſurprizing way of *Thinking*, after which he did aſpire. He conſidered, that the whole *Creation* was full of God; and that there was not a Leaf of *Graſs* in the Field, which might not make an Obſerver to be ſenſible of the Lord. He apprehended that the *idle Minutes* of our Lives were many more than a ſhort Liver ſhould allow: That the very Filings of *Gold*, and of *Time*, were exceeding precious; and, that there were little *Fragments of Hours* intervening between our more ſtated Buſineſſes, wherein *Thoughts* of God might be no leſs pleaſant than frequent with us.

The Elegant and Excellent Meditations of Sir *William Waller* had particularly affected him unto a commendable Emulation of them; and hence he did attempt to make even the more *common* and more *trivial* Occurrents of Humane Life, the Occaſions of *Great Thoughts* within him. He would with the *Chymiſtry* of *Occaſional Reflections*, diſtill *ſublime Spirits* from *Earthly Bodies*; and from the view of mean things, fill his nobly employed Mind with *Leſſons* and *Prayers*, which only the *Father of Spirits* was a Witneſs to.

Some of theſe his *Occaſional Reflections* I find in his private Papers; and of one or two for a *Taſte*, I will beſpeak the Reader's Acceptance.

Jan. 8. A. M.

'Being about to riſe, I felt the *Cold* in a manner extraordinary; which inclin'd me to ſeek more *Warmth* in my Bed before I roſe; but ſo extream was the *Cold*, that this was not feaſible: Wherefore I reſolved to *dreſs* my ſelf without any more ado; and ſo going to the *Fire* in my Cloaths, I ſoon became warm enough.

'Turn this, *O my Soul*, into an uſeful Meditation. There is a neceſſity of my *riſing* out of my Bed, the Bed of *Security* which I am under the Power of, and to *live* unto Chriſt, and to *walk* in the Light.

'In order hereunto, I muſt put on my poor Soul the *Garments* which are to be had from the Lord Jeſus. To awaken me out of my *Sleep*, and my *Security*, I am to ſet before me the *Sun*, the Goſpel of the *Sun of Righteouſneſs* doth enlighten my Mind, and tell me, that I was before muffled up in *Darkneſs*; and that if I continued therein, I ſhould ſtarve and periſh. I am alſo taught, That when Men are *convinced* of their miſerable Condition, they will rather endeavour to Eaſe, and comfort and cheriſh themſelves by ſomething *in themſelves*, than put on the *Spiritual Garments* which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has provided for them. An Evil to be by me avoided.

Again, another time.

'Upon *Water* taken from the *Fire*, I ſaw a *Lukewarmneſs* quickly ſeize; like the Frame of Spirit, which many Pretenders to Religion have after a glorious and affectionate *Profeſſion* of it. Of this ſort were ſome among the *Laodiceans* of old; which is exceedingly diſpleaſing to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt: Whence it is that he ſaith, *I will ſpew thee out of my Mouth.* Let me endeavour to beware of this hateful and odious frame of Spirit; and let the contrary thereto be my Deſire, my Endeavour.

Once more.

'Among ſome Gentlemen that were ſitting in a Room illuminated with a Candle, one beginning to read unto us, there was *another Candle* brought unto him, for his aſſiſtance in it. Which afforded me ſuch a Meditation as this:

'That thoſe who are to be *Teachers* of others, have need of *as much Light again* as ordinary Chriſtians have. They, if any, need a *double Portion* of the *Gifts* that are in other Men; and the Helps of Knowledge that other Perſons have, they much more ſhould be furniſh'd withal.

'It was not becauſe they had *better Eyes* than him whoſe Office it was to read, that they needed but *One Candle*, when he had *Two* provided for him; but the Work incumbent on him, and expected from him was the Occaſion of it.

But I deſign little more than a *Confirmation* with an *Illuſtration* of my *Hiſtory*, for which a touch or two upon every Article will ſerve. I am now to add, That this Young Man had a principal Regard unto the *Scriptures* for the Subjects of his *Meditations*, and he was very expenſive of his Thoughts on the *Book of God*. He was daily digging in the *ſacred Mines*, and with delight he fetched thence Riches better than thoſe of both the *India's*; and he could ſay, *O how I love thy Law! it is my Meditation every Day!*

Even in the time of his Mortal Sickneſs, he was very angry at himſelf, if he had not heard a Portion of the *Bible* read unto him from Day to Day.

Once when he was near his End, a good part of a Day having paſs'd before he had enjoyed his *Meal* of Scripture; he ſaid unto his Siſter with ſome impatience, *Alas! what an ungodly Life do I lead! pray come and read my Bible to me; and read me the forty ninth Pſalm.* Indeed he read the Scripture not *curſorily*, but very deliberately and conſiderately; and as an Effect of his doing ſo, he could give ſuch an Account of the *Difficulties* in it, as the moſt not only of *Chriſtians*, but of *Divines* too, would judge an *Attainment extraordinary*. Not long before he dyed, he had read over all the large and great *Annotations* on the Bible, lately publiſhed by Mr. *Pool*, and ſome other

Non-

Non-conformiſt Miniſters; but having diſpatched thoſe two Noble *Folio's*, he ſaid unto one that was intimate with him, *Thus have I read the Bible, but I have now learnt a better way!* And *that way* was this. He would oblige himſelf in reading to fetch a *Note* and a *Prayer* out of every *Verſe* in all the Bible; to dwell upon every Verſe until it had afforded at leaſt one *Obſervation*, and one *Ejaculation* to him.

He imagined that an incredible deal both of *Truth* and *Grace*, would in this way make its impreſſion upon his Mind (beſides what Exerciſe of *Wit* it muſt have call'd for) and ſo moſt certainly it would have done; but before he had made much Progreſs in it, the *Chariots of God* fetcht him away to that place, in which a *Jeſus* is a *Bible* to the there *perfect Spirits* of the Righteous.

Such a *thinking* Perſon was he; and yet after ſo many kind of *Thoughts* in the Day, he could not reſt a Night quietly, unleſs he compos'd himſelf for *ſleeping* by *thinking* a little more.

He knew that no better a Man than one of the *Moral Heathens* propounded a *Nocturnal Self-Examination*, as a *part* and *cauſe* of no little Wiſdom, and that much more a *ſober Chriſtian* ſhould endeavour to maintain a good *Underſtanding* of himſelf, by ſuch *Nightly Recollections.* Wherefore before the *Slumbers* of the Evening, this Young Man would put *three General Queſtions* to himſelf, with divers *particular ones* that were ſubordinate [illegible] The Queſtions were,

Queſtion 1.

What has God's Mercy to me been this Day?

Here he conſidered what *Favours* God had newly ſmil'd upon his *Inward*, or his *Outward* Man withal.

Queſtion 2.

What has my Carriage to God been this Day?

Here he conſidered what *Frames*, and *Words* and *Works*, and what *Snares* and *Sins* he had newly been concerned with.

Queſtion 3.

If I dye this Night, is my Immortal Spirit ſafe?

Of this he judged by his Cloſure with *God*, as his *beſt good*, and laſt *end*, and with *Chriſt* as his *Prophet*, and his *Prieſt*, and his *King*, and by his Reſolution always to be a *Witneſs* for the Lord, and an *Enemy* to every Sin: Tho' ſometimes he would with a more large and long Attention *Examine* his own *Hopes* of Eternal Happineſs, for which purpoſe he had in Writing by him, his Bundles of *Marks* and *Signs* which teſtifie a Man to be born of God. When he had thought on theſe things, he was able to lay *himſelf down in peace and ſleep*; but this was a way to keep a Soul *awake*.

I begin to ſuſpect that my Reader's patience is almoſt expir'd; and therefore I ſhall cauſe the Remainder of this *Narrative* to *omit* where it cannot *contract*, what is yet well worthy to be the Matter of it.

Fourthly, He was one that *mortified* and *conquer'd* the SINS which were a *Vexation* to him. There were ſome *Sins* which gave to this young Man a more violent and outragious diſturbance than he could without much paſſion bear: Theſe did he contrive and conflict much in his *Oppoſitions* to, and gave not over till he had a certain Proſpect of a *Victory*.

Of all the things which ever troubled him, I know not whether any were more grievous than the *Blaſphemous Injections* which like *fiery* venemous Darts inflam'd ſometimes his very Soul within him.

It may be ſome Teſtimony of *Sincerity*, when Perſons are not a little *afflicted* for, as well as aſſaulted with, *Blaſphemous Imaginations* about God; which riſe within us in contradiction to all that Reverence of him, which we know not how to lay aſide.

This Perſon on his *Death-bed* complained to me, that *Horrenda de Deo*, Horrible Conceptions of *God*, buzzing about his Mind, had been one of the bittereſt of all his Trials; and I find his *private Papers* making ſad Lamentations over the Miſeries of this Annoyance. You ſhall read how he did encounter theſe *Fiends*, as one that was no Stranger to the *Wars of the Lord.*

Once in his *Diary*, he ſays;

'Troubled exceedingly with *Blaſphemous Suggeſtions*, my Soul bleeds at the Thoughts of 'them.

'O that Chriſt would deliver me from them! 'they make my Life unpleaſant, I do believe 'that *Satan* never ſtruggled ſo hard to keep any 'one from Chriſt, as he has done to keep me!

'From hence I learn, 1. My great Enmity *to*, 2. My great Need *of*, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

At another time:

'Troubled with *Blaſphemous Thoughts*, I learn 'from hence,

'1. Seeing theſe would have me to entertain 'a *low Eſteem* of Chriſt and God.

'I will endeavour to have a more high and 'eminent *Eſteem* of God and Chriſt.

2. Seeing theſe do ſo perplex me *continually*,

'I learn that I am unable of my ſelf to raiſe '*good Thoughts*, much leſs to perform *good Acts* 'of Obedience. I would be deeply *humbled*, 'that my Soul ſhould be thus *defiled*.

'*Seeing*, I have often ſo much Experience and 'Stirrings of Enmity in my Soul to God, I would 'be excited thereby more heartily to cleave unto 'him.

Once more.

'I hope I have now got Strength over my '*Blaſphemous Thoughts*, after this manner.

'1. *Humbling* my ſelf under a ſenſe of my own 'Vileneſs and Wretchedneſs.

'2. *Praying* earneſtly for the removal of the 'Enmity that is in my Soul to the Things of God; 'eſpecially as to this matter.

Thus diſcreetly did he manage the *Shield of Faith* againſt thoſe barbed Arrows of Hell: Nor did his other Corruptions eſcape the *Offenſive*, as well as the *Defenſive* Weapons of his Soul.

Under the moſt furious of their Aſſaults, I find this to be one of his *Honourable Retreats.*

'For the Relief of my Soul under the Power

'of *Corruption*; let me by *Faith* apply theſe *Scriptures*.

'*Firſt*, *Rom*, 6, 14.

'Secondly, *Ezek*. 36. 26.

'Thirdly, *Mic*. 7. 19.

'Fourthly, *Zec*. 13. 1.

'Beſides *Zec*. 9. 12. *Mat*. 16. 18. *John* 12. 31. and *Rom*. 16. 20. and theſe Conſiderations:

'*Firſt*, Chriſt is a *Compleat Redeemer*, Heb. 7. 25. 1 *John* 1. 7. *Heb*. 9. 14.

'*Secondly*, God's *Infinite Power* is engaged on my behalf, if I be in Covenant with him.

'*Thirdly*, God will perfect *Holineſs* where he hath begun it.

In ſuch Engagements as theſe againſt his *Inviſible Adverſaries* he continued, until he is now a *Conqueror, and more than a Conqueror*.

Fifthly, He was one that wiſely prepared for the CHANGES that were before him. It is a Remark in one of his Papers: '*I think it convenient for me to obſerve the Temptations, I am, or ſhall be obnoxious unto, and get ſuitable Remedies againſt them*.

He ſeem'd indeed to have a ſtrange *Preſage* of what he was to meet withal, and O how he laid in that he might not be *unprovided* for it! A *Prudence* rarely ſeen among the Children of Men, whoſe *Miſery* is great upon them becauſe they *know not their Time*.

There were eſpecially two Calamities which he had a fore-boding of, Diſmal *Pain* and Early *Death*, As for his *Pain*, he was it ſeems to undergo exquiſite Anguiſhes, for many Months before his Diſſolution; but before ever it came upon him, how ſtrangely did he fortifie himſelf againſt it! He ſaid in his Diary ſome Years before he left the World,

Sept. 2.

'I had not in the *Morning* time enough for *ſolemn Meditation*: Great Deadneſs and Dulneſs was in my Heart, as to *Spiritual Thoughts* afterwards; the Reaſon was, becauſe *I did not perform my ſolemn Meditation as I ſhould*.

'I had now Apprehenſions that I muſt undergo ſore *Tryals* and *Conflicts*, and great Afflictions.

'Wherefore it highly become me to get as great a meaſure of *Grace*, as the Opportunities which I enjoy may afford, and therefore I purpoſe to be more ſerious in my Meditations, not omitting other Duties therewithal.

'I ſee my Reſolutions muſt *every Day* be renewed, as to great diligence in my ſerving God.

'And ſince I muſt expect great *Afflictions*, I muſt make it my daily Work by ſolemn *Meditation* to go over the whole *Body of Chriſtianity*, and particularly to have daily Thoughts on the *Condeſcention of Jeſus Chriſt*: I muſt alſo endeavour to get a large meaſure of *ſanctified Knowledge*; wherefore,

'*Firſt*, There is need of *Earneſt Prayer*; and

'*Secondly*, Of very *Holy Walking*.

'*Thirdly*, Of Entertaining the *Truth* with greateſt Affection; and

'*Fourthly*, Looking on it *as it is in Jeſus*; and

'*Fifthly*, Solemn *Meditation*; and

'*Sixthly*, Much *Reading*; and

'*Seventhly*, *Living* upon the Truths which I know, and *Thankfulneſs* for the Knowledge which I have already,

And at another time there was this written in his Diary.

'This Morning I meditated about a part of *Self-denial*; Namely, the denial of Bodily *Health*, and of *Eaſe* from Torment.

'My *Reſolution* was, that it was better to part herewithal, than to *ſin*. I hope there is a *thorough purpoſe* in my Heart to perform accordingly, when I ſhall be call'd thereunto.

'I do feel the Stirrings of *Self* in my ſelf this day: *It* would fain be in the Throne of God within me; but I am reſolved *Chriſt* ſhall be my *King*.

And as he thus *put on the whole Armour of God*, that he might be able to ſtand when he ſhould be tryed, ſo he found the Benefit of it, when he came into the *Field*. Few in the World ever bore ſuch Dolours with ſuch a ſilent and a quiet and compoſed *Temper* as he. Some that were intimate with him, would ſay, *He was one of an Iron Patience*, and *they had rarely if ever ſeen ſuch a Patient* Patient. But his *Death* he ſeem'd all along moſt careful to be ready for.

In his Papers.

Meditations on the four laſt things, was a *Title* mentioning a *Subject* of his moſt ſolicitous Contemplations. Above *three Years* before his *Tranſlation*, his Diary hath ſuch a Note as this.

'Speaking to Day ſomething concerning my *Commencement*, I was ſtrangely ſurprized, and had many Thoughts, yea, Perſwaſions, *That I ſhould not live till then*.

In the Margin he wrote, *Deceived*.

'*Reſt*. What may be the Import hereof I cannot tell; yet I gather thus much: *That is incumbent on me without further delay, to make my Calling and Election ſure*.

He hath alſo left behind him, *Some Meditations tending to the Exerciſe of Repentance, and Faith, and Preparation for Death*, as he hath himſelf intitled them; but the Reader by this time will eaſily pardon my forbearing the Communication of them.

Indeed, *Preparation for Death*, in one word, contains the Subſtance of what he had been doing divers years before the *King of Terrors* took his *Clay Houſe* away.

And as he was deſirous to prepare for what *Paſſive Obedience* he might be put upon, ſo he was loath to have his Heart not well ordered or furniſhed, when *Active Obedience* might be called for at his Hands. Tho' he never liv'd to preach any other than ſome *private Sermons*, yet he was not unthoughtful of the *Time* when *publick Ones* might be expected from him. It may not be unuſeful for me to inſert one of his *Meditations* here; it runs in ſuch terms as theſe.

'*Whether*

¶ *Whether I ſhould be a Miniſter ?*

'I conſidered all *Objections* which Perſons might 'make againſt it, and anſwer'd them every one. 'But one *Objection* ſtartled me more than the reſt, 'to wit, *Perſonal Unfitneſs*, from my *Hebetude*, or 'want of Invention. To which I anſwer'd, with 'minding that Promiſe in *Exod.* 3. 12. *Certainly 'I will be with thee.* And the beginning of *ver.* '18. *They ſhall hearken to thy voice.* And where 'God finds *Work*, there he will give *Strength.* I 'likewiſe conſidered 1 *Chron.* 28. 10, 20. and *Mat.* '28. 19, 20. and *Joſh.* 1. 9. and *Judg.* 6. 12, 14.

'And then I thought with my ſelf, That as for '*living in a remote part of the Country*, I ſhould be 'willing thereunto, if ſo I might do Service for 'God, and bring Glory to his Name. And 'whilſt I was muſing on theſe Things, I was melt'ed into a Frame, that I thought heretofore I 'ſhould never be in, namely, *Humble Submiſſion 'to the Good Pleaſure of God, however he ſhould diſ'poſe of me.* I knew, that though I were *reproached* 'for what *Meanneſs* I ſhould this way be expoſed 'unto, there is an Anſwer in *Rom.* 1. 16. and in '*Mark* 8. 38. and in *Pſal.* 31. 19. and in *Prov.* '16. 7. and in *Pſal.* 37. 5, 6. So were the Apo'ſtles, 1 *Cor.* 4. 3, 9. If I *ſerve* Chriſt, God will '*honour* me, *John* 12. 26.

Every one muſt own, that however ſuch things as theſe, in an *old* Man, may be below our Admiration; yet in a *young* Man, that out-lived not the Years which the *Nodes* of the *Moon* take to diſpatch a Revolution, they deſerve a *Memory* among them that may be edified by ſuch *Exemplary Practices.* Indeed, he was himſelf extreamly unſenſible of the leaſt *Worth* or *Shine* adorning of him; and in his whole Deportment he diſcovered a modeſt, an humble, and a reſerved *Mein*; which might be reck'ned to bear little *proportion* with his other Accompliſhments, were it not that the more *gracious* Men are, the more humble they always are; and they are the *Fulleſt* and *Richeſt* Ears of Corn, which moſt hang down towards the Ground. But while he in a ſort wronged himſelf, to eſcape the *Bane* and *Blame* of *Pride*; it is a piece of *pure Juſtice* in the Survivers, to *Embalm* the Name of a Perſon thus deſirable, ſince he is gone thither where he has no *Chaff* to take fire at the Sparks of our Praiſes.

Sic oculos, ſic ille manus, ſic ora ferebat ?

Such a *young* Man as this it is, that the Church of God is now deprived of! What a *Bleſſing* might his Living have proved unto the World! But as the *Long-liv'd Patriarchs*, before the Flood, have ſtill that Clauſe introduced of them, *And he dyed*; which Clauſe awakened and converted a Perſon of Quality, who came in occaſionally while the Miniſter was reading the *Fifth Chapter of Geneſis* to the Congregation; ſo muſt I now ſay of the *Short-liv'd Perſon*, whom we have been paying our laſt Reſpect unto, he lived thus *long* in a little time, *And he died.*

Before I break off, I muſt relate,

III. *His* DEATH.

Too *ſoon* and too *ſad* a thing for me to mention without Sighing, *Ah my Brother*, in my Lamentation over it. He had contracted an univerſal *Ill Habit* of Body; which was attended with a particular Generation of *Ill Humours*, where the *Os Ileon* and *Os Sacrum* joyn; from whence it fell into his *Thigh*, until there was a very large collection of it there.

There was an *Inciſion*, with mature Advice made into the *Tumour*, about a Month before his Expiration, which gave good hopes of his Recovery into a capacity of ſerving the Church of God; but the *Circulation*, which was now given unto the *putrid Juices* which his Blood, through his continual and ſedentary Studies, had been annoyed withal, ſoon enkindled a Fever, which burnt aſunder the thread of this pious Life.

One might ſuppoſe, that ſuch a *Walk with God* as the Reader has newly had pourtrayed before him, ſhould end in *Raptures* and *Extaſies* of *Aſſurance*; but I am to tell him, That this Young Perſon had them not. And there wanted not Reaſon for it. For his *Natural Diſtemper* diſpoſed him to what is contrary to *Joy*; but his deep Humility had a greater ſhare in the *Jealouſies* and *Suſpicions* which he would ſtill cheriſh of himſelf. He was indeed ſo afraid of being an *Hypocrite*, and he would ſcarce allow himſelf to be called a *Chriſtian*, and he did not care ſo much as to tell any of his own *Experiences*, no, nor his *Inclinations*, unleſs to one or two Divines, who kindly refreſhed him with their daily Viſits; and with them too he would uphold his Diſcourſe only in *Latin*, if any one elſe were by.

Never did I ſee more Caution againſt *Hypocriſie*, than what was in him; and a certain *Self-abhorrence* accompanying of it, cauſed to proceed from him no Expreſſions, but thoſe of an *Abaſed Soul.* When his Brother having recited the Terms of the Goſpel to him, with a deſign to obtain from him a Renewal of his *Explicit Conſent* thereunto, asked him, *Whether he did not judge himſelf ſincere in that Conſent ?* He only replied, *I ſhould think ſo, if it were not for the Seventeenth of* Jeremiah, *and the Ninth.*

He was *Dejected*, yet not *Deſpairing*; and he diſcovered a wonderfully *Gracious*, when he had not a *Joyful* Frame. He was all made up of Longings and Breathings after all the *Fulneſs of God*, when he could not or would not pretend unto any Confidence of his *Acceptance* with the Lord.

In the time of his *Health*, he had not been without the comfortable Perſwaſions for which he *follow'd hard after God.* In one place, I find him ſaying (on ſuch a day) *I had Fears leſt I ſhould not love the Bleſſed God; but yet I was ſure I deſired to keep his Commandments.* Another time ſo; *For three Quarters of an Hour, I pleaded earneſtly for aſſurance of the Love of God unto me, and I ſaid,* As many as received Chriſt Jeſus, to them he gave Power to become the Sons of God; *And I did receive Jeſus Chriſt, as the the Free Gift of God, and received him to ſave me on his own Terms: I choſe him to be my Prieſt, and Prophet, and King. Now I*

begg'd

begg'd of him that he would manifeſt his Acceptance of me, and give me the Spirit of Adoption : I had then, I hope, ſome Aſſurance. But when *Sickneſs* came, he was loth to own a clear *Title* to the Reſt of God : Yet before he died, he ſuffered ſome ſober Intimations of his *Hopes* to fall from him. There was a good Man in this Land, whoſe laſt Words yet were, *It had been good for me that I had never been born.* The Words of this humble Self loathing Young-Man were of another ſtrain. In the laſt Night, that we had him with us, he would have his Watcher to read, *The Song of Simeon*, unto him, *Now letteſt thou thy Servant depart in Peace :* And in the Morning after, he ſaid, *I have now been with Jeſus Chriſt !* which, from ſuch a little Speaker as he, we could not have his Explication of.

In one of his laſt Minutes, a faithful Miniſter ſaid unto him, *Find you not Comfort in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ?* To which he made only this diſcreet and humble Anſwer, *I endeavour to do thoſe things which will iſſue in Comfort* ; and then he quickly ſurrendred up his Redeemed and Renewed Soul unto him who had *loved him, and waſhed away his Sins in his own Blood.*

Thus he went away to the Heavenly Society, where he is beholding the *Face of God in Righteouſneſs*, and ſolacing himſelf in the Company not only of his bleſſed *Grandfathers* and *Uncles*, and all the *Spirits of the Juſt* ; but of the amiable *Jeſus* himſelf, which is by *far the beſt of all.* His *Tears* are all dried up, his *Fears* vaniſhed away, and his *Hopes* more than anſwered in *Joys unſpeakable, and full of Glory.*

His *Elder Brother* having thus written of him, now ſatisfies himſelf in the Duty therein done to God and Man ; and would keep *waiting* for his own *Change*, until *Thy Free Grace, O my God, ſhall give unto the moſt miſerable Sinner in the World, an Admiſſion into* Emmanuel's *Land.*

Cotton Mather.

One that had an Acquaintance with him, did him the Juſtice of weeping over his Grave ſuch an *Epitaph* as this.

INcloſed *in this* Sable Cheſt,
The Hoſt once of an Heavenly Gueſt
Here lies : *Upright* Nathanael,
True Off-ſpring of God's Iſrael.
Him Dead, *how term we, from his Birth,*
Who liv'd in Heaven *whilſt on Earth ?*
His Head *had Learning's Magazine,*
His Heart *the Altar, whence Divine*
Whole Hecatombs, *which Love had fir'd*
Of high Praiſe, *and warm* Pray'r *aſpir'd :*
His Life, *the* Decalogue *unfolded ;*
A Meat-Off'ring, *his* Speech *well-moulded ;*
His rare Devotion, *ſuch now ſeen,*
A Sign of Ninety *at* Nineteen.
Years *but in bloom*, Grace *at full growth*
Angels, *you* Know *and* Think *his Worth.*
Thus Time, *Youth's Glaſs, turn'd e're 'twas run,*
And Ages too, before begun.

Reſt, Glorious Duſt, *and let thy perfum'd Name*
Sound in the Trumpets *of Immortal Fame.*
For tho' Times *Teeth* Mauſolæan *Monuments deface,*
They'll never gnaw thy Name *which with the Stars has place.*

Poſuit, R. H.

Unto which we will add another borrowed from another.

Siccine, Nathanael, *properas ad cœlica ? Mentes*
Cœleſtes tractat non bene Terra : ſapis.

FINIS.

Acts

Acts and Monuments.

The Fifth BOOK
OF THE
New Engliſh Hiſtory:

[In Four PARTS.]

CONTAINING

The FAITH and the ORDER
IN THE
Churches of New-England:

Agreed by the

Elders and Meſſengers of the CHURCHES Aſſembled in SYNODS.

WITH

HISTORICAL REMARKS
UPON

All thoſe VENERABLE ASSEMBLIES.

And a great Variety of other CHURCH-CASES, Occurring and Reſolved in theſe *American* CHURCHES.

Aurea perpetuâ ſemper digniſſima vitâ.

Compiled by COTTON MATHER.

Non debemus nos de Regimine Eccleſiæ quicquam aſſerere quod ex Humanis Rationibus videretur aſſerendum, ſed id quod ipſo facto eſt à Chriſto Inſtitutum, & in Eccleſiâ ab ipſius Fundatione obſervatum. A. Spalatenſis, de R. pub. Eccleſ.

LONDON,

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible and Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide*. 1702.

The Fifth BOOK.

SYNODICON AMERICANUM.

The Firſt PART.

THE FAITH Profeſſed by the Churches of New-England.

Periculoſum nobis ac miſerabile eſt, tot Fides exiſtere quot voluntates, & tot nobis Doctrinas eſſe, quot mores. Hilar.

§ 1. IT was once an *unrighteous* and *Injurious* Aſperſion caſt upon the Churches of *New-England*, That *the World knew not their Principles* : Whereas they took all the Occaſions imaginable to make all the World know, *That in the Doctrinal Part of Religion, they have agreed entirely with the Reformed Churches of* Europe : And that they deſired moſt particularly to maintain the *Faith* profeſſed by the Churches of *Old England*, the Country whereto was owing their Original. Few *Paſtors* of Mankind ever took ſuch pains at *Catechiſing*, as have been taken by our *New Engliſh* Divines : Now let any Man living read the moſt judicious and elaborate Catechiſms publiſhed, a leſſer and a larger by Mr. *Norton*, a leſſer and a larger by Mr. *Mather*, ſeveral by Mr. *Cotton*, one by Mr. *Davenport*, one by Mr. *Stone*, one by Mr. *Norris*, one by Mr. *Noyes*, one by Mr. *Fisk*, ſeveral by Mr. *Eliot*, one by Mr. *Sea-born Cotton*, a large one by Mr. *Fitch*; and ſay, whether true Divinity were ever better handled ; or, whether they were not the trueſt *Sons* of the Church of *England*, who thus maintained its *Fundamental Articles*, which are ſo many of them firſt *ſubſcribed*, and then *denyed* and *confuted* by ſome that would monopolize that Name unto themſelves : But as a further Demonſtration hereof, when there was a *Synod* aſſembled at *Cambridge*, *Sept.* 30. 1648. even that *Synod* which framed, agreed and publiſhed, *The Platform of Church Diſcipline*, there was a moſt unanimous Vote paſſed in theſe Words; *This Synod having peruſed and conſidered (with much gladneſs of Heart and Thankfulneſs to God) the* Confeſſion of Faith, *publiſhed by the late Reverend Aſſembly in* England, *do judge it to be very Holy*, Orthodox *and Judicious, in all Matters of* Faith, *and do therefore freely and fully conſent thereunto for the Subſtance thereof. Only in thoſe Things which have reſpect to* Church-Government *and* Diſcipline, *we refer our ſelves to the* Platform of Church-Diſcipline, *agreed upon by this Preſent Aſſembly : And we do therefore think it meet, that this Confeſſion of* Faith, *ſhould be commended to the Churches of Chriſt among us, and to the Honoured Court, as worthy of their due Conſideration and Acceptance.* This *Vote* was paſſed by the Miniſters and Meſſengers of the Churches, in that Venerable Aſſembly, when the Government recommended unto their Conſideration, *A Confeſſion of Faith*, as one Thing, which the *Tranſmarine Churches* expected from them. And they hoped, that this Proof of them being *Fellow Heirs*

of the ſame Common Salvation, with the Churches beyond Sea, would not only free them from the Suſpicion of *Hereſie*, but clear them from the Character of *Schiſm* alſo; in as much as their Diſſent from thoſe Churches, was now evidently but in ſome leſſer Matters of *Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; And a Diſſent not managed either with ſuch *Arrogancy* or *Cenſoriouſneſs*, as are the Eſſential Properties of *Schiſmaticks*.

§ 2. As to *make* a *Confeſſion of* Faith, is a Duty wherein all *Chriſtians* are to be made *Confeſſors*; and Multitudes of 'em have been made *Martyrs*; thus to *write* a *Confeſſion of* Faith, is a Work which the *Faithful* in all Ages have approved and practiſed, as moſt ſingularly profitable. The *Confeſſions* thus emitted by ſuch Worthies as *Irenæus* and *Athanaſius* formerly, and *Beza*, as well as others more lately, have been of ſignal Advantage to the Church of God: But when *many Churches* do join together in ſuch *Confeſſions*, the Teſtimony born to the Truth of God, is yet more glorious and effectual. How remarkably the *Confeſſions* of the four General *Councils*, were owned for the Suppreſſion of the *Hereſies* then ſpawned, is well known to all that have ſet foot but as far as the Threſhold of *Church-Hiſtory*; and ſurely the fabulous *Muſick* of the *Spheres*, cannot be ſuppoſed more delicious than that *Harmony*, which is to be ſeen in the *Confeſſions* of the *Reformed Churches*, that have therefore been together publiſhed. Wherefore, beſides the Vote of the *New-England* Churches, for a Concurrence with the *Confeſſion of Faith* made by the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, a *Synod* aſſembled at *Boſton*, *May* 12. 1680. whereof Mr. *Increaſe Mather* was *Moderator*, conſulted and conſidered, what was further to be done for ſuch a *Confeſſion*. Accordingly, the *Confeſſion of Faith* conſented by the *Congregational Churches* of *England* in a *Synod* met at the *Savoy*; which, excepting a few Variations, was the ſame with what was agreed by the Reverend Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, and afterwards by the General Aſſembly of *Scotland*; was twice publickly read, examined and approved; and ſome ſmall Variations made from that of the *Savoy* in compliance with that at *Weſtminſter*; and ſo, after ſuch *Collations*, but no *Contentions*, voted and printed, as the *Faith* of *New-England*. But they choſe to expreſs themſelves in the Words of thoſe Aſſemblies; *That ſo* (as they ſpeak in their Preface) *we might not only with one Heart, but with one Mouth, glorifie God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*.

§ 3. It is true, that *particular Churches* in the Country have had their *Confeſſions* by themſelves drawn up in their own Form; nor indeed were the Symbols in the moſt primitive Times always delivered *in ipſiſſimis verbis*. It is alſo true, that few *Learned Men* have been admitted as Members of our Churches, but what have, at their *Admiſſions*, entertained them with notable *Confeſſions* of their own compoſing; inſomuch, that if the *Proteſtants* have been by the Papiſts call'd *Confeſſioniſts*, the Proteſtants of *New-England* have, of all, given the moſt laudable occaſion to be called ſo. Nevertheleſs, all this *Variety* has been the exacteſt *Unity*; all thoſe *Confeſſions* have been but ſo many *Derivations* from, and *Explications* and *Confirmations* of, that *Confeſſion*, which the *Synods* had voted for them all; for, *Ut plures Rivuli, ab uno Fonte, ita plures Fidei Confeſſiones ab una eademq; Fidei Veritate, manare poſſunt*. Now that *Good Confeſſion* remains to be exhibited.

Reader, 'Tis a memorable Paſſage, that is related by *Ruffinus* in his *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, that a Pagan Philoſopher, in a publick Diſputation, evaded and rejected the moſt powerful Arguments for *Chriſtianity*, brought by the moſt Learned Chriſtians in the Aſſembly: Until an honeſt Elder of one of the Churches, but of Abilities which were ſo much inferior to the reſt, that the reſt were afraid and ſorry to ſee his Undertaking, did undertake to ſilence him. This honeſt Man, after this manner addreſſed the Adverſary: 'In the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I require you to hear the Truth: There is but one God, who made the Heavens and the Earth, and hath formed Man of the Duſt thereof, with an Immortal Soul inſpired into him: He, by his Word and Power brought forth this whole Creation, and ſanctifies us by his Holy Spirit: And He, who is the Word, whom we own to be the Son of God, taking Compaſſion on fallen Man, hath become a Man: He was born of a Virgin, and by ſuffering, even to death, for us, he hath delivered us from Eternal Death, and by his Reſurrection he hath made ſure of Life Eternal for us. Him we look for again to be the Judge of the World: Believeſt thou this, O Philoſopher? The Man found himſelf Thunder-ſtruck, into a more than ordinary Conſternation at this Diſcourſe, and cry'd out, *I believe it, I confeſs it!* Whereupon the holy Man ſaid, *Then follow me, and be baptiſed.* He did ſo, and unto his Party then preſent he ſaid, *While I had to do with the Words of Men, I could oppoſe Words unto them; but when I felt a Power from God, I could not reſiſt it. I find that Man cannot oppoſe himſelf to God.*

Our *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* ſhall now give a plain and a pure *Confeſſion of our Faith*. May the Reader now find an irreſiſtible *Power* of God, and of Grace irradiating his Mind, with all Satiſfaction in it. 'Tis compoſed of Things, which as *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks, τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτίνων φανερώτερα, *Clearer than the Beams of the Sun.*

A

A
Confeſſion of Faith;

Owned, and conſented to, by the Elders and Meſſengers of the Churches, Aſſembled at *Boſton* in *New-England*, *May* 12. 1680. Being the Second Seſſion of that *SYNOD.*

CHAP. I.
Of the Holy Scriptures.

I. Although the Light of Nature, and the Works of Creation and Providence do ſo far manifeſt the Goodneſs, Wiſdom and Power of God, as to leave Men inexcuſable; yet are they not ſufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his Will, which is neceſſary unto Salvation: Therefore it pleaſed the Lord, at ſundry times, and in divers manners to reveal himſelf, and to declare that his Will unto his Church; and afterwards for the better Preſerving and Propagating of the Truth, and for the more ſure Eſtabliſhment and Comfort of the Church againſt the Corruption of the Fleſh, and the Malice of Satan, and of the World, to commit the ſame wholly to Writing: Which maketh the Holy Scripture to be moſt neceſſary; thoſe former ways of God's revealing his Will unto his People being now ceaſed.

II. Under the Name of Holy Scripture, or the Word of God written, are now contained all the Books of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, which are theſe:

Of the Old Teſtament.

Geneſis, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, *Deuteronomy*, *Joſhua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, 1 *Samuel*, 2 *Samuel*, 1 *Kings*, 2 *Kings*, 1 *Chronicles*, 2 *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Eſther*, *Job*, *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, *The Song of Songs*, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, *Hoſea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*.

Of the New Teſtament.

Matthew, *Mark*, *Luke*, *John*, *The Acts of the Apoſtles*, *Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans*, 1 *Corinthians*, 2 *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, *Epheſians*, *Philippians*, *Coloſſians*, 1 *Theſſalonians*, 2 *Theſſalonians*, 1 *To Timothy*, 2 *To Timothy*, *To Titus*, *To Philemon*, *The Epiſtle to the Hebrews*, *The Epiſtle of James*, *The firſt and ſecond Epiſtles of Peter*, *The firſt*, *ſecond and third Epiſtles of John*, *The Epiſtle of Jude*, *The Revelation.*

All which are given by the Inſpiration of God to be the Rule of Faith and Life.

III. The Books commonly called *Apocrypha*, not being of Divine Inſpiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no Authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwiſe approved or made uſe of than other Humane Writings.

IV. The Authority of the Holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the Teſtimony of any Man or Church, but wholly upon God (who is Truth it ſelf) the Author thereof; and therefore, it is to be received becauſe it is the Word of God.

V. We may be moved and induced by the Teſtimony of the Church, to an high and reverend Eſteem of the Holy Scripture. And the Heavenlineſs of the Matter, the Efficacy of the Doctrine, the Majeſty of the Style, the Conſent of all the Parts, the Scope of the whole (which is to give all Glory to God) the full Diſcovery it makes of the only way of Man's Salvation, the many other incomparable Excellencies, and the entire Perfection thereof, are Arguments, whereby it doth abundantly Evidence it ſelf to be the Word of God; yet notwithſtanding our full Perſuaſion and Aſſurance of the infallible Truth and Divine Authority thereof, is from the inward Work of the Holy Spirit, bearing Witneſs by and with the Word in our Hearts.

VI. The whole Counſel of God concerning all things neceſſary for his own Glory, Man's Salvation, Faith and Life, is either expreſly ſet down in Scripture, or by good and neceſſary Conſequence may be deduced from Scripture; unto which nothing, at any time, is to be added, whether by new Revelations of the Spirit, or Traditions of Men. Neverthelesſ, we acknowledge the inward Illumination of the Spirit of God to be neceſſary for the ſaving underſtanding of ſuch things as are revealed in the Word: And that there are ſome Circumſtances concerning the Worſhip of God and Government of the Church,

Church, common to humane Actions and Societies, which are to be ordered by the Light of Nature and Chriſtian Prudence, according to the general Rules of the Word, which are always to be obſerved.

VII. All things in Scripture, are not alike plain in themſelves, nor alike clear unto all; yet thoſe things which are neceſſary to be known, believed and obſerved for Salvation, are ſo clearly propounded and opened in ſome place of Scripture, or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due uſe of the ordinary means, may attain unto a ſufficient Underſtanding of them.

VIII. The *Old Teſtament* in *Hebrew*, (which was the Native Language of the People of God of old) and the *New Teſtament* in *Greek*, (which at the time of writing of it, was moſt generally known to the Nations) being immediately inſpired by God, and by his ſingular Care and Providence kept pure in all Ages, are therefore Authentical; ſo as in all Controverſies of Religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But becauſe theſe Original Tongues are not known to all the People of God, who have Right unto, and Intereſt in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the Fear of God to read and ſearch them; therefore they are to be tranſlated into the vulgar Language of every Nation into which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in All, they may worſhip him in an acceptable manner, and through Patience and Comfort of the Scripture may have help.

IX. The infallible Rule of Interprepation of Scripture, is the Scripture it ſelf; and therefore when there is a Queſtion about the true and full Senſe of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one) it muſt be ſearched and known by other Places that ſpeak more clearly.

X. The Supreme Judge, by which all Controverſies of Religion are to be determined, and all Decrees of Councils, Opinions of ancient Writers, Doctrines of Men, and private Spirits, are to be examined, and in whoſe Sentence we are to reſt, can be no other, but the Holy Scripture delivered by the Spirit; into which Scripture ſo delivered our Faith is finally reſolved.

CHAP. II.

Of God and the Holy Trinity.

I. THere is but one only Living and True God; who is infinite in Being and Perfection, a moſt pure Spirit, inviſible, without Body, Parts or Paſſions, Immutable, Immenſe, Eternal, Incomprehenſible, Almighty, moſt Wiſe, moſt Holy, moſt Free, moſt Abſolute, working all things according to the Counſel of his own Immutable and moſt Righteous Will, for his own Glory; moſt Loving, Gracious, Merciful, Long-ſuffering, abundant in Goodneſs and Truth, forgiving Iniquity, Tranſgreſſion and Sin; the Rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him; and withal moſt Juſt and Terrible in his Judgments, hating all Sin, and who will by no means clear the Guilty.

II. God hath all Life, Glory, Goodneſs, Bleſſedneſs, in and of himſelf; and is alone in and unto Himſelf, All-ſufficient; not ſtanding in need of any Creatures, which he hath made, nor deriving any Glory from them, but only manifeſting his own Glory in, by, unto, and upon them. He is the alone Fountain of all Beings; of whom, through whom, and to whom are all Things; and hath moſt Sovereign Dominion over them, to do by them, for them and upon them, whatſoever himſelf pleaſeth: In his ſight all things are open and manifeſt; his Knowledge is Infinite, Infallible and Independant upon the Creature, ſo as nothing is to him contingent or uncertain. He is moſt Holy in all his Counſels, in all his Works, and in all his Commands. To him is due from Angels, and Men, and every other Creature, whatſoever Worſhip, Service or Obedience, as Creatures they owe unto the Creator, and whatever he is further pleaſed to require of them.

III. In the Unity of the God-head, there be Three Perſons, of one Subſtance, Power and Eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt: The Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding; The Son is eternally begotten of the Father; The Holy Ghoſt eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son. Which Doctrine of the Trinity is the Foundation of all our Communion with God and comfortable Dependence upon him.

CHAP. III.

Of God's Eternal Decree.

I. GOD from all Eternity did by the moſt Wiſe and Holy Counſel of his own Will, freely, and unchangeably ordain, whatſoever comes to paſs; yet ſo, as thereby neither is God the Author of Sin, nor is Violence offered unto the Will of the Creatures, nor is the Liberty or Contingency of ſecond Cauſes taken away, but rather eſtabliſhed.

II. Although God knows whatſoever may or can come to paſs upon all ſuppoſed Conditions,

tions, yet hath he not decreed any thing becauſe he foreſaw it, as future, or as that which would come to paſs upon ſuch Conditions.

III. By the Decree of God, for the manifeſtation of his Glory, ſome Men and Angels are predeſtinated unto everlaſting Life, and others fore-ordained unto everlaſting Death.

IV. Theſe Angels and Men, thus predeſtinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably deſigned, and their Number is ſo certain and definite, that it cannot be either increaſed or diminiſhed.

V. Thoſe of Mankind that are predeſtinated unto Life. God before the Foundation of the World was laid, according to his eternal and immutable Purpoſe, and the ſecret Counſel, and good Pleaſure of his Will, hath choſen in Chriſt unto everlaſting Glory, out of his meer Free-Grace and Love, without any foreſight of Faith or good Works, or Perſeverance in either of them, or any other thing in the Creature, as Conditions or Cauſes moving him thereunto, and all to the Praiſe of his Glorious Grace.

VI. As God hath appointed the Elect unto Glory, ſo hath he by the eternal and moſt free Purpoſe of his Will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto: Wherefore they who are elected being fallen in *Adam*, are redeemed by Chriſt, are effectually called unto Faith in Chriſt by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon, are juſtified, adopted, ſanctified, and kept by his Power through Faith unto Salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Chriſt, or effectually called, juſtified, adopted, ſanctified and ſaved, but the Elect only.

VII. The reſt of Mankind, God was pleaſed according to the unſearchable Counſel of his own Will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth Mercy, as he pleaſeth, for the Glory of his Sovereign Power over his Creatures, to paſs by, and to ordain them to Diſhonour and Wrath, for their Sin, to the Praiſe of his Glorious Juſtice.

VIII. The Doctrine of this high Myſtery of Predeſtination, is to be handled with ſpecial Prudence and Care, that Men attending the Will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding Obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual Vocation be aſſured of their eternal Election.

So ſhall this Doctrine afford Matter of Praiſe, Reverence and Admiration of God, and of Humility, Diligence and abundant Conſolation to all that ſincerely obey the Goſpel.

CHAP. IV.

Of Creation.

I. IT pleaſed God the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, for the manifeſtation of the Glory of his eternal Power, Wiſdom and Goodneſs in the Beginning, to create or make of Nothing the World and all things therein, whether viſible or inviſible, in the ſpace of ſix Days, and all very good.

II. After God had made all other Creatures, he created Man Male and Female, with reaſonable and immortal Souls, endued with Knowledge, Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs, after his own Image, having the Law of God written in their Heart, and Power to fulfil it; and yet under a poſſibility of tranſgreſſing, being left to the Liberty of their own Will, which was ſubject to change. Beſides this Law written in their Hearts, they received a Command not to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil; which whiles they kept, they were happy in their Communion with God, and had Dominion over the Creatures.

CHAP. V.

Of Providence.

I. GOD the Great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, diſpoſe and govern all Creatures, Actions and Things, from the greateſt even to the leaſt, by his moſt Wiſe and Holy Providence, according to his infallible Foreknowledge, and the free and immutable Counſel of his own Will to the Praiſe of the Glory of his Wiſdom, Power, Juſtice Goodneſs and Mercy.

II. Although in relation to the Fore-knowledge and Decree of God, the Firſt Cauſe, all things come to paſs immutably and infallibly, yet by the ſame Providence he ordereth them to fall out, according to the Nature of Second Cauſes, either neceſſarily, freely, or contingently.

III. God in his ordinary Providence, maketh uſe of means, yet is free to work without, above and againſt them at his Pleaſure.

IV. The Almighty Power, unſearchable Wiſdom, and the infinite Goodneſs of God, ſo far manifeſt themſelves in his Providence, in that his determinate Counſel extendeth it ſelf, even to the firſt Fall and all other Sins of Angels and Men, (and that not by a bare permiſſion) which alſo, he moſt wiſely and powerfully boundeth, and otherwiſe ordereth and governeth in a manifold Diſpenſation, to his own moſt Holy Ends, yet ſo as the ſinfulneſs thereof proceedeth only from the Creature, and not from God, who being moſt Holy and Righteous, neither is, nor can be the Author or Approver of Sin.

V. The

V. The moſt wiſe, righteous and gracious God doth oftentimes leave for a Seaſon his own Children to manifold Temptations, and the Corruption of their own Hearts, to chaſtiſe them for their former Sins, or to diſcover unto them the hidden Strength of Corruption, and Deceitfulneſs of their Hearts, that they may be humbled, and to raiſe them to a more cloſe and conſtant Dependance for their Support upon himſelf, and to make them more watchful againſt all future Occaſions of Sin, and for ſundry other juſt and holy Ends.

VI. As for thoſe wicked and ungodly Men, whom God, as a righteous Judge, for former Sins, doth blind and harden, from them, he not only with-holdeth his Grace, whereby they might have been enlightned in their Underſtandings, and wrought upon in their Hearts; but ſometimes alſo withdraweth the Gifts which they had, and expoſeth them to ſuch Objects, as their Corruption makes Occaſions of Sin; and withal gives them over to their own Luſts, the Temptations of the World, and the Power of Satan, whereby it comes to paſs that they harden themſelves, even under thoſe Means, which God uſeth for the ſoftning of others.

VII. As the Providence of God doth in General reach to all Creatures, ſo after a moſt ſpecial manner, it taketh Care of his Church, and diſpoſeth all Things for the Good thereof.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Fall of Man: Of Sin, and of the Puniſhment thereof.

I. GOD having made a Covenant of Works and Life thereupon, with our Firſt Parents, and all their Poſterity in them, they being ſeduced by the Subtilty and Temptation of Satan, did wilfully tranſgreſs the Law of their Creation, and break the Covenant, in eating the forbidden Fruit.

II. By this Sin, they and we in them, fell from Original Righteouſneſs and Communion with God, and ſo became dead in Sin, and wholly defiled in all the Faculties and Parts of Soul and Body.

III. They being the Root, and by God's Appointment ſtanding in the room and ſtead of all Mankind, the Guilt of this Sin was imputed, and corrupted Nature convey'd to all thir Poſterity deſcending from them by ordinary Generation.

IV. From this Original Corruption, whereby we are utterly indiſpoſed, diſabled and made oppoſite to all Good, and wholly inclined to all Evil, do proceed all actual Tranſgreſſions.

V. This Corruption of Nature, during this Life doth remain in thoſe that are regenerated; and altho' it be, through Chriſt, pardoned and mortified, yet both it ſelf and all the Motions thereof are truly and properly Sin.

VI. Every Sin both Original and Actual being a Tranſgreſſion of the righteous Law of God, and contrary thereunto, doth, in its own Nature, bring Guilt upon the Sinner, whereby he is bound over to the Wrath of God, and Curſe of the Law, and ſo made ſubject to Death, with all Miſeries Spiritual, Temporal and Eternal.

CHAP. VII.

Of God's Covenant with Man.

I. THE Diſtance between God and the Creature is ſo great, that altho' reaſonable Creatures do owe Obedience to him as their Creator, yet they could never have attained the Reward of Life, but by ſome voluntary Condeſcenſion on God's Part, which he hath been pleaſed to expreſs by way of Covenant.

II. The firſt Covenant made with Man was a Covenant of Works, wherein Life was promiſed to *Adam*, and in him to his Poſterity, upon Condition of Perfect and Perſonal Obedience.

III. Man by his Fall having made himſelf uncapable of Life by that Covenant, the Lord was pleaſed to make a Second, commonly call'd the Covenant of Grace; wherein he freely offereth unto Sinners Life and Salvation by Jeſus Chriſt, requiring of them Faith in him, that they may be ſaved, and promiſing to give unto all thoſe that are ordained unto Life, his Holy Spirit to make them willing and able to believe.

IV. This Covenant of Grace is frequently ſet forth in Scripture, by the Name of a *Teſtament*, in reference to the Death of Jeſus Chriſt, the Teſtator, and to the everlaſting Inheritance, with all things belonging to it, therein bequeathed.

V. Although this Covenant hath been differently, and variouſly adminiſtred in reſpect of Ordinances and Inſtitutions in the time of the Law, and ſince the coming of Chriſt in the Fleſh; yet for the Subſtance and Efficacy of it, to all its ſpiritual and ſaving Ends, it is one and the ſame; upon the Account of which various Diſpenſations it is called the *Old and New Teſtament*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Chriſt the Mediator.

I. IT pleaſed God in his Eternal Purpoſe, to chuſe and ordain the Lord Jeſus, his only begotten Son, according to a Covenant made between them both, to be the Mediator between God and Man: The Prophet, Prieſt and King, the Head and Saviour of his Church, the Heir of all things, and Judge of the World, unto whom he did from all Eternity give a People to be his Seed, and to be by him, in time, redeemed, called, juſtified, ſanctified and glorifyed.

II. The Son of God, the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one Subſtance, and equal with the Father, did, when the fulneſs of Time was come, take upon him Man's Nature with all the Eſſential Properties, and common Infirmities thereof, yet without ſin, being conceived by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary* of her Subſtance: So that two whole perfect and diſtinct Natures, the Godhead and the Manhood were inſeparably joined together in one Perſon without Converſion, Compoſition or Confuſion; which Perſon is very God and very Man,yet one Chriſt, the only Mediator between God and Man.

III. The Lord Jeſus in his humane Nature, thus united to the Divine, in the Perſon of the Son, was ſanctified and anointed with the Holy Spirit above Meaſure, having in him all the Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge, in whom it pleaſed the Father that all fulneſs ſhould dwell, to the end that being holy, harmleſs, undefiled and full of Grace and Truth, he might be throughly furniſhed to execute the Office of a Mediator and Surety, which Office he took not unto himſelf; but was thereunto called by his Father, who alſo put all Power and Judgment into his Hand, and gave him Commandment to execute the ſame.

IV. This Office the Lord Jeſus Chriſt did moſt willingly undertake; which that he might diſcharge, he was made under the Law, and did perfectly fulfil it, and underwent the Puniſhment due to us, which we ſhould have born and ſuffered, being made ſin and a curſe for us, enduring moſt grievous Torments immediately from God in his Soul,and moſt painful Sufferings in his Body, was crucified and died, was buried, and remain'd under the Power of death,yet ſaw no Corruption;on the 3d day he aroſe from the dead with the ſame Body, in which he ſuffered, with which alſo he aſcended into Heaven, and there ſitteth at the right hand of his Father, making Interceſſion, and ſhall return to judge Men and Angels at the end of the World.

V. The Lord Jeſus by his perfect Obedience, and Sacrifice of himſelf, which he, through the Eternal Spirit, once offered up unto God, hath fully ſatisfied the Juſtice of God, and purchaſed not only Reconciliation, but an everlaſting Inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven, for all thoſe whom the Father hath given unto him.

VI. Altho' the *Work* of *Redemption* was not actually wrought by Chriſt, till after his Incarnation, yet the Virtue,Efficacy and Benefits thereof, were communicated unto the Elect in all Ages ſucceſſively from the beginning of the World, in and by thoſe Promiſes, Types and Sacrifices, wherein he was revealed and ſignified to be the Seed of the Woman, which ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's Head, and the Lamb ſlain from the beginning of the World, being yeſterday and to day the ſame, and for ever.

VII. Chriſt in the Work of Mediation acteth according to both Natures, by each Nature doing that which is proper to it ſelf; yet by reaſon of the Unity of the Perſon, that which is proper to one Nature is ſometimes in Scripture, attributed unto the Perſon denominated by the other Nature.

VIII. To all thoſe for whom Chriſt has purchaſed Redemption, he doth certainly and effectually apply and communicate the ſame, making Interceſſion for them, and revealing unto them in and by the Word, the Myſteries of Salvation, effectually perſwading them by his Spirit to believe and obey, and governing their Heart, by his Word and Spirit, overcoming all their Enemies, by his Almighty Power and Wiſdom, in ſuch Manner and Ways, as are moſt conſonant to his wonderful and unſearchable Diſpenſation.

CHAP. IX.

Of Free-Will.

I. GOD hath endued the Will of Man with that Natural Liberty and Power of Acting upon Choice, that it is neither forced, nor, by any abſolute Neceſſity of Nature, determined to do Good or Evil.

II. Man in his State of Innocency had Freedom and Power to Will and to Do that which was Good and well-pleaſing to God; but yet mutably, ſo that he might fall from it.

III. Man by his Fall into a State of Sin, hath wholly loſt all Ability of Will to any Spiritual Good, accompanying Salvation, ſo as a Natural Man being altogether averſe from that Good, and dead in ſin, is not able by his own ſtrength to convert himſelf or to prepare himſelf thereunto.

IV. When God converts a Sinner, and tranſlates him into the State of Grace, he freeth him

him from his natural Bondage under Sin, and by his Grace alone enables him freely to Will and to Do that which is Spiritually Good; yet ſo, as that, by reaſon of his remaining Corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only Will that which is Good, but doth that which is alſo Evil.

V. The Will of Man is made Perfectly and Immutably Free to Good alone, in the State of Glory only.

CHAP. X.

Of Effectual Calling.

I. ALL thoſe whom God hath prædeſtinated unto Life, and thoſe only, he is pleaſed in his appointed and accepted Time effectually to call by his Word aud Spirit, out of that State of Sin and Death, in which they are by Nature, to Grace and Salvation by Jeſus Chriſt, inlightning their Minds Spiritually and Savingly to underſtand the Things of God, taking away their Heart of Stone, and giving unto them an Heart of Fleſh, renewing their Wills, and by his Almighty Power determining them to that which is Good, and effectually drawing them to Jeſus Chriſt: Yet ſo, as they come moſt Freely, being made willing by his Grace.

II. This effectual Call is of God's Free and Special Grace alone, not from any thing at all foreſeen in Man, who is altogether Paſſive therein, until being quickned and renewed by the Holy Spirit, he is thereby enabled to anſwer this Call and to embrace the Grace offered and conveyed in it.

III. Elect Infants dying in Infancy, are Regenerated and Saved by Chriſt, who worketh when, and where, and how he pleaſeth: So alſo are all other Elect Perſons, who are uncapable of being outwardly called by the Miniſtry of the Word.

IV. Others not elected, altho' they may be called by the Miniſtry of the Word, and may have ſome common Operations of the Spirit, yet not being effectually drawn by the Father; they neither do nor can come unto Chriſt, and therefore cannot be ſaved; much leſs can Men, not profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion, be ſaved in any other way whatſoever, be they never ſo diligent to frame their Lives according to the Light of Nature, and the Law of that Religion they do profeſs: And to aſſert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be deteſted.

CHAP. XI.

Of Juſtification.

I. THoſe whom God effectually calleth, he alſo freely Juſtifieth, not by infuſing Righteouſneſs into them, but by pardoning their Sins, and by accounting and accepting their Perſons, as Righteous, not for any thing wrought in them, or done by them, but for Chriſt's ſake alone; nor by imputing Faith its ſelf, the act of Believing, or any other Evangelical Obedience to them, as their Righteouſneſs, but by imputing Chriſt's Active Obedience unto the whole Law, and Paſſive Obedience in his Sufferings and Death, for their whole and ſole Righteouſneſs, they receiving and reſting on him and his Righteouſneſs by Faith, which Faith they have not of themſelves, it is the Gift of God.

II. Faith thus receiving and reſting on Chriſt, and his Righteouſneſs is the alone Inſtrument of Juſtification; yet it is not alone in the Perſon juſtified, but is ever accompanied with all other ſaving Graces, and is no dead Faith, but worketh by Love.

III. Chriſt by his Obedience and Death did fully diſcharge the Debt of all thoſe that are juſtified, and did, by the Sacrifice of himſelf in the Blood of his Croſs, undergoing in their ſtead the Penalty due unto them, make a proper, real, and full Satisfaction to God's Juſtice in their Behalf: Yet inaſmuch, as he was given by the Father for them, and his Obedience and Satisfaction accepted in their ſtead, and both freely, not for any thing in them, their Juſtification is only of free Grace, that both the exact Juſtice and rich Grace of God might be glorified in the Juſtification of Sinners.

IV. God did from all Eternity decree to juſtifie all the Elect, and Chriſt did in the fulneſs of time dye for their Sins, and riſe again, for their Juſtification: Nevertheleſs they are not juſtified perſonally, until the Holy Spirit doth in due time actually apply Chriſt unto them.

V. God doth continue to forgive the Sins of thoſe that are juſtified, and altho' they can never fall from the State of Juſtification, yet they may by their Sins fall under God's Fatherly Diſpleaſure: And, in that Condition, they have not uſually the Light of his Countenance reſtored unto them, until they humble themſelves, confeſs their Sins, beg Pardon, and renew their Faith and Repentance.

VI. The Juſtification of Believers under the *Old Teſtament* was in all theſe Reſpects, one and the ſame with the Juſtification of Believers under the *New Teſtament.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of Adoption.

I. ALL thoſe that are juſtified, God vouchſafeth in and for his only Son Jeſus Chriſt to make Partakers of the Grace of Adoption, by which they are taken into the number and enjoy the Liberties and Priviledges of the Children of God, have his Name put upon them, receive the Spirit of Adoption, have Acceſs to the Throne of Grace with Boldneſs, are enabled to cry *Abba Father*, are pitied, protected, provided for, and chaſtned by him, as by a Father yet never caſt off, but ſealed to the Day of Redemption, and inherit the Promiſes, as Heirs of Everlaſting Salvation.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Sanctification.

I. THey that are effectually called and regenerated being united to Chriſt, having a new Heart, and a new Spirit created in them, thro' the Virtue of Chriſt's Death and Reſurrection, are alſo further Sanctified really and perſonally, through the ſame Virtue, by his Word and Spirit dwelling in them, the Dominion of the whole Body of Sin is deſtroy'd, and the ſeveral Luſts thereof are more and more weakned and mortified, and they more and more quickned and ſtrengthened in all ſaving Graces, to the practice of all true Holineſs, without which no Man ſhall ſee the Lord.

II. This Sanctification is throughout in the whole Man, yet imperfect in this Life; there abide ſtill ſome Remnants of Corruption in every part, whence ariſeth a continual and irreconcileable War, the Fleſh luſting againſt the Spirit, and the Spirit againſt the Fleſh.

III. In which War, altho' the remaining Corruption, for a time, may much prevail, yet thro' the continual ſupply of Strength from the ſanctifyng Spirit of Chriſt, the Regenerate part doth overcome, and ſo the Saints grow in Grace, perfecting Holineſs in the fear of God.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Saving Faith.

I. THE Grace of Faith, whereby the Elect are enabled to believe to the ſaving of their Souls, is the Work of the Spirit of Chriſt in their Hearts, and is ordinarily wrought by the Miniſtry of the Word; by which alſo, and by the Adminiſtration of the Seals, Prayer and other Means, it is increaſed and ſtrengthened.

II. By this Faith, a Chriſtian believeth to be true, whatſoever is revealed in the Word; for the Authority of God himſelf ſpeaketh therein, and acteth differently upon that which each particular Paſſage thereof containeth, yielding Obedience to the Commands, trembling at the Threatnings, and embracing the Promiſes of God for this Life, and that which is to come. But the principal Acts of ſaving Faith are accepting, receiving, and reſting upon Chriſt alone for Juſtification, Sanctification and eternal Life, by Virtue of the Covenant of Grace.

III. This Faith altho' it be different in Degrees, and may be weak or ſtrong, yet it is in the leaſt Degree of it, different in the Kind or Nature of it (as is all other ſaving Grace) from the Faith and common Grace of temporary Believers; and, therefore, tho' it may be many times aſſailed and weakned, yet it gets the Victory, growing up in many to the attainment of a full Aſſurance through Chriſt, who is both the Author and Finiſher of our Faith.

CHAP. XV.

Of Repentance unto Life and Salvation.

I. SUch of the Elect as are converted at riper Years, having ſometime lived in the ſtate of Nature, and therein ſerved divers Luſts and Pleaſures, God in their effectual Calling giveth them Repentance unto Life.

II. Whereas there is none that doth Good and ſinneth not, and the beſt of Men may through the power and deceitfulneſs of their Corruptions dwelling in them, with the prevalency of Temptation, fall into great Sins and Provocations; God hath in the Covenant of Grace mercifully provided that Believers ſo ſinning and falling be renewed, through Repentance unto Salvation.

III. This ſaving Repentance is an Evangelical Grace, whereby a Perſon being by the Holy Ghoſt made ſenſible of the manifold Evils of his Sin, doth by Faith in Chriſt humble himſelf for it with godly ſorrow, deteſtation of it, and ſelf-abhorrency, praying for Pardon and ſtrength of Grace, with a purpoſe and endeavour by ſupplies of the Spirit, to walk before God unto all well-pleaſing in all things.

IV. As Repentance is to be continued through the whole Courſe of our Lives, upon the account of the Body of Death and the Motions thereof; ſo 'tis every Man's Duty to repent of his particular known Sins particularly.

V. Such is the Proviſion which God hath made, through Chriſt, in the Covenant of Grace, for the preſervation of Believers unto Salvation, that altho' there is no ſin ſo ſmall, but it deſerves Damnation; yet there is no ſin ſo great, that it ſhall bring Damnation on them, who truly repent; which makes the conſtant preaching of Repentance neceſſary.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Good Works.

I. GOod Works are only ſuch as God hath commanded in his holy Word, and not ſuch as, without the warrant thereof, are deviſed by Men out of blind Zeal, or upon any pretence of good Intentions.

II. Theſe good Works done in Obedience to God's Commandments, are the Fruits and Evidences of a true and lively Faith; and by them Believers manifeſt their Thankfulneſs, ſtrengthen their Aſſurance, edifie their Brethren, adorn the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, ſtop the Mouths of the Adverſaries, and glorifie God, whoſe Workmanſhip they are created in Chriſt Jeſus thereunto, that having their Fruit unto Holineſs, they may have the End, eternal Life.

III. Their Ability to do good Works, is not at all of themſelves, but wholly from the Spirit of Chriſt. And that they may be enabled thereunto, beſides the Graces they have already received, there is required an actual Influence of the ſame Holy Spirit, to work in them to will and to do of his good Pleaſure; yet are they not hereupon to grow negligent, as if they were not bound to perform any Duty, unleſs upon a ſpecial Motion of the Spirit, but they ought to be diligent in ſtirring up the Grace of God that is in them.

IV. They who in their Obedience attain to the greateſt height which is poſſible in this Life, are ſo far from being able to ſupererogate, and to do more than God requires, as that they fall ſhort of much which in Duty they are bound to do.

V. We cannot by our beſt Works merit Pardon of Sin, or eternal Life at the Hand of God, by reaſon of the great diſproportion that is between them and the Glory to come, and the infinite diſtance that is between us and God, whom by them we can neither profit, nor ſatisfie for the Debt of our former Sins; but when we have done all we can, we have done but our Duty, and are unprofitable Servants: And becauſe, as they are good they proceed from his Spirit, and as they are wrought by us, they are defiled and mixed with ſo much Weakneſs and Imperfection, that they cannot endure the Severity of God's Judgment.

VI. Yet notwithſtanding, the Perſons of Believers being accepted through Chriſt, their good Works alſo are accepted in him, not as tho' they were in this Life wholly unblameable and unreprovable in God's ſight, but that he looking upon them in his Son is pleaſed to accept and reward that which is ſincere, although accompanied with many Weakneſſes and Imperfections.

VII. Works done by unregenerate Men, although, for the Matter of them, they may be things, which God commands, and of good uſe both to themſelves and to others: Yet becauſe they proceed not from an Heart purified by Faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the Word, nor to a right End, the Glory of God; they are therefore ſinful and cannot pleaſe God, nor make a Man meet to receive Grace from God; and yet their neglect of them is more ſinful and diſpleaſing to God.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Perſeverance of the Saints.

I. THey whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and ſanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from the ſtate of Grace, but ſhall certainly perſevere therein to the End, and be eternally ſaved.

II. This Perſeverance of the Saints depends not upon their own free-will, but upon the immutability of the Decree of Election, from the free and unchangeable Love of God the Father upon the Efficacy of the Merit and Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt, and Union with him, the Oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and the Seed of God within them, and the Nature of the Covenant of Grace; from all which ariſeth alſo the certainty and Infallibility thereof.

III. And although they may, through the temptation of Satan, and of the World, the prevalency of Corruption remaining in them, and the neglect of the means of their Preſervation

vation fall into grievous Sins, and for a time continue therein, whereby they incur God's Diſpleaſure, and grieve his Holy Spirit, come to have their Graces and Comforts impaired, have their Hearts hardened, and their Conſciences wounded, hurt and ſcandalize others, and bring temporal Judgments upon themſelves; yet they are and ſhall be kept by the Power of God through Faith unto Salvation.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Aſſurance of Grace and Salvation.

I. ALthough Temporary Believers and other unregenerate Men may vainly deceive themſelves with falſe Hopes, and carnal Preſumptions of being in the Favour of God, and State of Salvation, which hope of theirs ſhall periſh, yet ſuch as truly believe in the Lord Jeſus and love him in Sincerity, endeavouring to walk in good Conſcience before him, may, in this Life, be certainly aſſured, that they are in the State of Grace, and may rejoyce in the Hope of the Glory of God, which Hope ſhall never make them aſhamed.

II. This Certainty is not a bare conjectural and probable Perſwaſion, grounded upon a fallible Hope, but an infallible aſſurance of Faith, founded on the Blood and Righteouſneſs of Chriſt, revealed in the Goſpel; and alſo upon the inward Evidence of thoſe Graces, unto which Promiſes are made, and on the immediate Witneſs of the Spirit, teſtifying our Adoption, and as a Fruit thereof, leaving the Heart more Humble and Holy.

III. This infallible Aſſurance doth not ſo belong to the Eſſence of Faith, but that a true Believer may wait long, and conflict with many Difficulties before he be Partaker of it; yet being enabled by the Spirit to know the Things which are freely given him of God, he may without extraordinary Revelation, in the right uſe of ordinary Means attain thereunto: And therefore it is the Duty of every one to give all diligence to make his Calling and Election ſure, that thereby his Heart may be enlarged in Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt, in Love and Thankfulneſs to God, and in Strength and Cheerfulneſs in the Duties of Obedience, the proper Fruits of this Aſſurance; ſo far is it from inclining Men to Looſeneſs.

IV. True Believers may have the Aſſurance of their Salvation diverſe ways ſhaken, diminiſh'd, and intermitted, as by Negligence in preſerving of it, by falling into ſome ſpecial Sin, which woundeth the Conſcience and grieveth the Spirit, by ſome ſudden or vehement Temptation, by God's withdrawing the Light of his Countenance, ſuffering even ſuch as fear him to walk in Darkneſs, and to have no Light, yet are they neither utterly deſtitute of that Seed of God, and Life of Faith, that Love of Chriſt and the Brethren, that Sincerity of Heart, and Conſcience of Duty, out of which by the Operation of the Spirit, this Aſſurance may, in due time, be revived, and by the which, in the mean time, they are ſupported from utter Deſpair.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Law of God.

I. GOD gave to *Adam* a Law of Univerſal Obedience written in his Heart, and a particular Precept of not eating the Fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, as a Covenant of Works, by which he bound him, and all his Poſterity to perſonal, entire, exact and perpetual Obedience, promiſed Life upon the fulfilling and threatned Death upon the Breach of it, and endued him with Power and Ability to keep it.

II. This Law, ſo written in the Heart, continued to be a perfect Rule of Righteouſneſs after the Fall of Man, and was delivered by God on Mount *Sinai* in Ten Commandments, and written in two Tables; the four firſt Commandments containing our Duty towards God, and the other ſix our Duty to Man.

III. Beſides this Law commonly called Moral, God was pleaſed to give to the People of *Iſrael*, as a Church under Age, Ceremonial Laws, containing ſeveral Typical Ordinances, partly of Worſhip, prefiguring Chriſt, his Graces, Actions Sufferings and Benefits, and partly holding forth divers Inſtructions of Moral Duties: All which Ceremonial Laws being appointed only to the time of Reformation, are by Jeſus Chriſt the true *Meſſiah*, and only Law-giver, who was furniſhed with Power from the Father for that end, abrogated and taken away.

IV. To them alſo he gave ſundry Judicial Laws, which expired together with the State of that People, not obliging any now by Virtue of that Inſtitution, their general Equity only being ſtill of Moral uſe.

V. The Moral Law doth for ever bind all, as well juſtified Perſons, as others, to the Obedience thereof, and that not only in regard of the Matter contained in it, but alſo in reſpect of the Authority of God the Creator, who gave it; neither doth Chriſt in the Goſpel, any ways diſſolve, but much ſtrengthen this Obligation.

VI. Altho' true Believers be not under the Law as a Covenant of Works, to be thereby juſtified, or condemned; yet it is of great Uſe

to

to them as well as to others, in that, as a Rule of Life, informing them of the Will of God and their Duty, and directs and binds them to walk accordingly, diſcovering alſo the ſinful Pollutions of their Natures, Hearts and Lives, ſo as examining themſelves thereby, they may come to further Conviction of, Humiliation for, and Hatred againſt Sin, together with a clearer ſight of the need they have of Chriſt and the Perfection of his Obedience. It is likewiſe of uſe to the Regenerate, to reſtrain their Corruptions, in that it forbids Sin, and the threatnings of it ſerve to ſhew what even their Sins deſerve, and what Afflictions in this Life they may expect for them, altho' freed from the Curſe thereof threatned in the Law. The Promiſes of it in like manner ſhews them God's Approbation of Obedience, and what Bleſſings they may expect upon performance thereof, altho' not as due to them by the Law as a Covenant of Works; ſo as a Man's doing Good, and refraining from Evil, becauſe the Law encourageth to the one, and deterreth from the other, is no Evidence of his being under the Law, and not under Grace.

VII. Neither are the fore-mentioned Uſes of the Law, contrary to the Graces of the Goſpel, but do ſweetly comply with it; the Spirit of Chriſt ſubduing and enabling the Will of Man to do that Freely and Cheerfully, which the Will of God revealed in the Law requireth to be done.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Goſpel and of the Extent of the Grace thereof.

I. THE Covenant of Works, being broken by Sin, and made unprofitable unto Life, God was pleaſed to give unto the Elect the Promiſe of Chriſt the Seed of the Woman, as the means of calling them, and begetting in them Faith and Repentance: In this Promiſe, the Goſpel, as to the Subſtance of it was revealed, and was therein effectual for the Converſion and Salvation of Sinners.

II. This Promiſe of Chriſt and Salvation by him, is revealed only in and by the Word of God; neither do the Works of Creation or Providence, with the Light of Nature, make diſcovery of Chriſt, or of Grace by him, ſo much as in a general or obſcure way; much leſs, that Men deſtitute of the Revelation of him by the Promiſe or Goſpel, ſhould be enabled thereby to attain ſaving Faith or Repentance.

III. The Revelation of the Goſpel unto Sinners, made in diverſe Times, and by ſundry Parts, with the Addition of Promiſes and Precepts, for the Obedience required therein, as to the Nations and Perſons to whom it is granted, is meerly of the Sovereign Will and Good Pleaſure of God, not being annexed by Virtue of any Promiſe to the due improvement of Mens Natural Abilities, by Vertue of Common Light received without it, which none ever did make or can ſo do. And therefore, in all Ages, the preaching of the Goſpel hath been granted unto Perſons and Nations, as to the extent or ſtraitning of it in great Variety according to the Council of the Will of God.

IV. Altho' the Goſpel be the only outward Means of revealing Chriſt and ſaving Grace, and is, as ſuch, abundantly ſufficient thereunto; yet that Men, who are dead in Treſpaſſes, may be born again, quickned or regenerated, there is, moreover neceſſary an effectual, irreſiſtible work of the Holy Ghoſt upon the whole Soul for the producing in them a Spiritual Life, without which no other Means are ſufficient for their Converſion unto God.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Chriſtian Liberty, and Liberty of Conſcience.

I. THE Liberty which Chriſt hath purchaſed for Believers under the Goſpel, conſiſts in their Freedom from the Guilt of Sin, the condemning Wrath of God, the Rigour and Curſe of the Law, and in their being delivered from this preſent Evil World, Bondage to Satan, and Dominion of Sin, from the Evil of Afflictions, the Fear and Sting of Death, the Victory of the Grave, and everlaſting Damnation, as alſo in their free Acceſs to God, and their yielding Obedience unto him not out of ſlaviſh Fear, but a Child-like Love, and willing Mind: All which were common alſo to Believers under the Law, for the Subſtance of them, but under the *New Teſtament* the Liberty of Chriſtians is further enlarged in their Freedom from the Yoke of the Ceremonial Law, the whole legal Adminiſtration of the Covenant of Grace to which the Jewiſh Church was ſubjected, and in greater boldneſs of Acceſs to the Throne of Grace, and in fuller Communications of the free Spirit of God, than Believers under the Law did ordinarily partake of.

II. God alone is Lord of the Conſcience, and hath left it free from the Doctrines and Commandments of Men, which are, in any thing contrary unto his Word; or not contained in it; ſo that to believe ſuch Doctrines, or to obey ſuch Commands, out of Conſcience, is to betray true Liberty of Conſcience, and the requiring of an implicit Faith; and an abſolute blind Obedience, is to deſtroy Liberty of Conſcience and Reaſon alſo.

III. They

III. They who upon pretence of Chriſtian Liberty do practiſe any Sin, or cheriſh any Luſt, as they do thereby pervert the main deſign of the Grace of the Goſpel to their own Deſtruction, ſo they wholly deſtroy the End of Chriſtian Liberty, which is, that being delivered out of the hands of our Enemies, we might ſerve the Lord without fear in Holineſs and Righteouſneſs before him all the Days of our Life.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Religious Worſhip, and of the Sabbath-day.

I. THE Light of Nature ſheweth that there is a God, who hath Lordſhip and Sovereignty over all, is juſt, good and doth good unto all, and is therefore to be feared, loved, prais'd, call'd upon, truſted in, and ſerved with all the Heart, and all the Soul, and with all the Might: But the acceptable way of worſhipping the true God is inſtituted by himſelf, and ſo limited by his own revealed Will, that he may not be worſhipped according to the Imaginations and Devices of Men, or the Suggeſtions of Satan, under any viſible Repreſentations, or any other way not preſcribed in the Holy Scripture.

II. Religious Worſhip is to be given to God the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, and to him alone, not to Angels, Saints or any other Creatures, and ſince the Fall not without a Mediator, nor in the Mediation of any other but of Chriſt alone.

III. Prayer with Thankſgiving being one ſpecial part of Natural Worſhip, is by God requir'd of all Men; but that it may be accepted, it is to be made in the name of the Son, by the help of his Spirit, according to his Will, with Underſtanding, Reverence, Humility, Fervency, Faith, Love and Perſeverance: and when with others, in a known Tongue.

IV. Prayer is to be made for Things Lawful, and for all ſorts of Men living, or that ſhall live hereafter, but not for the dead, nor for thoſe, of whom, it may be known, that they have ſinned the Sin unto Death.

V. The reading of the Scriptures, preaching and hearing of the Word of God, ſinging of Pſalms, as alſo the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper, are all parts of Religious Worſhip of God, to be performed in Obedience unto God with Underſtanding, Faith, Reverence and Godly Fear. Solemn Humiliations, with Faſtings and Thankſgiving upon ſpecial Occaſions are, in their ſeveral Times and Seaſons to be uſed in an Holy and Religious manner.

VI. Neither Prayer, nor any other part of Religious Worſhip, is now under the Goſpel, either tyed unto, or made more acceptable by any Place, in which it is performed, or towards which it is directed: But God is to be worſhipped every where in Spirit and in Truth, as in private Families daily, and in ſecret, each one by himſelf, ſo more ſolemnly in the publick Aſſemblies, which are not careleſly nor wilfully to be neglected, or forſaken, when God by his Word or Providence calleth thereunto.

VII. As it is of the Law of Nature, that in general a Proportion of time by God's Appointment be ſet apart for the Worſhip of God; ſo by his Word in a poſitive, moral, and perpetual Commandment, binding all Men in all Ages, he hath particularly appointed one Day in ſeven for a Sabbath to be kept holy unto him, which from the beginning of the World to the Reſurrection of Chriſt, was the laſt Day of the Week, and from the Reſurrection of Chriſt was changed into the firſt Day of the Week, which in Scripture is called the Lord's Day, and is to be continued unto the end of the World, as a Chriſtian Sabbath, the obſervation of the laſt Day of the Week being aboliſhed.

VIII. This Sabbath is then kept Holy unto the Lord, when Men after a due preparing of their Hearts, and ordering their common Affairs before-hand, do not only obſerve an holy Reſt all the day from their own Works, Words, and Thoughts about their worldly Employments and Recreations, but alſo are taken up the whole time, in the publick and private Exerciſes of his Worſhip, and in the Duties of Neceſſity and Mercy.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Lawful Oaths and Vows.

I. A Lawful Oath, is a part of Religious Worſhip, wherein the Perſon ſwearing in Truth, Righteouſneſs and Judgment, ſolemnly calleth God to witneſs what he aſſerteth, or promiſeth, and to judge him according to the Truth or Falſhood of what he ſweareth.

II. The name of God only is that by which Men ought to ſwear, and therein it is to be uſed with all Holy Fear and Reverence: Therefore to ſwear vainly or raſhly by that Glorious and Dreadful Name, or to ſwear at all, by any other thing, is ſinful and to be abhorred. Yet, as in matters of Weight and Moment an Oath is warranted by the Word of God; under the *New Teſtament*, as well as under the *Old*; ſo a Lawful Oath being impoſed by Lawful Authority in ſuch Matters ought to be taken.

III. Whoſo-

III. Whoſoever taketh an Oath warranted by the Word of God, ought duly to conſider the weightineſs of ſo ſolemn an Act, and therein to avouch nothing, but what he is fully perſuaded is the Truth; neither may any Man bind himſelf by Oath to any thing, but what is good and juſt, and what he believeth ſo to be, and what he is able and reſolved to perform. Yet it is a ſin to refuſe an Oath touching any thing that is good and juſt, being lawfully impoſed by Authority.

IV. An Oath is to be taken in the plain and common Senſe of the Words, without Equivocation, or mental Reſervation: It cannot oblige to ſin; but in any thing, not ſinful, being taken, it binds to performance, although to a Man's own hurt; nor is it to be violated, although made to Hereticks or Infidels.

V. A Vow, which is not to be made to any Creature, but God alone, is of the like nature with a Promiſſory Oath, and ought to be made with the like Religious Care, and to be performed with the like Faithfulneſs.

VI. Popiſh Monaſtical Vows of perpetual ſingle Life, profeſſed Poverty, and regular Obedience, are ſo far from being Degrees of higher Perfection, that they are ſuperſtitious and ſinful Snares, in which no Chriſtian may intangle himſelf.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the Civil Magiſtrate.

I. GOD the Supreme Lord and King of all the World, hath ordained Civil Magiſtrates to be under him, over the People for his own Glory and the publick Good: And to this End has armed them with the Power of the Sword for the Defence and Encouragement of them that do good, and for the Puniſhment of evil Doers.

II. It is lawful for Chriſtians to accept, and execute the Office of a Magiſtrate, when called thereunto: In the management whereof, as they ought eſpecially to maintain Piety, Juſtice and Peace, according to the wholſom Laws of each Common-wealth, ſo for that End, they may lawfully now under the *New Teſtament* wage War upon juſt and neceſſary Occaſion.

III. They who upon pretence of Chriſtian Liberty ſhall oppoſe any lawful Power, or the lawful Exercices of it, reſiſt the Ordinance of God; and for their publiſhing of ſuch Opinions, or maintaining of ſuch Practices, as are contrary to the Light of Nature, or to the known Principles of Chriſtianity, whether concerning Faith, Worſhip, or Converſation, or to the Power of Godlineſs, or ſuch erronious Opinions or Practices, as either in their own nature, or in the manner of publiſhing or maintaining them, are deſtructive to the external Peace and Order which Chriſt hath eſtabliſhed in the Church, they may lawfully be called to Account and proceeded againſt by the Cenſures of the Church, and by the Power of the Civil Magiſtrate; yet in ſuch Differences about the Doctrines of the Goſpel, or Ways of the Worſhip of God, as may befal Men, exerciſing a good Conſcience, manifeſting it in their Converſation, and holding the Foundation, and duly obſerving the Rules of Peace and Order, there is no Warrant for the Magiſtrate to abridge them of their Liberty.

IV. It is the Duty of People to pray for Magiſtrates, to honour their Perſons, to pay them Tribute and other Dues, to obey their lawful Commands, and to be ſubject to their Authority for Conſcience ſake. Infidelity or Difference in Religion doth not make void the Magiſtrates juſt and legal Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him: From which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are not exempted, much leſs has the Pope any Power or Juriſdiction over them in their Dominions, or over any of their People, and leaſt of all to deprive them of their Dominions or Lives, if he ſhall judge them to be Hereticks, or upon any other Pretence whatſoever.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Marriage.

I. MArriage is to be between one Man and one Woman: Neither is it lawful for any Man to have more than one Wife, nor for any Woman to have more than one Husband at the ſame time.

II. Marriage was ordained for the mutual help of Husband and Wife, for the increaſe of Mankind with a legitimate Iſſue, and of the Church with an holy Seed, and for preventing of Uncleanneſs.

III. It is lawful for all ſorts of People to marry, who are able with Judgment to give their Conſent. Yet it is the Duty of Chriſtians to marry in the Lord; and, therefore, ſuch as profeſs the true Reformed Religion ſhould not marry with Infidels, Papiſts, or other Idolaters: Neither ſhould ſuch as are godly be unequally yoaked, by marrying ſuch as are wicked in their Life, or maintain damnable Hereſie.

IV. Marriage ought not to be within the Degrees of Conſanguinity or Affinity forbidden in the Word; nor can ſuch inceſtuous Marriages ever be made lawful by any Law of Man or Conſent of Parties, ſo, as thoſe Perſons may live together, as Man and Wife.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Church.

I. THE Catholick or Univerſal Church, which is inviſible, conſiſts of the whole Number of the Elect, that have been, are or ſhall be gathered into One under Chriſt the Head thereof, and is the Spouſe, the Body, the Fulneſs of him that filleth All in All.

II. The whole Body of Men, throughout the World, profeſſing the Faith of the Goſpel, and Obedience unto God by Chriſt, according unto it, not deſtroying their own Profeſſion, by any Errors everting the Foundation, or Unholineſs of Converſation, they and their Children with them are and may be called the Viſible Catholick Church of Chriſt, although, as ſuch, it is not intruſted with any Officers, to rule or govern over the whole Body.

III. The pureſt Churches under Heaven, are ſubject both to Mixture and Error, and ſome have ſo degenerated, as to become no Churches of Chriſt, but Synagogues of Satan: Nevertheleſs, Chriſt always hath had, and ever ſhall have a viſible Kingdom in this World, to the end thereof, of ſuch as believe in him, and make Profeſſion of his Name.

IV. There is no other Head of the Church but the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; nor can the Pope of *Rome* in any Senſe be Head thereof, but is that Antichriſt, that Man of Sin, and Son of Perdition that exalteth himſelf in the Church againſt Chriſt, and all that is called God, whom the Lord ſhall deſtroy with the Brightneſs of his coming.

V. As the Lord, in his Care and Love towards his Church, hath in his infinite wiſe Providence exerciſed it with great variety in all Ages, for the good of them that love him and his own Glory: So, according to his Promiſe, we expect that in the latter Days, Antichriſt being deſtroyed, the Jews called, and the Adverſaries of the Kingdom of his dear Son broken, the Churches of Chriſt being enlarged, and edified through a free and plentiful Communication of Light and Grace, ſhall enjoy in this World a more quiet, peaceable, and glorious Condition than they have enjoyed.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the Communion of Saints.

ALL Saints that are united to Jeſus Chriſt their Head by his Spirit and Faith, although they are not made thereby one Perſon with him, have Fellowſhip in his Graces, Sufferings, Death, Reſurrection and Glory: And being united to one another in Love, they have Communion in each others Gifts and Graces, and are obliged to the performance of ſuch Duties, publick and private, as do conduce to their mutual good both in the inward and outward Man.

II. All Saints are bound to mention an Holy Fellowſhip and Communion in the Worſhip of God, and in performing ſuch other Spiritual Services, as tend to their mutual Edification, as alſo in relieving each other in outward things according to their ſeveral Abilities and Neceſſities; which Communion, though eſpecially to be exerciſed by them in the Relations, wherein they ſtand, whether in Families or Churches, yet as God offereth Opportunity, is to be extended unto all thoſe, who, in every Place, call upon the Name of the Lord Jeſus.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Sacraments.

I. SAcraments are Holy Signs and Seals of the Covenant of Grace, immediately inſtituted by Chriſt, to repreſent him and his Benefits, and to confirm our Intereſt in him, and ſolemnly to engage us to the Service of God in Chriſt, according to his Word.

II. There is in every Sacrament a Spiritual Relation, or Sacramental Union between the Sign and the Thing ſignified; whence it comes to paſs that the Names and Effects of the one are attributed to the other.

III. The Grace which is exhibited in or by the Sacraments, rightly uſed, is not conferred by any Power in them, neither doth the Efficacy of a Sacrament depend upon the Piety or Intention of him that doth adminiſter it, but upon the Work of the Spirit and the Word of Inſtitution, which contains, together with a Precept authorizing the Uſe thereof, a Promiſe of Benefit to worthy Receivers.

IV. There be only two Sacraments ordained by Chriſt our Lord in the Goſpel; that is to ſay Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; neither of which may be diſpenſed by any but by a Miniſter of the Word lawfully called.

V. The Sacraments of the *Old Teſtament*, in regard of the Spiritual Things thereby ſignified and exhibited, were for ſubſtance the ſame with thoſe of the *New*.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Baptiſm.

I. Baptiſm is a Sacrament of the *New-Teſtament*, ordained by Jeſus Chriſt, to be unto the Party baptized a Sign and Seal of the Covenant of Grace, of his ingraffing into Chriſt, of Regeneration, of Remiſſion of Sins, and of his giving up unto God thro' Jeſus Chriſt, to walk in newneſs of Life; which Ordinance is by Chriſt's own Appointment to be continued in his Church until the end of the World.

II. The outward Element to be us'd in this Ordinance is Water, wherewith the Party is to be baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, by a Miniſter of the Goſpel lawfully called thereunto.

III. Dipping of the Perſon into the Water is not neceſſary, but Baptiſm is rightly adminiſtred by pouring or ſprinkling Water upon the Perſon.

IV. Not only thoſe that do actually profeſs Faith in, and Obedience unto Chriſt, but alſo the Infants of one or both believing Parents are to be baptized and thoſe only.

V. Altho' it be a great Sin to contemn or neglect this Ordinance, yet Grace and Salvation are not ſo inſeparably annexed to it, as that no Perſon can be regenerated or ſaved without it; or that all that are baptized, are undoubtedly regenerated.

VI. The Efficacy of Baptiſm is not tyed to that moment of Time, wherein it is adminiſtred; yet notwithſtanding by the right uſe of this Ordinance, the Grace promiſed is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred by the Holy Ghoſt to ſuch (whether of Age or Infants) as that Grace belongeth unto, according to the Counſel of God's own Will, in his appointed time.

VII. Baptiſm is but once to be adminiſtred to any Perſon.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the Lord's Supper.

I. Our Lord Jeſus in the Night when he was betray'd, inſtituted the Sacrament of his Body and Blood, call'd the *Lord's Supper*, to be obſerved in his Churches to the end of the World, for the perpetual Remembrance and ſhewing forth of the Sacrifice of himſelf in his Death, the ſealing of all Benefits thereof unto true Believers, their Spiritual Nouriſhment, and Growth in him, their further Engagement in and to all Duties, which they owe unto him, and to be a Bond and Pledge of their Communion with him, and with each other.

II. In this Sacrament Chriſt is not offered up to his Father, nor any real Sacrifice made at all for Remiſſion of Sin of the Quick or Dead, but only a Memorial of that one offering up of himſelf upon the Croſs, once for all, and a Spiritual Oblation of all poſſible Praiſe unto God for the ſame; ſo that the Popiſh Sacrifice of the Maſs (as they call it) is moſt abominably injurious to Chriſt's own only Sacrifice, the alone Propitiation for all the Sins of the Elect.

III. The Lord Jeſus hath in this Ordinance appointed his Miniſters to declare his Word of Inſtitution to the People, to pray and bleſs the Elements of Bread and Wine, and thereby to ſet them apart from a Common, to an Holy Uſe, and to take and break the Bread, to take the Cup and (they communicating alſo themſelves) to give both to the Communicants, but to none, who are not then preſent in the Congregation.

IV. Private Maſſes, or receiving the Sacrament by a Prieſt, or any other alone, as likewiſe the denyal of the Cup to the People, worſhipping the Elements, the lifting them up, or carrying them about for Adoration, and the reſerving them for any pretended Religious Uſe, are all contrary unto the Nature of this Sacrament and to the Inſtitution of Chriſt.

V. The outward Elements in this Sacrament duly ſet apart to the Uſes ordained by Chriſt, have ſuch Relation to him crucified, as that truly yet Sacramentally only, they are ſometimes call'd by the Name of the things they repreſent, to wit, The Body and Blood of Chriſt; albeit in Subſtance and Nature they ſtill remain truly and only Bread and Wine, as they were before.

VI. The Doctrine which maintains a Change of the Subſtance of Bread and Wine into the Subſtance of Chriſt's Body and Blood (commonly called *Tranſubſtantiation*) by Conſecration of a Prieſt, or by any other way, is repugnant not to the Scripture alone, but even to common Senſe and Reaſon, overthroweth the Nature of a Sacrament, and hath been, and is the Cauſe of manifold Superſtitions, yea, of groſs Idolatries.

VII. Worthy Receivers outwardly partaking of the viſible Elements in this Sacrament, do, then, alſo, inwardly by Faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but ſpiritually receive and feed upon Chriſt crucified, and all Benefits of his Death; the Body and Blood of Chriſt being then not corporally or carnally in, with, or under the Bread and Wine, yet as really, but ſpiritually preſent to the Faith of Believers in that Ordinance, as the Elements themſelves are to their outward Senſes.

VIII. All ignorant and ungodly Perſons, as they are unfit to enjoy Communion with Chriſt, ſo are they unworthy of the Lord's Table, and cannot

cannot without great Sin againſt him, whilſt they remain ſuch, partake of theſe Holy Myſteries, or be admitted thereunto; yea, whoſoever ſhall receive unworthily, are guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord, eating and drinking Judgment unto themſelves.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the State of Man after Death, and of the Reſurrection of the Dead.

I. THE Bodies of Men, after death, return to Duſt, and ſee Corruption, but their Souls (which neither dye nor ſleep) having an Immortal Subſiſtence, immediately return to God, who gave them; the Souls of the Righteous being then made perfect in Holineſs, are received into the higheſt Heavens, where they behold the Face of God in Light and Glory, waiting for the full Redemption of their Bodies: And the Souls of the wicked are caſt into Hell, where they remain in Torment and utter Darkneſs, reſerved to the Judgment of the Great Day: Beſides theſe two Places of Souls ſeperated from their Bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none.

II. At the laſt Day, ſuch as are found alive ſhall not dye but be changed; and all the dead ſhall be raiſed up with the ſelf-ſame Bodies, and none other, altho' with different Qualities, which ſhall be united again to their Souls for ever.

III. The Bodies of the unjuſt ſhall by the Power of Chriſt be raiſed to diſhonour; the Bodies of the Juſt by his Spirit unto Honour, and be made conformable unto his own glorious Body.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the Laſt Judgment.

I. GOD hath appointed a Day wherein he will judge the World in Righteouſneſs by Jeſus Chriſt, to whom all Power and Judgment is given of the Father; in which Day, not only the Apoſtate Angels ſhall be judged, but likewiſe all Perſons that have lived upon Earth, ſhall appear before the Tribunal of Chriſt to give an Account of their Thoughts, Words and Deeds, and to receive according to what they have done in the Body, whether Good or Evil.

II. The end of God's appointing this Day, is for the manifeſtation of the Glory of his Mercy in the Eternal Salvation of the Elect, and of his Juſtice in the Damnation of the Reprobate, who are wicked and diſobedient: For, then ſhall the Righteous go into everlaſting Life, and receive that fulneſs of Joy and Glory, with everlaſting Reward in the Preſence of the Lord; but the wicked, who know not God, and obey not the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall be caſt into eternal Torments, and be puniſhed with everlaſting Deſtruction from the Preſence of the Lord, and from the Glory of his Power.

III. As Chriſt would have us to be certainly perſwaded, that there ſhall be a Judgment, both to deter all Men from Sin, and for the greater Conſolation of the godly in their Adverſity; ſo will he have that Day unknown to Men, that they may ſhake off all carnal Security, and be always watchful, becauſe they know not at what hour the Lord will come, and may be ever prepared to ſay, *Come Lord Jeſus, come quickly.* Amen.

The Second PART.

THE DISCIPLINE

Practiſed in the

Churches of New=England.

Nihil ſine, nihil contra, nihil præter, nihil ultra, divinam Scripturam, Admittendum. P. Martyr.

§ 1. THE Churches of *New-England* enjoying ſo much *Reſt* and *Growth* as they had now ſeen, for ſome *Sevens* of Years, it was, upon many Accounts, neceſſary for them to make ſuch a Declaration of the *Church-Order*, wherein the good hand of *God* had *moulded* 'em, as might convey and ſecure the like Order unto the following Generations. Next unto the *Bible*, which was the profeſſed, perpetual and only *Directory* of theſe Churches, they had no *Platform* of their *Church-Government*, more exact, than their famous *John Cotton*'s well-known Book of, *The Keys*; which Book endeavours to lay out the juſt Lines and Bounds of all *Church-Power*, and *ſo* defines the Matter; That as in the *State* there is a Diſperſion of *Powers* into ſeveral Hands, which are to *concur* in all Acts of Common Concernment; from whence ariſeth the *healthy Conſtitution of a Common-wealth*: In like ſort, he aſſigns the *Powers* in the *Church* unto ſeveral *Subjects*, wherein the united Light of Scripture and of Nature have placed them, with a very Satisfactory Diſtribution. He aſſerts, That a *Presbyterated Society* of the Faithful, hath within its ſelf a compleat Power of *Self-Reformation*, or, if you will, of *Self-Preſervation*, and may within its ſelf manage its own *Choices* of *Officers*, and *Cenſures* of *Delinquents*. Now a ſpecial *Statute*-Law of our Lord, having excepted *Women* and *Children* from enjoying any Part of this Power, he finds only *Elders* and *Brethren* to be the *Conſtituent Members*, who may act in ſuch a *Sacred Corporation*; the *Elders*, he finds the *firſt Subject* entruſted with *Government*, the *Brethren* endowed with *Priviledge*, inſomuch, that tho' the *Elders* only are to *rule* the Church, and without them, there can be no *Elections*, *Admiſſions*, or *Excommunications*, and they have a *Negative* upon the Acts of the *Fraternity*, as well as 'tis *they* only that have the Power of *Authoritative* Preaching and Adminiſtring the *Sacraments*; yet the *Brethren* have ſuch a *Liberty*, that without their Conſent nothing of *common Concernment* may be impoſed upon them. Neverthelefs becauſe particular Churches of *Elders* and *Brethren* may abuſe their *Power* with manifold Miſcarriages, he Aſſerts the neceſſary *Communion of Churches* in *Synods*, who have Authority to *determine*, *declare* and *injoin*, ſuch Things as may rectifie the *Male-Adminiſtrations*, or any Diſorders, Diſſentions and Confuſions of the Congregations, which fall under their Cognizance: But ſtill ſo, as to leave unto the *Particular Churches* themſelves the *Formal Acts*, which are to be done purſuant unto the Advice of the *Council*; upon the ſcandalous and obſtinate Refuſal whereof, the *Council* may determine, *to withdraw Communion from them*, as from thoſe who will not be

counſelled againſt a *notorious Miſmanagement* of the Juriſdiction which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has given them. This was the *Deſign* of that judicious Treatiſe, wherein was contained the ſubſtance of our *Church-Diſcipline*; and whereof I have one remarkable thing to relate, as I go along. That great Perſon, who afterwards proved one of the greateſt Scholars, Divines and Writers in this Age, then under the *prejudices of Converſation*, ſet himſelf to write a Confutation of this very Treatiſe, *Of the Keys*; but having made a conſiderable Progreſs in his Undertaking, ſuch was the Strength of this *unanſwerable Book*, that inſtead of his *confuting* it, *it* conquered him; and the Book of, *The Keys* was happily ſo bleſſed of God for the conveyance of *Congregational Principles* into the now *opened Mind* of this learned Man, that he not only wrote in Defence of Mr. *Cotton* againſt Mr. *Cawdry*, but alſo expos'd himſelf to more than a little Sorrow and Labour, all his Days, for the maintaining of thoſe Principles. Upon which occaſion, the words of the Doctor [*Owen* in his *Review* of the true Nature of *Schiſm*] are; *this way of impartial examining all Things by the* Word, *and laying aſide all prejudicate Reſpects unto Perſons or preſent Traditions, is a Courſe that I would admoniſh all to beware of, who would avoid the Danger of being made* (what they call) **Independents**. Having ſaid thus much of that Book, all that I ſhall add concerning it is, That the famous Mr. *Rutherford* himſelf, in his Treatiſe intituled, *A Survey of the Spiritual Antichriſt*, has theſe Words; Mr. *COTTON in his Treatiſe of the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, is well ſound in our way, if he had given ſome more power to Aſſemblies and in ſome leſſer points.* But it was convenient, the Churches of *New-England* ſhould have a *Syſtem* of their *Diſcipline*, extracted from the Word of God, and exhibited unto them, with a more effectual, acknowledged and eſtabliſhed Recommendation: And nothing but a *Council* was proper to compoſe the *Syſtem*, The Reader is now to expect, a *Council* at *Cambridge*: And in truth, another ſort of *Council*, than that ſham *Council of Trent*, whereof one that was preſent, wrote this Account unto the Emperor *Maximilian* II. *We daily ſaw hungry and needy Biſhops come to* Trent. *Youths, for the moſt part, given to* Luxury and Riot, *hired only to give their Voice, as the People pleaſed. They were both unlearn'd and ſimple, yet fit for the purpoſe, in regard of their impudent Boldneſs. When theſe were added unto the Pope's old Flatterers, Iniquity triumph'd; it was impoſſible to determine any thing, but as they pleaſed. The Council ſeemed not to conſiſt of Biſhops, but of diſguiſed Maſquers; not of Men, but of Images, ſuch as* Dædalus *made, moved by Nerves none of their own. They were hireling Biſhops which as Country Bag-pipes, could not ſpeak, but as Breath was put into them.* The Difference between the *Biſhops* now to aſſemble at *Cambridge*, and the *Biſhops* which then made ſuch a noiſe by their Conventicle at *Trent*, was in truth not much leſs than that between *Angels* and *Devils*.

§ 2. Wherefore, a Bill was preferred unto the general Court in the Year 1646. for the calling of a *Synod*, whereby, *a Platform of Church Diſcipline*, according to the Direction of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his bleſſed Word, might moſt advantagiouſly be compoſed and publiſhed. The *Magiſtrates* in the general Court, paſſed the Bill, but the *Deputies* had their little Scruples, how far the *Civil Authority* might interpoſe in matters of ſuch Religious and Eccleſiaſtical Cognizance; and whether Scaffolds might not now be raiſed, by the means whereof the *Civil Authority* ſhould pretend hereafter to impoſe an *Uniformity*, in ſuch Inſtances which had better be left at *Liberty* and *Variety*. It was reply'd, that it belonged unto *Magiſtrates*, by all rational ways to encourage *Truth* and *Peace* among their People; and that the *Council* now called by the *Magiſtrates* was to proceed but by way of *Council*, with the beſt Light which could be fetched from the *Word of God*; but the *Court* would be after all free, as they ſaw cauſe to approve or to reject what ſhould be offered.

After all, tho' the Objections of the *Deputies* were thus anſwered, yet in Compliance with ſuch as were not yet ſatisfied, the *Order* for the calling of the intended *Aſſembly* was directed only in the form of a *Motion*, and not of a *Command*, unto the Churches. But certain Perſons come lately from *England*, ſo inflamed the Zeal for *Liberty of Conſcience* among the People, that all this Compliance of the Authority could not remove the Fear of ſome Churches, leſt ſome Invaſion of that *Liberty* were threatned, by a Clauſe in the order of the Court which intimated; *That what ſhould be preſented by the Synod, the Court would give ſuch allowance, as would be meet, unto it.* The famous and leading Church of *Boſton* particularly, was *enſnared* ſo much by this Fear, that upon the *Lord's Day*, when the *Order of the Court* was firſt communicated unto them, they could not come unto an immediate Reſolution of ſending any Delegates unto the *Synod*; but Mr. *Norton*, then of *Ipſwich*, at *Boſton* Lecture the *Thurſday* following, preached an elaborate Sermon unto a vaſt Auditory, on *Moſes* and *Aaron* kiſſing each other in the *Mount of God*: And in that Sermon, he ſo repreſented the Nature and Power of *Synods*, and the Reſpect owing from Churches to Rulers calling for *Synods*, that on the next *Lord's Day*, the *Church* voted the ſending of *three Meſſengers*, with their *Elders* unto this Aſſembly. Indeed the happy Experience of *New-England* has taken away from its Churches, all occaſion for any Complaint, like that of *Luther's*; *Mihi conciliorum nomen, penè tam ſuſpectum & inviſum, quàm nomen Liberi Arbitrii.*

§ 3. It being ſo near Winter before the *Synod* could convene, that few of the Miniſters invited

invited from the other Colonies could be preſent at it, they now ſat but fourteen Days; and then adjourned unto the eighth of *June*, in the Year enſuing. Nevertheleſs at their firſt Seſſion, there was an occaſion which they took to conſider and examine an *important Caſe*; and it came to this Reſult.

A PROPOSITION *about the Magiſtrate's Power in Matters of Religon.*

‘THE *Civil Magiſtrate* in matters of *Religion*; or of the *firſt Table*, hath *Power*, civilly to command or forbid things reſpecting the *outward Man* which are *clearly* commanded or forbidden in the Word, and to inflict ſuitable *Puniſhments*, according to the Nature of the Tranſgreſſions againſt the ſame.

Several Arguments with *Teſtimonies* for the Confirmation of this Poſition, annexed thereunto were, afterwards printed at *London* in the Year 1654. accompanied with a Diſcourſe of Mr. *Tho. Allen*, wherein this Doctrine was further explained, and I would hope *ſo* explained, that if ſo renowned a *Saint*, as the famous *Martin*, who, to the Death renounced Communion with the *Synods*, which had perſwaded the Emperor to employ the *Civil Sword* againſt the *Gnoſtick Priſcillianiſts*, had been alive, even *he* would not have altogether diſallowed the Deſires of theſe good Men, to ſee the *Civil Magiſtrate* employing his *Power* to diſcountenance Profane and Wicked *Hereſies*.

But the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline* to be commended unto the Churches, was the *main Chance* which the *Aſſembly* was to mind; in order whereunto they directed *three* eminent Perſons, namely, Mr. *John Cotton*, Mr. *Richard Mather* and Mr. *Ralph Partridge*, each of them to draw up a Scriptural *Model of Church-Government*; unto the end, that out of *thoſe*, there might be *one* educed, which the *Synod* might after the moſt *filing thoughts* upon it, ſend abroad. When the *Synod* met, at the time to which they had adjourned, the Summer proved ſo ſickly that a delay of one Year more was given to their Undertaking; but at laſt the deſired *Platform of Church-Diſcipline* was agreed upon, and the *Synod* broke up, with ſinging the *Song of Moſes and the Lamb*, in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Revelation*. Adding another ſacred *Song* from the nineteenth Chapter of that Book; which is to be found metrically paraphraſed in the *New-England* Pſalm-Book: So it was preſented unto the *General Court*, in the Month of *October* 1648.

And the Court moſt thankfully Accepted and Approved of it. It now follows.

A

A PLATFORM OF Church-Diſcipline:

Gather'd out of the Word of GOD, and agreed upon by the ELDERS and MESSENGERS of the Churches aſſembled in the SYNOD, at *Cambridge*, in *New-England*. To be preſented to the Churches and General Court for their Conſideration and Acceptance in the LORD, the Eighth Month, *Anno* 1649.

CHAP. I.

Of the Form of Church-Government; and that it is One, Immutable and Preſcribed in the Word.

Eccleſiaſtical Polity, or Church-Government or Diſcipline, is nothing elſe but that Form and Order that is to be obſerved in the Church of Chriſt upon Earth, both for the Conſtitution of it, and all the Adminiſtrations, that therein are to be performed.

2. Church-Government is conſidered in a double reſpect, either in regard of the Parts of Government themſelves, or neceſſary Circumſtances thereof.
Heb.3.5,6. The Parts of Government are preſcrib-
Exo.25.40. ed in the Word, becauſe the Lord Je-
2 Tim 3.16 ſus Chriſt, the King and Law-giver in
his Church, is no leſs faithful in the Houſe of God, than was *Moſes*, who from the Lord delivered a Form and Pattern of Government to the Children of *Iſrael* in the *Old Teſtament*; and the Holy Scriptures are now alſo ſo perfect, as they are able to make the Man of God Perfect, and throughly furniſhed unto every good Work; and therefore doubtleſs to the well-ordering of the Houſe of God.

3. The Parts of Church-Govern- 1Tim.3.15
ment, are all of them exactly deſ- 1Chr.15.13
cribed in the Word of God, being Exod.2.04.
parts or means of inſtituted Worſhip 1 Tim. 6.
according to the ſecond Command- 13, 16.
ment, and therefore to continue one Heb. 12.
and the ſame unto the Appearing of 27, 28.
our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as a Kingdom 1 Cor. 15.
that cannot be ſhaken, until he ſhall 24.
deliver it up unto God, even to the Deu. 12.32
Father. So that it is not left in the Ezek.43.8.
Power of Men, Officers, Churches, or 1 Kin. 12.
any State in the World to add, or di- 31, 32, 33.
miniſh or alter any thing in the leaſt meaſure therein.

4. The neceſſary Circumſtances, as Time and Place, *&c.* belonging unto
Order and Decency, are not ſo left un- 2 Kin. 12.
to Men, as that under pretence of them, Exo.20.19.
they may thruſt their own Inventions Iſa. 28.13.
upon the Churches, being circumſcrib- Col. 1. 22,
ed in the Word with many general Li- 23.
mitations, where they are determined Acts 15.28.
with reſpect of the Matter to be nei- Mat. 15. 9.
ther worſhip it ſelf, nor Circumſtan- 1 Cor. 11.
ces ſeperable from worſhip. In reſ- 23. & 8.34.

ſpect

pect of their End, they muſt be done unto Edification; in reſpect of the Manner, decently and in order, according to the Nature of the Things themſelves, and Civil and Church Cuſtom. Doth not even Nature its ſelf teach you? Yea, they are in ſome ſort determined particularly, namely, that they be done in ſuch a manner as, all circumſtances conſidered, is moſt expedient for Edification: So, as if there be no Error of Man concerning their Determination, the determining of them is to be accounted, as if it were Divine.

1 Cor. 14. 26. & 14. 40 & 11. 14, 16 & 14. 12, 19 Acts 15. 28.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nature of the Catholick Church in general, and in ſpecial of a particular viſible Church.

1. THE Catholick Church is the whole Company of thoſe, that are elected, redeemed, and in time effectually called from the State of Sin and Death, unto a State of Grace and Salvation in Jeſus Chriſt.

2. This Church is either Triumphant or Militant. Triumphant, the number of them, who are glorified in Heaven: Militant, the number of them, who are conflicting with their Enemies upon Earth.

2 Tim. 2. 19. Rev. 2. 17. 1 Cor. 6. 17. Eph. 3. 17. Rom. 1. 8. 1 Theſ. 1. 8. Iſa. 2. 2. 1 Tim. 6. 12.

3. This Militant Church is to be conſider'd as inviſible and viſible. Inviſible in reſpect of their Relation, wherein they ſtand to Chriſt, as a Body unto the Head, being united unto him by the Spirit of God, and Faith in their Hearts. Viſible, in reſpect of the Profeſſion of their Faith, in their Perſons, and in particular Churches. And ſo, there may be acknowledged an univerſal viſible Church.

Acts 19. 1. Col. 2. 5. Mat. 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5. 12.

4. The Members of the Militant viſible Church, conſidered either, as not yet in Church-Order, or walking according to the Church Order of the Goſpel. In order, and ſo beſides the Spiritual Union and Communion common to all Believers, they enjoy moreover an Union and Communion Eccleſiaſtical Political.

So we deny an Univerſal viſible Church.

5. The State of the Members of the Militant viſible Church, walking in order, was either before the Law, Oeconomial, that is, in Families; or under the Law, National; or ſince the coming of Chriſt, only Congregational. (The Term *Independent*, we approve not) therefore neither National, Provincial, nor Claſſical.

Gen. 18. 19. Exod. 19. 6.

6. A Congregational-Church is by the Inſtitution of Chriſt a part of the Militant viſible Church, conſiſting of a company of Saints by calling, united into one Body by an Holy Covenant, for the Publique Worſhip of God, and the mutual Edification of one another in the Fellowſhip of the Lord Jeſus.

1 Cor. 14. 23, 36. & 1. 2. & 12. 27. Ex. 19. 5, 6. Deut. 29. 1. & 9 to 15. Acts 2. 42. 1 Cor. 14. 26.

CHAP. III.

Of the Matter of the viſible Church, both in reſpect of Quality and Quantity.

1 Cor. 1. 2. Eph. 1. 1. Heb. 6. 1. 1 Cor. 1. 5. Ro. 15. 14. Pſalm 50. 16, 17. Acts 8. 37. Mat. 3. 6. Ro. 6. 17. 1 Cor. 1. 2. Phil. 1. 2. Col. 1. 2. Eph. 1. 1. 1 Cor. 5. 2, 13. Rev. 2. 14, 15, 20. Ezek. 44. 7, 9. & 23. 38, 39. Numb. 19. 20.

1. THE Matter of the viſible Church are Saints by calling.

2. By Saints, we underſtand, 1. Such as have not only attained the Knowledge of the Principles of Religion, and are free from groſs and open Scandals, but alſo do, together with the Profeſſion of their Faith and Repentance walk in blameleſs Obedience to the Word, ſo as that in charitable Diſcretion they may be accounted Saints by calling, (tho', perhaps, ſome or more of them be unſound and Hypocrites inwardly) becauſe the Members of ſuch particular Churches, are commonly by the Holy Ghoſt called *Saints and faithful Brethren in Chriſt*, and ſundry Churches have been reproved for receiving and ſuffering ſuch Perſons to continue in Fellowſhip among them, as have been offenſive and ſcandalous; the name of God alſo, by this means, is blaſphemed, and the Holy Things of God defiled and profaned, the Hearts of the Godly grieved, and the Wicked themſelves hardened, & holpen forward to Damnation. The Example of ſuch doth endanger the Sanctity of others, a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump. 2. The Children of ſuch who are alſo Holy.

Hag. 2. 13, 14. 1 Cor. 11. 27, 29. Pſa. 37. 21. 1 Cor. 5. 6. 2 Cor. 7. 14.

3. The Members of Churches, tho' orderly conſtituted may in time degenerate and grow corrupt, and ſcandalous, which tho' they ought not to be tollerated in the Church, yet their con-

Jer. 2. 21. 1 Cor. 5. 12. Jer. 2. 4. Gal. 5. 4. 2 Cor. 12. 21.

continuance therein, thro' the defect of the Execution of Diſcipline and juſt Cenſures, doth not immediately diſſolve the Being of a Church, as appears Rev. 2. 14, 15. & 21. 21 in the Church of *Iſrael*, and the Churches of *Galatia* and *Corinth*, *Pergamus* and *Thyatira*.

4. The Matter of the Church, in 1 Cor. 14. 21. reſpect of its *Quantity*, ought not to Mat. 18. 17. be of greater Number, than may ordinarily meet together conveniently in one place; nor ordinarily fewer than may conveniently carry on Church-work. Hence when the Holy Scripture makes mention of the Saints combined into a Church Eſtate in a Town or City, where was but one Congregation, it uſually calleth thoſe Saints Rom. 16. 1. [*the Church*] in the ſingular Number, 1 Theſ. 1. 1. as *the Church of the* Theſſalonians, Rev. 2. 28. & 3. 7. *the Church of* Smyrna, Philadelphia, *&c.* but when it ſpeaketh of the Saints in a Nation or Province, wherein there were ſundry Congregations, it frequently and uſually calleth them by 1 Cor. 16. 1, 19. the name of [*Churches*] in the plural Gal. 1. 2. Number, as the *Churches* of *Aſia*, *Ga-* 2 Cor. 8. 1. *latia*, *Macedonia*, and the like: Which Theſ. 2. 14. is further confirmed by what is written of ſundry of thoſe Churches in particular, how they were aſſembled and met together the whole Church in one place, as the Church at *Jeruſalem*, the Church at *Antioch*, the Church Acts 2. 46. at *Corinth* and *Cenchrea*, tho' it were & 5. 12. more near to *Corinth*, it being the Port & 6. 2. & 14. 27. thereof, and anſwerable to a Village, & 15. 38. yet being a diſtinct Congregation from 1 Cor. 5. 4. *Corinth*, it had a Church of its own as & 14. 23. well as *Corinth* had. Rom. 16. 1.

5. Nor can it with Reaſon be thought but that every Church appointed and ordained by Chriſt, had a Miniſtry appointed and ordained for the ſame, and yet plain it is that there were no ordinary Officers appointed by Acts 20. 28. Chriſt for any other than Congregational Churches; Elders being appointed to feed not all Flocks, but the particular Flock of God, over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them Overſeers, and that Flock they muſt attend even the whole Flock: And one Congregation being as much as any ordinary Elders can attend, therefore there is no greater Church than a Congregation, which may ordinarily meet in one place.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Form of the viſible Church, and of Church Covenant.

1 Cor. 12. 27. 1. SAints by calling muſt have a viſible Political Union among them- 1 Tim. 3. 15 ſelves, or elſe they are not yet a par- Eph. 2. 22. ticular Church, as thoſe Similitudes 1 Cor. 12. 15, 16, 17. hold forth, which the Scripture makes uſe of to ſhew the Nature of particular Churches; as a *Body*, a *Building*, *Houſe*, *Hands*, *Eyes*, *Feet* and other Members, muſt be united, or elſe (remaining ſeperate) are not a Body. Stones, Timber, tho' ſquared, hewen and poliſhed, are not an Houſe, until they are com- Rev. 2. pacted, and united: So Saints or Believers in Judgment of Charity, are not a Church, unleſs orderly knit together.

2. Particular Churches cannot be diſtinguiſhed one from another, but by their Forms. *Epheſus* is not *Smyrna*, nor *Pergamus Thyatira*, but each one a diſtinct Society of it ſelf, having Officers of their own, which had not the Charge of others: Virtues of their own, for which others are not praiſed: Corruptions of their own, for which others are not blamed.

3. This Form is the *viſible Covenant*, Ex. 19. 5, 8. Agreement or Conſent, whereby they Deut. 29. 12, 13. give up themſelves unto the Lord, to the obſerving of the Ordinances of Zec. 11. 14 & 9. 11. Chriſt together in the ſame Society, which is uſually call'd the *Church-Covenant*: For we ſee not otherwiſe how Members can have Church-Power over one another mutually. The comparing of each particular Church Eph. 2. 19. to a *City*, and unto a *Spouſe*, ſeemeth 2 Cor. 11. 2. to conclude not only a Form, but that that Form, is by way of Covenant. The Covenant, as it was that which made the Family of *Abraham* and Gen. 17. 7. Children of *Iſrael* to be a Church and Eph. 2. 12, 18. People unto God, ſo is it that which now makes the ſeveral Societies of Gentile Believers to be Churches in theſe Days.

4. This voluntary Agreement, Conſent or Covenant (for all theſe are here taken for the ſame) altho' the more expreſs and plain it is, the more fully it puts us in mind of our mutual Duty; and ſtirreth us up to it, and leaveth leſs room for the queſtioning of the Truth of the Church-Eſtate of a Company of Profeſſors, and the Truth of Memberſhip of particular Perſons; yet we conceive the Subſtance of it is kept, where there is a real Agreement and Conſent of a Company of Faithful Perſons to meet conſtantly together in one Congregation, for the Publick Worſhip of God, and their mutual Edifica-

Edification: Which real Agreement and Conſent they do expreſs by their conſtant Practice in coming together for the publick Worſhip of God, and by their religious ſubjection unto the Ordinances of God there: The rather, if we do conſider how Scripture Covenants have been entred into, not only expreſly by word of Mouth, but by Sacrifice, by Hand-writing and Seal; and alſo ſometimes by ſilent Conſent, without any Writing or Expreſſion of Words at all.

Exod. 19. 5. & 20. 8. & 24. 3, 17. Joſh. 24. 18, to 24. Pſa. 50. 5. Neh. 9. 38. & 10. 1. Gen. 17. Deut. 29.

5. This Form being by mutual Covenant, it followeth, it is not Faith in the Heart, nor the Profeſſion of that Faith, nor Cohabitation, nor Baptiſm. 1. Not *Faith in the Heart*, becauſe that is inviſible. 2. Not *a bare Profeſſion*, becauſe that declareth them no more to be Members of one Church than another. 3. Not *Cohabitation*, Atheiſts or Infidels may dwell together with Believers. 4. Not *Baptiſm*, becauſe it preſuppoſeth a Church-Eſtate, as Circumciſion in the *Old Teſtament*, which gave no Being to the Church, the Church being before it, and in the Wilderneſs without it. Seals preſuppoſe a Covenant already in being. One Perſon is a compleat Subject of Baptiſm, but one Perſon is uncapable of being a Church.

6. All Believers ought, as God giveth them Opportunity thereunto, to endeavour to join themſelves unto a particular Church, and that in reſpect of the Honour of Jeſus Chriſt, in his Example and Inſtitution, by the profeſſed acknowledgment of, and ſubjection unto the Order and Ordinances of the Goſpel: As alſo in reſpect of their good of Communion founded upon their viſible Union, and contained in the Promiſes of Chriſt's ſpecial Preſence in the Church; whence they have Fellowſhip with him, and in him, one with another: Alſo in the keeping of them in the way of God's Commandments, and recovering of them in caſe of wandering, (which all Chriſt's Sheep are ſubject to in this Life) being unable to return of themſelves; together with the Benefit of their mutual Edification, and of their Poſterity, that they may not be cut off from the Privilege of the Covenant. Otherwiſe, if a Believer offends, he remains deſtitute of the Remedy provided in that behalf. And ſhould all Believers neglect this Duty of joining to all particular Congregations, it might follow thereupon, that Chriſt ſhould have no Viſible, Political Churches upon Earth.

Acts 2. 47. & 9. 26. Mat. 3. 13, 14, 15. & 28. 19, 20. Pſa. 133. 2, 3. & 87. 7. Mat. 18. 20. 1 John 1. 3. Pſa. 119. 176. 1 Pet. 2. 25. Eph. 4. 16. Job 22. 24, 25. Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17.

CHAP. V.

Of the firſt Subject of Church-Power; or, to whom Church-Power doth firſt belong.

Matth. 18. 18. Rev. 3. 7. Iſa. 9. 6. Joh. 20. 21, 23. 1 Cor. 14. 32. Tit. 1. 5. 1 Cor. 5. 12.

1. THe firſt Subject of Church-Power is either Supreme, or Subordinate and Miniſterial. The Supreme (by way of gift from the Father) is the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. The Miniſterial is either extraordinary, as the Apoſtles, Prophets and Evangeliſts; or ordinary, as every particular Congregational Church.

2. Ordinary Church Power, is either Power of Office, that is, ſuch as is proper to the Elderſhip; or Power of Privilege, ſuch as belongs to the Brotherhood. The latter is in the Bretheren formally and immediately from Chriſt, that is, ſo as it may be acted or exerciſed immediately by themſelves: The former is not in them formally or immediately, and therefore cannot be acted or exerciſed immediately by them, but is ſaid to be in them, in that they deſign the Perſons unto Office, who only are to act or to exerciſe this Power.

Rom. 12. 4, 8. Acts 1. 23. & 6. 3, 4. & 14. 23. 1 Cor. 10. 29, 30.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Officers of the Church, and eſpecially of Paſtors and Teachers.

1. A Church being a Company of People combined together by Covenant for the Worſhip of God, it appeareth thereby, that there may be the Eſſence and Being of a Church without any Officers, ſeeing there is both the Form and Matter of a Church; which is implied when it is ſaid, *The Apoſtles Ordained Elders in every Church.*

Act. 14. 23.

2. Neverthleſs, tho' Officers be not abſolutely neceſſary to the ſimple Being of Churches, when they be called; yet ordinarily to their Calling they are, and to their well-being: And therefore the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, out of his

Rom. 10. 17. Jer. 3. 15. 1 Cor. 12. 28.

[Eph. 4. 11. Pſa. 68. 18. Eph. 4. 8, 11.] his tender Compaſſion, hath appointed and ordained Officers, which he would not have done, if they had not been uſeful and needful for the Church; yea, being aſcended up to Heaven, he received Gifts for Men, and gave Gifts to Men; whereof Officers for the Church are juſtly accounted no ſmall [Eph. 4. 12, 13.] Parts, they being to continue to the end of the World, and for the perfecting of all the Saints.

3. Theſe Officers were either Extraordinary or Ordinary: Extraordinary, [1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 11. Acts 8. 6, 16, 19. & 11. 28. Rom. 11. 13. 1 Cor. 4. 9.] as Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts; Ordinary, as Elders and Deacons. The Apoſtles, Prophets, and Evangeliſts, as they were called extraordinarily by Chriſt, ſo their Office ended with themſelves: Whence it is that *Paul* directing *Timothy*, how to carry along Church-Adminiſtration, giveth no Direction about the Choice or Courſe of Apoſtles, Prophets or Evangeliſts, but only of Elders and Deacons; and [1 Tim. 3. 1, 2, 8, to 13. Tit. 1. 5. Acts 20. 17, 28. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.] when *Paul* was to take his laſt leave of the Church of *Epheſus*, he committed the Care of feeding the Church to no other, but unto the Elders of that Church. The like Charge does *Peter* commit to the Elders.

4. Of Elders (who are alſo in Scripture called *Biſhops*) [1 Tim. 2. 3. Phil. 1. 1. Acts 20. 17, 28.] ſome attend chiefly to the Miniſtry of the Word, as the Paſtors and Teachers; others attend eſpecially unto Rule, who are, therefore, called *Ruling-Elders*. [1 Tim. 5. 17.]

5. The Office of Paſtor and Teacher, appears to be diſtinct. The Paſtor's [Eph. 4. 11. Rom. 12. 7, 8. 1 Cor. 12. 8.] ſpecial Work is, to attend to *Exhortation*, and therein to Adminiſter a Word of *Wiſdom*: The Teacher is to attend to *Doctrine*, and therein to Adminiſter a Word of *Knowledge*: [1 Tim. 4. 1, 2. Tit. 1. 9.] And either of them to Adminiſter, the Seals of that Covenant, unto the Diſpenſation whereof they are alike called; as alſo to execute the Cenſures, being but a kind of Application of the Word: The preaching of which, together with the Application thereof, they are alike charged withall.

6. Foraſmuch as both Paſtors and Teachers are given by Chriſt, for the [Eph. 4. 11, 12. & 1. 22, 23.] perfecting of the Saints, and edifying of his Body; which Saints and Body of Chriſt is his Church: And therefore we account Paſtors and Teachers to be both of them Church-Officers, and not the Paſtor for the Church, and the [1 Sam. 10. 12, 19, 20.] Teacher only for the Schools: Tho' this we gladly acknowledge, that Schools are both lawful, profitable, and neceſſary, for the training up of [2 Kings 2. 3, 15.] ſuch in good Literature or Learning, as may afterwards be called forth unto Office of Paſtor or Teacher in the Church.

CHAP. VII.

Of Ruling Elders and Deacons.

THE Ruling Elders Office is diſtinct [Rom. 12. 7, 8, 9. 1 Tim. 5. 17. 1 Cor. 12. 28. Heb. 13. 17. 1 Tim. 5. 17.] from the Office of Paſtor and Teacher; the Ruling Elders are not ſo called to exclude the Paſtors and Teachers from Ruling, becauſe Ruling and Governing is common to theſe with the other, whereas attending to teach and preach the Word is peculiar unto the former.

2. The Ruling Elder's Work is to [1 Tim. 5. 17. 2 Chron. 23. 19. Rev. 21. 12. 1 Tim. 4. 14. Matth. 18. 17. 2 Cor. 2. 7, 8. Acts 2. 6. Acts 21. 18, 22, 23.] join with the Paſtor and Teacher in thoſe Acts of Spiritual Rule, which are diſtinct from the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments committed to them: Of which ſort theſe be as followeth. 1. To open and ſhut the Doors of God's Houſe, by the admiſſion of Members approved by the Church; by Ordination of Officers choſen by the Church, and by Excommunication of notorious and obſtinate Offenders renounced by the Church, and by reſtoring, or Penitents forgiven by the Church. 2. To call [Acts 6. 2, 3. & 13. 15.] the Church together when there is occaſion, and ſeaſonably to diſmiſs them again. 3. To prepare Matters in private, that in publick they may be carried an end with leſs trouble, and more [2 Cor. 8. 19. Heb. 13. 7, 17. 2 Theſſ. 2. 10, 11, 12.] ſpeedy diſpatch. 4. To moderate the carriage of all Matters in the Church aſſembled, as to propound Matters to the Church. To order the ſeaſon of Speech and Silence, and to pronounce Sentence according to the Mind of Chriſt, with the Conſent of the Church. 5. To be Guides and Leaders to the Church in all Matters whatſoever partaining to Church-Adminiſtrations and Actions. 6. To ſee that none in [Acts 20. 28, 32. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12. Jam. 5. 14. Act. 20. 20.] the Church live inordinately, out of Rank and Place without a *Calling*, or idlely in their *Calling*. 7. To prevent and heal ſuch Offences in Life or in Doctrine, as might corrupt the Church. 8. To feed the Flock of God with a Word of Admonition. 9. And as they ſhall be ſent for, to viſit and pray over their ſick Bretheren. 10. And at other times, as opportunity ſhall ſerve thereunto.

Act. 6. 3, 6. Phil. 1. 1. 1 Tim. 3. 8. 1 Cor. 12. 28. 1 Tim. 3. 8, 9. Acts 4. 35. & 6. 2, 3. Rom. 12. 8.

3. The Office of a Deacon is inſtituted in the Church by the Lord Jeſus: Sometimes they are called *Helps.* The Scripture telleth us how they ſhould be qualified. *Grave, not double-tongued, not given to much Wine. not given to filthy Lucre.* They muſt firſt be proved, and then uſe the Office of a Deacon, being found blameleſs. The Office and Work of a Deacon is to receive the Offerings of the Church, Gifts given to the Church, and to keep the Treaſury of the Church, and therewith to ſerve the Tables, which the Church is to provide for; as the Lord's-Table, the Table of the Miniſters, and of ſuch as are in Neceſſity, to whom they are to diſtribute in ſimplicity.

1 Cor. 7. 17.

4. The Office, therefore, being limited unto the care of the temporal good things of the Church, it extends not to the Attendance upon, and Adminiſtration of the ſpiritual things thereof, as the Word, and Sacraments, and the like.

1 Cor. 16. 1, 2, 3.

5. The Ordinance of the Apoſtle, and Practice of the Church, commends the Lord's-Day as a fit time for the Contributions of the Saints.

1 Cor. 12. 28. Eph. 4. 8, 11. Act. 20. 28.

6. The inſtituting of all theſe Officers in the Church, is the Work of God himſelf, of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of the Holy Ghoſt: And therefore ſuch Officers, as he hath not appointed, are altogether unlawful either to be placed in the Church, or to be retained therein, and are to be looked at as humane Creatures, meer Inventions and Appointments of Man, to the great diſhonour of Chriſt Jeſus, the Lord of his, the King of his Church, whether Popes, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Arch-Biſhops, Lord-Biſhops, Arch-Deacons, Officials, Commiſſaries, and the like. Theſe and the reſt of that Hierarchy and Retinue, not being Plants of the Lord's planting, ſhall all be certainly rooted out and caſt forth. (Matth. 15. 13.)

1. Tim. 5. 9, 10.

7. The Lord hath appointed ancient Widows (where they may be had) to miniſter in the Church, in giving Attendance to the Sick, and to give Succour unto them, and others in the like Neceſſities.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Election of Church-Officers.

NO Man may take the Honour of a Church-Officer unto himſelf, but he that was *called* of God, as was *Aaron.* (Heb. 5. 4.)

Gal. 1. 1. Act. 14. 23. & 6. 3.

2. *Calling* unto Office is either *immediate*, by Chriſt himſelf, ſuch was the *Call* of the Apoſtles and Prophets; this manner of *Calling* ended with them, as hath been ſaid, or *mediate*, by the Church.

1 Tim. 5. 22. & 7. 10. Acts. 16. 2. & 6. 3.

3. It is meet, that before any be ordained, or choſen Officers, they ſhould firſt be tried and proved, becauſe Hands are not ſuddenly to be laid upon any, and both Elders and Deacons muſt be of both honeſt and good Report.

4. The things in reſpect of which they are to be tried, are thoſe Gifts and Vertues, which the Scripture requireth, in Men that are to be elected unto ſuch Places, *viz.* That Elders muſt be *blameleſs, ſober, apt to teach,* and endued with ſuch other Qualifications as are laid down, 1 *Tim.* 3. 2. *Tit.* 1. 6 to 9. Deacons to be fitted, as is directed, *Acts* 6. 3. 1 *Tim.* 3. 8, to 11.

Act. 14. 23. & 1. 23. & 6. 3, 4, 5.

5. Officers are to be called by ſuch Churches, whereunto they are to miniſter. Of ſuch moment is the preſervation of this Power, that the Churches exerciſed it in the Preſence of the Apoſtles.

Gal. 5. 13. Heb. 13. 17.

6. A Church being free, cannot become ſubject to any, but by a free Election; yet when ſuch a People do chuſe any to be over them in the Lord, then do they become ſubject, and moſt willingly ſubmit to their Miniſtry in the Lord, whom they have ſo choſen.

Rom. 16. 17.

7. And if the Church have Power to chuſe their Officers and Miniſters, then in caſe of manifeſt Unworthineſs and Delinquency they have Power alſo to depoſe them: For to open and ſhut, to chuſe and refuſe, to conſtitute in Office, and to remove from Office, are Acts belonging to the ſame Power.

Cant. 8. 8, 9.

8. We judge it much conducing to the well-being, and Communion of the Churches, that where it may conveniently be done, neighbour Churches be adviſed withal, and their Help be made uſe of in trial of Church-Officers, in order to their choice.

9. The choice of ſuch Church-Officers belongeth not to the civil Magiſtrate as ſuch, or Dioceſan Biſhops, or Patrons: For of theſe, or any ſuch like, the Scripture is wholly ſilent, as having any Power therein.

CHAP. IX.

Of Ordination and Impoſition of Hands.

1. CHurch-Officers are not only to be choſen by the Church, but alſo to be ordained by impoſition of Hands and Prayer, with which at the Ordination of Elders, Faſting alſo is to be joined.

Acts 13. 3. & 14. 23.
1 Tim. 5. 22.

2. This *Ordination*, we account nothing elſe, but the ſolemn putting a Man into his Place and Office in the Church, whereunto he had Right before by Election: Being like the Inſtalling of a Magiſtrate in the Common-Wealth. Ordination therefore is not to go before, but to follow Election. The Eſſence and Subſtance of the outward calling of an ordinary Officer in the Church, does not conſiſt in his Ordination, but in his voluntary and free Election by the Church, and his accepting of that Election: Whereupon is founded that Relation, between Paſtor and Flock, between ſuch a Miniſter and ſuch a People. Ordination does not conſtitute an Officer, nor give him the Eſſentials of his Office. The Apoſtles were Elders, without impoſition of Hands by Men: *Paul* and *Barnabas* were Officers before that Impoſition of Hands, *Acts* 13. 3. The Poſterity of *Levi* were Prieſts and Levites, before Hands were laid on them by the Children of *Iſrael.*

Numb. 8. 10.
Acts 6. 5, 6. & 13. 2, 3.
Acts 6. 5, 6. & 14. 23.

3. In ſuch Churches where there are Elders, Impoſition of Hands in Ordination, is to be performed by thoſe Elders.

1 Tim. 4. 10.
Acts 13. 3.
1 Tim. 5. 22.

4. In ſuch Churches where there are no Elders, Impoſition of Hands may be performed by ſome of the Bretheren orderly choſen by the *Church* thereunto. For, if the People may elect Officers, which is the greater, and wherein the Subſtance of the Office doth conſiſt, they may much more (occaſion and need ſo requiring) impoſe Hands in Ordination; which is leſs, and but the accompliſhment of the other.

Numb. 3. 10.

5. Nevertheleſs, in ſuch *Churches* where there are no Elders, and the Church ſo deſire, we ſee not why Impoſition of Hands may not be performed by the *Elders of other Churches.* Ordinary Officers laid Hands upon the Officers of many *Churches:* The Preſbytery at *Epheſus* laid Hands upon *Timothy* an Evangeliſt; the Presbytery at *Antioch* laid Hands upon *Paul* and *Barnabas.*

1 Tim. 4. 14.
Acts 13. 3.

6. Church-Officers are Officers to one Church, even that Particular over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made them Overſeers. Inſomuch as Elders are commanded to feed not all Flocks, but the Flock, which is committed to their Faith and Truſt, and dependeth upon them. Nor can conſtant reſidence at one Congregation be neceſſary for a Miniſter, no nor yet lawful, if he be not a Miniſter to one Congregation only, but to the Church univerſal; becauſe he may not attend one part only of the *Church*, to which he is a Miniſter, but he is called to attend unto all the Flock.

1 Pet. 5. 2.
Act. 20. 28.

7. He that is clearly releaſed from his Office-relation unto that *Church*, whereof he was a Miniſter, cannot be looked at, as an Officer, nor perform any act of Office in any other *Church*, unleſs he be again orderly called unto Office: Which, when it ſhall be, we know nothing to hinder; but Impoſition of Hands alſo in his Ordination ought to be uſed towards him again: For ſo *Paul* the Apoſtle received Impoſition of Hands twice at leaſt from *Ananias*, *Acts* 9. 17. & 13. 3.

Act. 20. 28.

CHAP. X.

Of the Power of the Church and its Presbytery.

SUpreme and Lordly Power over all the *Churches* upon Earth doth only belong to Jeſus Chriſt, who is King of the *Church*, and the Head thereof. He hath the Government upon his Shoulders, and hath all Power given to him both in Heaven and Earth.

Pſ. 2. 6.
Eph. 1. 21, 22.
Iſa. 9. 6.
Mat. 28. 18.

2. A Company of profeſſed Believers, Eccleſiaſtically confederate, as they are a *Church* before they have Officers, and without them; ſo even in that Eſtate ſubordinate Church-Power under Chriſt delegated to them by him, doth belong to them in ſuch a manner as is before expreſſed, *Chap.* 5. *Sect.* 2. and as flowing from the very Nature and Eſſence of a *Church*; it being natural unto all Bodies, and ſo unto a Church-Body, to be furniſhed with ſufficient Power for its own Preſervation and Subſiſtence.

Acts 1. 23. & 14. 23. & 6. 3, 4.
Mat. 18. 17.
1 Cor. 5. 4, 5.

3. This

Rev. 3. 7. 1Cor. 5. 12.

3. This Government of the Church is a mixt Government (and ſo has been acknowledged, long before the Term of *Independency* was heard of) in reſpect of *Chriſt* the Head and King of the Church, and the Sovereign Power reſiding in him, and exerciſed by him, it is a *Monarchy*; in reſpect of the Body or *Brotherhood* of the Church, and Power from Chriſt granted unto them (1Tim. 5. 27) it reſembles a *Democracy*; in reſpect of the *Presbytery* and Power committed unto them, it is an *Ariſtocracy*.

Gal. 1. 4. Rev. 5. 8, 9. Mat. 28. 20. Eph. 4. 8, 11. Jam. 4. 12. Iſ. 33. 22. 1Tim. 3. 15 2 Cor. 10. 4, 5. Iſ. 32. 2. Luk. 1. 71.

4. The Sovereign Power, which is peculiar unto Chriſt is exerciſed, 1. In calling the Church out of the World into an holy Fellowſhip with himſelf. 2. In inſtituting the Ordinances of his Worſhip, and appointing his Miniſters and Officers for the diſpenſing of them. 3. In giving Laws for the ordering of all our ways, and the ways of his Houſe. 4. In giving Power and Life to all his Inſtitutions, and to his People by them. 5. In protecting and delivering his Church againſt and from all the Enemies of their Peace.

Acts 6. 3, 5. & 14. 23. & 9. 26. Mat. 18. 15, 16, 17.

5. The Power granted by Chriſt unto the Body of the Church and *Brotherhood*, is a *Prerogative* or *Priviledge* which the Church doth exerciſe. 1. In *chooſing* their own Officers, whether Elders or Deacons. 2. In *admiſſion* of theſe Members; and therefore there is great Reaſon they ſhould have power to remove any from their Fellowſhip again. Hence, in caſe of offence, any Brother hath power to convince and admoniſh an offending Brother: And, in caſe of not hearing him, to take one or two more to ſet on the Admonition: And in caſe of not hearing them, to proceed to tell the Church: And as his Offence may require, the whole Church has power to proceed to the cenſure of him, whether by Admonition or Excommunication: And upon his Repentance to reſtore him again unto his former Communion.

Tit. 3. 10. Col. 4. 17. Mat. 18. 17 2Cor. 2. 7, 8

6. In caſe an Elder offend incorrigibly, the Matter ſo requiring, as the Church had Power to call him to Office, ſo they have Power according to order (the Counſel of other Churches, where it may be had, directing thereto) to remove him from his Office, and being now but a Member, in caſe he add Contumacy to his Sin, the Church, that had Power to receive him into their Fellowſhip, hath alſo the ſame Power to caſt him out, that they have concerning any other Member.

Col. 4. 17. Ro. 16. 17. Mat. 18. 17.

7. Church-Governmenr or Rule is placed by Chriſt in the Officers of the Church, who are therefore, call'd *Rulers*, while they rule with God: yet in caſe of Male-Adminiſtration, they are ſubject to the Power of the Church, as hath been ſaid before. The Holy Ghoſt frequently, yea, always, where it mentioneth Church-Rule, and Church Government, aſcribeth it to Elders: whereas the work and duty of the People is expreſſed in the Phraſe of *obeying their Elders*, and *ſubmitting themſelves unto them in the Lord.* So as it is manifeſt that an Organick or compleat Church, is a Body Politick, conſiſting of ſome that are Governours, and ſome that are govern'd in the Lord.

1Tim. 5. 17 Heb. 13. 17 1 Theſ. 5. 12. Rom. 12. 8. 1Tim. 5. 17 1 Cor. 12. 28, 29. Heb. 13. 7. 17.

8. The Power which Chriſt hah committed to the Elders, is to feed and rule the Church of God, and accordingly to call the Church together upon any weighty occaſion; when the Members ſo call'd without juſt cauſe, may not refuſe to come, nor when they are come, depart before they are diſmiſſed, nor ſpeak in the Church, before they have leave from the Elders, nor continue ſo doing when they require ſilence; nor may they oppoſe or contradict the Judgment or Sentence of the Elders, without ſufficient and weighty Cauſe, becauſe ſuch Practices are manifeſtly contrary unto Order and Government, and Inlets of Diſturbance and tend to Confuſion.

Acts 20. 28. & 6. 2. Numb. 16. 12. Ezek. 46. 10. Acts 13. 15. Hoſ. 4. 4.

9. It belongs alſo unto the Elders before to examine any Officers or Members, before they be received of the Church, to receive the Accuſations brought to the Church, and to prepare them for the Churches hearing. In handling of Offences and other Matters before the Church, they have Power to declare and publiſh the Will of God touching the ſame, and to pronounce Sentence with the conſent of the *Church.* Laſtly, They have Power, when they diſmiſs the People, to bleſs them in the Name of the Lord.

Rev. 2. 2. 1Tim. 5. 19 Acts 21. 18, 22, 23. 1Cor. 5. 4, 5 Numb. 6. 23 to 26.

10. This Power of Government in the Elders doth not any wiſe prejudice the Power of Priviledge in the *Brotherhood*; as neither the Power of Privilege in the Brethren, doth prejudice the Power of Government in the Elders, but they may ſweetly agree together; as we may ſee in the Example of the Apoſtles, furniſh'd with the greateſt *Church-Power*, who took in the *Concurrence* and *Conſent* of the Brethren in *Church-Adminiſtrations.* Alſo that Scripture, 2 *Cor.* 2. 9. & 10. 6. do declare that what the *Churches* were to *act* and to *do* in theſe Matters, they were to do in a way of Obedience, and that not only to the direction of the Apoſtles, but alſo of their ordinary Elders.

Acts 14. 15, 23. and 6. 2. 1 Cor. 5. 4. 2Cor. 2. 6, 7 Heb. 13. 17

11. From

11. From the Promiſes, namely, that the ordinary Power of Government belonging only to the Elders, Power of Priviledge remaining with the Brotherhood (as the Power of Judgment in Matters of Cenſure, and Power, of Liberty in Matters of Liberty) it followeth, That in an Organick *Church* and Right Adminiſtration, all Church-Acts proceed after the manner of a mixt Adminiſtration, ſo as no Church-Act can be conſummated, or perfected without the conſent of both.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Maintenance of Church-Officers.

1. THE Apoſtle concludes, that neceſſary and ſufficient Maintenance is due unto the Miniſters of the Word from the Law of Nature and Nations, from the Law of *Moſes*, the Equity thereof, as alſo the Rule of common Reaſon. Moreover the Scripture doth not only call Elders *Labourers*
Gal. 6. 6. and *Workmen*, but alſo ſpeaking of them doth ſay that *the Labourer is*
1 Cor. 9. 9, 14. 1 Tim. 5. 18 *worthy of his Hire:* And requires that he which is taught in the Word, ſhould communicate to him in all good Things, and mention it, as an Ordinance of the Lord, that they which preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel, and forbiddeth the muzling of the Mouth of the Ox, that treadeth out the Corn.

2. The Scriptures alledged, requiring this Maintenance as a bounden Duty, and due Debt, and not as a matter of Alms and free Gift, therefore People are not at Liberty, to do or not to do, what and when they pleaſe in this Matter, no more than in any other commanded Duty, and Ordinance of
Rom. 15. 27 1 Cor. 9. 21. the Lord; but ought of Duty to Miniſter of their *Carnal Things*, to them that labour among them in Word and Doctrine, as well as they ought to pay any other Workmen their Wages, and to diſcharge and ſatisfie their Debts, or to ſubmit themſelves to obſerve any other Ordinance of the Lord.

3. The Apoſtle (*Gal.* 6. 6.) enjoyning that he which is taught communicate to him that teacheth *in all good Things*, doth not leave it Arbitrary, 1 Cor. 16. 2.
what or how much a Man ſhall give, or in what proportion, but even the latter, as well as the former is preſcribed and appointed by the Lord.

4. Not only Members of Curches but *all that are taught in the Word*, are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good Things. In caſe that Congregations are defective in their Contributions, the Deacons are to call upon them to do their Duty: If their Call, ſufficeth not, the Church by her Power is to require it of their Members; and where Church Power thro' the Corruption of Men doth not, or cannot attain the End, the Magiſtrate is to ſee that the Miniſtry be duly provided for, as appears from the commended Example of *Nehemiah*. The Magiſtrates are Nurſing-Fathers and Nurſing-Mothers, and ſtand charged with the Cuſtody of both Tables; becauſe it is better to prevent a Scandal, that it may not come, and eaſier alſo, than to remove it, when it is given. It's moſt ſuitable to rule, that by the Churche's Care each Man ſhould know his Proportion according to rule, what he ſhould do before he do it, that ſo his Judgment and Heart may be ſatisfied in what he doth, and juſt Offence prevented in what is done. Acts 6. 3, 4. Neh. 13. 11. Iſ. 44. 23. 2 Cor. 8. 13, 14.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Admiſſion of Members into the Church.

1. THE Doors of the Churches of Chriſt upon Earth, do not by God's Appointment ſtand ſo wide open,
2 Chr. 29. 19. Math. 13. 25. & 22. 12. that all ſorts of People Good and Bad, may freely enter therein at their Pleaſure, but ſuch as are admitted thereto, as Members, ought to be examin'd, and tryed firſt, whether they be fit and meet to be received into Church-Society or not. The Eunuch of *Ethiopia* before
Acts 8. 37. his Admiſſion, was examined by *Philip*, whether he did believe on Jeſus Chriſt with all his Heart. The Angel of the Church at *Epheſus*, is commended for trying ſuch as ſaid they were Apoſtles and were not. There is like reaſon for trying of them that profeſs themſelves to be Believers. The Officers are charged with the keeping of the Doors of the Church, and therefore are in a ſpecial manner to make tryal of the fitneſs of ſuch, who enter. Twelve Angels are ſet at the Gates of the Temple, leſt ſuch as were Rev. 2. 2. Acts 9. 26. Rev. 21. 12. 2 Chr. 23. 19.

were *Ceremonially Unclean* ſhould enter thereinto.

2. The Things which are requiſite to be found in all Church-Members, are *Repentance* from Sin, and *Faith* in Jeſus Chriſt: And therefore theſe are the Things whereof Men are to be examined, at their Admiſſion into the Church, and which then they muſt profeſs and hold forth in ſuch ſort, as may ſatisfie *Rational Charity* that the Things are indeed. *John Baptiſt* admitted Men to Baptiſm confeſſing and bewailing their Sins: And of others it is ſaid, that *they came and confeſſed, and ſhewed their Deeds.*

Acts 2. 38. to 42. & 8. 37.

Mat. 3. 6. Acts 19. 18.

3. The weakeſt meaſure of Faith is to be accepted in thoſe that deſire to be admitted into the Church, if *Sincere*, have the Subſtance of that Faith, Repentance and Holineſs, which is required in Church-Members; and ſuch have moſt need of the Ordinances for their Confirmation and Growth in Grace. The Lord Jeſus would not quench the ſmoaking Flax, nor break the bruiſed Reed, but gather the tender Lambs in his Arms and carry them gently in his Boſom.

Rom. 14. 1.

Mat. 12. 20. Iſa. 40. 11.

Such Charity and Tenderneſs is to be uſed, as the weakeſt Chriſtian, if Sincere, may not be excluded nor diſcouraged. Severity of Examination is to be avoided.

4. In caſe any thro' exceſſive Fear, or other Infirmity, be unable to make their perſonal Relation of their Spiritual Eſtate in Publick, it is ſufficient, that the Elders having received private Satisfaction, make Relation thereof in publick before the Church, they teſtifying their Aſſents thereunto: This being the way that tendeth moſt to Edification. But whereas Perſons are of greater Abilities, there it is moſt expedient, that they make their Relations and Confeſſions perſonally with their own Mouth, as *David* profeſſeth of himſelf.

Pſal. 66. 6.

5. A perſonal and publick Confeſſion and Declaring of God's manner of working upon the Soul, is both Lawful, Expedient and Uſeful, in ſundry Reſpects and upon ſundry Grounds. Thoſe three thouſand, *Acts* 2. 37, 41. before they were admitted by the Apoſtles did manifeſt that they were pricked at the Heart by *Peter*'s Sermon, together with earneſt Deſire to be delivered from their Sins, which now wounded their Conſciences, and their ready receiving of the Word of Promiſe and Exhortation. We are to be ready to *render a Reaſon of the Hope that is in us, to every one that asketh us*; therefore we muſt be able and ready upon any Occaſion to declare and ſhew our *Repentance* for Sin, *Faith* unfeigned, and *effectual Calling*, becauſe theſe are the *Reaſon* of a well grounded *Hope. I have not hidden thy Righteouſneſs from the great Congregation.* Pſalm 40. 10.

1 Pet. 3. 15. Heb. 11. 1. Eph. 1. 18.

6. This Profeſſion of Faith and Repentance, as it muſt be made by ſuch at their Admiſſion, that were never in Church Society before; ſo nothing hindereth but the ſame way alſo be performed by ſuch as have formerly been Members of ſome other Church, and the Church to which they now join themſelves as Members, may lawfully require the ſame. Thoſe three thouſand, *Acts* 2. which made their Confeſſion were Members of the Church of the Jews before; ſo were thoſe that were Baptiſed by *John*. Churches may Err in their Admiſſion; and Perſons regularly admitted, may fall into Offence. Otherwiſe, if Churches might obtrude their Members, or if Church Members might obtrude themſelves upon other Churches without due trial, the matter ſo requiring, both the Liberty of Churches would thereby be infringed in that they might not examine thoſe, concerning whoſe fitneſs for Communion they were unſatisfied: And beſides the infringing of their Liberty the Churches themſelves would unavoidably be corrupted, and the Ordinances defiled, whilſt they might not refuſe, but muſt receive the Unworthy: Which is contrary unto the Scripture, teaching that all Churches are Siſters, and therefore equal.

Mat. 3. 5, 6. Gal. 2. 4. 1 Tim. 5. 24

Cant. 8. 8.

7. The like Trial is to be required from ſuch Members of the Church as were born in the ſame, or received their Memberſhip, or were baptized in their Infancy, or Minority by Virtue of the Covenant of their Parents, when being grown up into Years of Diſcretion, they ſhall deſire to be made Partakers of the Lord's Supper: Unto which becauſe Holy Things muſt not be given unto the Unworthy, therefore it is requiſite, that theſe as well as others, ſhould come to their Trial and Examination, and manifeſt their Faith and Repentance by an open Profeſſion thereof, before they are received to the Lord's Supper, and otherwiſe not to be admitted thereunto. Yet theſe Church Members that were ſo born, or received in their Child-hood, before they are capable of being made Partakers of full Communion, have many Priviledges which others, (not Church-Members) have not; they are in Covenant with God, have the Seal thereof upon them, *viz.* Baptiſm; and

Math. 7. 6. 1 Cor. 11. 27.

and ſo, if not Regenerated, yet are in a more hopeful way of attaining Regenerating Grace, and all the Spiritual Bleſſings both of the Covenant and Seal: They are alſo under Church-Watch, and conſequently ſubject to the Reprehenſions, Admonitions, and Cenſures thereof, for their Healing and Amendment, as need ſhall require.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Church-Members, their removal from one Church to another, and of Recommendation and Diſmiſſion.

1. CHurch-Members may not remove or depart from the Church, and ſo one from another as they pleaſe, nor without juſt and weighty cauſe, but [Heb. 10. 25.] ought to live and dwell together, forasmuch as they are commanded not to forſake the aſſembling of themſelves together. Such Departure tends to the Diſſolution and Ruine of the Body, as the pulling of Stones and pieces of Timber from the Building, and of Members from the Natural Body tend to the Deſtruction of the whole.

2. It is, therefore, the Duty of Church-Members, in ſuch Times and Places, where Counſel may be had to conſult with the Church whereof they [Pro. 11. 16] are Members, about their removal, that, accordingly, they having their Approbation, may be encouraged, or otherwiſe deſiſt. They who are join'd with Conſent, ſhould not depart without conſent, except forced thereunto.

3. If a Member's departure be manifeſtly unſafe and ſinful, the Church may not conſent thereunto; for, in ſo [Ro. 14. 23. 1 Tim. 5. 22. Act. 21. 14.] doing, they ſhould not act in Faith, and ſhould partake with him in his ſin. If the Caſe be doubtful and the Perſon not to be perſwaded, it ſeemeth beſt to leave the Matter unto God, and not forcibly to detain him.

4. Juſt Reaſons for a Member's Removal of himſelf from the Church, are, 1. If a Man cannot continue without [Eph. 5. 11.] partaking in Sin. 2. In caſe of Per- [Acts 9. 25, 29, 30. & 8. 1.] ſonal Perſecution: So *Paul*, departed from the Diſciples at *Damaſcus*, alſo in caſe of general Perſecution, when all are ſcattered. 3. In caſe of Real, and not only pretended want of competent Subſiſtence, a Door, being opened [Neh. 13. 20] for better ſupply in another place, together with the means of Spiritual Edification. In theſe, or like Caſes, a Member may lawfully remove, and the Church cannot lawfully detain him.

5. To ſeparate from a Church either out of Contempt of their Holy Fel- [2 Tim. 4. 10] lowſhip, or out of Covetouſneſs, or for greater Enlargements, with juſt Grief to the Church, or out of Schiſm, or want of Love, and out of a Spirit of Contention in reſpect of ſome Unkindneſs, or ſome Evil only *conceived* or *indeed* in the Church, which might and ſhould be tolerated and healed with a Spirit of Meekneſs, and of which Evil the Church is not yet convinced (tho' perhaps himſelf be) nor admoniſhed: For theſe or the like Reaſons to withdraw from publique Communion in Word or Seals, or Cenſures, is Unlawful and Sinful.

6. Such Members as have orderly removed their Habitation, ought to join themſelves unto the Church in order, where they do inhabit, if it may [Iſa. 56. 8. Acts 9. 26.] be; otherwiſe they can neither perform the Duties, nor receive the Priviledges of Members. Such an Example tolerated in ſome, is apt to corrupt others, which if many ſhould follow would threaten the Diſſolution and Confuſion of Churches contrary to the Scripture. [1 Cor. 14. 33.]

7. Order requires that a Member thus removing, have Letters Teſtimonial and of Diſmiſſion from the Church, [Act. 18. 27.] whereof he yet is; unto the Church whereunto he deſireth to be joined, leſt the Church ſhould be deluded; that the Church may receive him in Faith, and not be corrupted in receiving Deceivers, and falſe Brethren. Until the Perſon diſmiſſed be received into another Church, he ceaſeth not by his Letters of Diſmiſſion to be a Member of the Church whereof he was. The Church cannot make a Member, no Member, but by Excommunication.

8. If a Member be called to remove only for a time, where a Church is, [Ro. 16. 1, 2. 2 Cor. 3. 1.] Letters of Recommendation are requiſite and ſufficient for Communion with that Church, in the Ordinances, and in their Watch; as *Phæbe* a Servant of the Church at *Cenchrea*, had a Letter written for her to the Church at *Rome*, that ſhe might be received as becometh Saints.

9. Such Letters of Recommendation and Dimiſſion, were written for *Apollos*, [Act. 18. 27. Col. 4. 10. Rom. 16. 1. 2 Cor. 3. 5.] for *Marcus* to the *Coloſſians*, for *Phæbe* to the *Romans*, for ſundry other *Churches*. And the Apoſtle tells us that ſome Perſons, not ſufficiently known otherwiſe, have

have ſpecial need of ſuch Letters, tho' he, for his part, had no need thereof. The Uſe of them is to be a Benefit and Help to the Party for whom they are written, and for the furthering of his receiving among the Saints, in the place whereto he goeth, and the due Satisfaction of them in their receiving of him.

CHAP. XIV.

Of Excommunication and other Cenſures.

1. THE Cenſures of the Church are appointed by Chriſt for the Preventing, Removing and Healing of Offences in the Church; for the Reclaiming and Gaining of offending Brethren, for the deterring others from the like Offences, for purging out the Leaven, which may infect the whole Lump; for vindicating the Honour of Chriſt and of his Church, and the Holy Profeſſion of the Goſpel; and for preventing of the Wrath of God, that may juſtly fall upon the Church, if they ſhould ſuffer his Covenant, and the Seals thereof to be profaned by notorious and obſtinate Offenders.

1 Tim. 5. 20 Jude 19. Deu. 13. 11. 1 Cor. 5. 6. Rom. 2. 24. Rev. 2. 14, 15, 16, 20.

2. If an Offence be private (one Brother offending another) the Offender is to go and acknowledge his Repentance for it unto his offended Brother, who is then to forgive him; but if the Offender neglect or refuſe to do it, the Brother offended is to go, and convince and admoniſh him of it, between themſelves privately: If therefore the Offender be brought to repent of his Offence, the Admoniſher has won his Brother; but if the Offender hear not his Brother, the Brother offended is to take with him one or two more, that in the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes every Word may be eſtabliſhed, (whether the Word of Admonition, if the Offender receive it; or the Word of Complaint if he refuſe it) for if he refuſe it, the offended Brother is by the Mouth of the Elders to tell the Church, and if he hear the Church, and declare the ſame by penitent Confeſſion, he is recovered and gained: And if the Church diſcern him to be willing to hear, yet not fully convinced of his Offence, as in caſe of Hereſie, they are to diſpence to him a publick Admonition; which declaring the Offender to lye under the publick Offence of the Church, doth thereby with-hold or ſuſpend him from the Holy Fellowſhip of the Lord's Supper, till his Offence be removed by penitent Confeſſion. If he ſtill continue obſtinate, they are to caſt him out by Excommunication.

Matth. 5. 23, 24. Luke 17. 3, 4. Mat. 18. 15 Verſe 16. Verſe 17.

3. But if the Offence be more publick at firſt, and of a more hainous and criminal Nature, to wit, ſuch as are condemned by the Light of Nature; then the Church without ſuch gradual Proceeding, is to caſt out the Offender from their Holy Communion, for the further mortifying of his Sin, and the healing of his Soul in the Day of the Lord Jeſus.

1 Cor. 5. 4, 8, 11.

4. In dealing with an Offender, great Care is to be taken, that we be neither over-ſtrict or rigorous, nor too indulgent or remiſs: Our Proceeding herein ought to be with a Spirit of Meekneſs, conſidering our ſelves, leſt we alſo be tempted, and that the beſt of us have need of much Forgiveneſs from the Lord. Yet the winning and healing of the Offender's Soul being the end of theſe Endeavours; we muſt not daub with untempered Morter, nor heal the Wounds of our Bretheren ſlightly. On ſome have Compaſſion, others ſave with Fear.

Gal. 6. 1. Math. 18. 34, 35. Ezek. 13. 10.

5. While the Offender remains Excommunicate, the Church is to refrain from all Member-like Communion with him in Spiritual Things, and alſo from all familiar Communion with him in civil Things, farther than the neceſſity of Natural or Domeſtical or Civil Relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be aſhamed.

Mat. 18. 17 1 Cor. 5. 11. 2 Theſ. 3. 6, 14.

6. Excommunication being a Spiritual Puniſhment, it doth not prejudice the Excommunicate in, or deprive him of his Civil Rights, and therefore toucheth not Princes or Magiſtrates in reſpect of their Civil Dignity or Authority; and the Excommunicate being but as a Publican, and a Heathen, Heathens being lawfully permitted to hear the *Word* in Church-Aſſemblies, we acknowledge therefore the like Liberty of hearing the Word, may be permitted to Perſons excommunicate, that is permitted unto Heathen. And becauſe we are not without hope of his Recovery, we are not to account him as an Enemy, but to admoniſh him as a Brother.

1 Cor. 14. 24, 25. 2 Theſ. 3. 14.

7. If the Lord ſanctifie the Cenſure to the Offender, ſo as by the Grace of Chriſt he doth teſtifie his Repentance with humble Confeſſion of his Sin, and judging of himſelf, giving Glory unto God,

2Cor.2.7,8 God, the Church is then to forgive him, and to comfort him, and to reſtore him to the wonted Brotherly Communion, which formerly he enjoyed with 'em.

8. The ſuffering of prophane or ſcandalous Livers, to continue in Fellowſhip, and partake in the Sacraments, is doubtleſs a great Sin in thoſe that have power in their Hands to redreſs it, and do it not: Nevertheleſs, inſomuch as Chriſt, and his Apoſtles in their times, and the Prophets and other *godly Men* in theirs, did lawfully partake of the Lord's commanded Ordinances in the Jewiſh Church, and neither taught nor practiſed ſeparation from the ſame, tho' unworthy ones were permitted therein: and inaſmuch as the Faithful in the Church of *Corinth*, wherein were many unworthy Perſons and Practices, are never commanded to abſent themſelves from the Sacraments, becauſe of the ſame; therefore the Godly, in like Caſes, are not to ſeparate. (Rev. 2. 14, 15, 20. Mat. 23. 3. Act. 3. 1. 1 Cor. 6. & 15. 12.)

9. As ſeparation from ſuch a Church wherein profane and ſcandalous Perſons are tollerated, is not preſently neceſſary; ſo for the Members thereof, otherwiſe unworthy, hereupon to abſtain from communicating with ſuch a Church in the Participation of the Srcraments, is unlawful. For as it were unreaſonable for an innocent Perſon to be puniſhed for the Faults of others, wherein he hath no hand, and whereunto he gave no Conſent: So is it more unreaſonable, that a Godly Man ſhould neglect Duty, and puniſh himſelf, in not coming for his Portion in the Bleſſing of the Seals, as he ought, becauſe others are ſuffered to come that ought not; eſpecially conſidering that himſelf doth neither conſent to their ſin, nor to their approaching to the Ordinance in their ſin, nor to the neglect of others, who ſhould put them away, and do not, but, on the contrary, doth heartily mourn for theſe things, modeſtly and ſeaſonably ſtir up others to do their Duty. If the Church cannot be reformed, they may uſe their Liberty, as is ſpecified, *Chap.* 13. *Sect.* 4. But this all the Godly are bound unto, even every one to his endeavour, according to his Power and Place, that the Unworthy may be duly proceeded againſt by the Church, to whom this Matter doth pertain. (2Chr.30.18 Gen.18.25 Ezek. 9. 4.)

CHAP. XV.

Of the Communion of Churches one with another.

ALtho' *Churches* be diſtinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another, and equal, and therefore have not *dominion* one over another: Yet all the *Churches* ought to preſerve *Church-Communion* one with another, becauſe they are all united unto *Chriſt*, not only as a Myſtical, but as a Political Head: Whence is derived a Communion ſuitable thereunto. (Rev. 1. 4. Cant. 8. 8. Rom.16.16 1 Cor. 16. 19. Act.15.23. Rev. 2. 1.)

2. The *Communion of Churches* is exercis'd ſeveral ways. 1. By of *mutual Care* in taking thought for one another's Welfare. 2. By way of *Conſultation* one with another, when we have occaſion to require the Judgment and Counſel of other Churches, touching any Perſon or Cauſe, wherewith they may be better acquainted than our ſelves. As the Church of *Antioch* conſulted with the Apoſtles and Elders of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, about the Queſtion of Circumciſion of the *Gentiles*, and about the falſe Teachers that broached that Doctrine. In which Caſe when any Church wanteth Light or Peace among themſelves, it is a way of Communion of Churches, according to the Word, to meet together by their Elders and other Meſſengers in a *Synod*, to conſider and argue the point in Doubt or Difference: And having found out the way of Truth and Peace to commend the ſame by their Letters and Meſſengers to the Churches, whom the ſame may concern. But if a Church be rent with Diviſions among themſelves; or lye under any open Scandal, and yet refuſe to conſult with other Churches, for healing or removing of the ſame, it is matter of juſt Offence both to the Lord Jeſus, and to other Churches, as bewraying too much want of Mercy and Faithfulneſs, not to ſeek to bind up the Breaches and Wounds of the Church and Bretheren: And therefore the State of ſuch a Church calleth aloud upon other Churches, to exerciſe a fuller Act of Brotherly Communion, to wit, by way of Admonition. 3. A way, then, of Communion of Churches is by way of *Admonition*; to wit, in caſe any publick Offence be found in a Church, which they either diſcern not, or are ſlow in proceeding to uſe the Means for the removing and healing of. *Paul* had no Authority over *Peter*, yet when he ſaw *Peter* not walking with a right Foot, he publickly rebuked him before the Church. (Cant. 8. 8. Acts 15. 2. Ver.22,23. Ezek 34. 4. Gal. 2. 11. to 14.)

Tho' Churches have no more Authority one over another, than one Apoſtle

poſtle had over another, yet as one Apoſtle might admoniſh another, ſo may one Church admoniſh another, and yet without Uſurpation. In which caſe, if the Church, that lieth under Offence, do not hearken to the *Church* that doth admoniſh her, the *Church* is to acquaint other neighbour *Churches*, with that Offence, which the offending *Church* ſtill lieth under, together with the neglect of their Brotherly Admonition given unto them: Whereupon thoſe other *Churches* are to join in ſeconding the Admonition formerly given; and if ſtill the offending *Church* continue in Obſtinacy and Impenitency, they may forbear Communion with them, and are to proceed to make uſe of the help of a Synod, or Counſel of neighbour *Churches*, walking orderly (if a greater cannot conveniently be had) for their Conviction. If they hear not the Synod, the Synod having declared them to be Obſtinate, particular *Churches* accepting and approving of the Judgment of the Synod, are to declare the Sentence of *Non-Communion* reſpectively concerning them: And thereupon out of religious Care to keep their own Communion pure, they may juſtly withdraw themſelves from participation with them at the Lord's-Table, and from ſuch other Acts of Holy Communion, as the Communion of *Churches* doth otherwiſe allow and require. Neverthele{ſ}s, if any Members of ſuch a *Church*, as live under publick Offence do not conſent to the Offence of the *Church*, but do in due ſort bear Witneſs againſt it, they are ſtill to be received to wonted Communion, for it is not equal that the Innocent ſhould ſuffer with the Offenſive. Yea, furthermore, if ſuch innocent Members, after due waiting in the uſe of all due means for the healing of the Offence of their own *Church*, ſhall at laſt (with the Allowance of the Counſel of *Neighbour-Churches*) withdraw from the Fellowſhip of their own *Church*, and offer themſelves to the Fellowſhip of another, we judge it lawful for the other *Church* to receive them (being otherwiſe fit) as if they had been orderly diſmiſſed to them from their own *Church*. 4. A fourth way of *Communion with Churches* is by way of *participation*; the Members of one *Church* occaſionally coming to another, we willingly admit them to partake with them at the Lord's-Table, it being the Seal of our Communion not only with Chriſt, nor only with the Members of our own *Church*, but alſo of all the *Churches* of the Saints: In which regard we refuſe not to Baptize their Children preſented to us, if either their own Miniſter be abſent, or ſuch a fruit of holy Fellowſhip be deſired with us. In like caſes ſuch *Churches* as are furniſhed with more Miniſters than one, do willingly afford one of their own Miniſters to ſupply the abſence or place of a ſick Miniſter of another *Church* for a needful ſeaſon. 5. A fifth way of *Church Communion* is by *Recommendation*, when the Member of one *Church* hath occaſion to reſide in another *Church*, if but for a ſeaſon, we commend him to their watchful Fellowſhip by Letters of Recommendation: But if he be called to ſettle his Abode there, we commit him according to his Deſire to the Fellowſhip of their Covenant by Letters of Diſmiſſion. 6. A ſixth way of *Church Communion*, is in caſe of *need* to miniſter Succour one unto another, either of able Members to furniſh them with Officers, or of outward Support to the Neceſſities of of poorer *Churches*, as did the *Churches* of the *Gentiles* contribute liberally to the poor *Saints* at *Jeruſalem*.

[Margin: Matth. 18. 15, 16, 17. *by proportion.* — Gen. 18. 25. — 1 Cor. 12. 13. — Rom. 16. 1. — Acts 18. 27. — Acts 11. 22. — Verſe 29. — Rom. 15. 26, 27.]

3. When a Company of Believers purpoſe to gather into Church-Fellowſhip, it is requiſite for their ſafer proceeding and the mentioning of the Communion of *Churches*, that they ſignifie their Intent unto the Neighbour-Churches, walking according to the Order of the Goſpel, and deſire their Preſence, and Help, and right-hand of Fellowſhip; which they ought readily to give unto them, when there is no juſt cauſe to except againſt their Proceedings.

[Margin: Gal. 2. 1, 2. & 9. *by proportion.*]

4. Beſides theſe ſeveral ways of Communion, there is alſo a way of *Propagation of Churches*: When a *Church* ſhall grow too Numerous, it is a way, and fit ſeaſon to propagate one *Church* out of another, by ſending forth ſuch of their Members, as are willing to remove, and to procure ſome Officers to them, as may enter with them into Church-Eſtate among themſelves.

[Margin: Iſa. 40. 20. Cant. 8, 8, 9.]

As Bees, when the Hive is too full, iſſue out by Swarms, and are gathered into other Hives, ſo the Churches of Chriſt may do the ſame upon the like Neceſſity; and therein hold forth to them the Right-hand of Fellowſhip, both in their Gathering into a Church and in the Ordination of their Officers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Synods.

Acts 15.2, to 15. SYnods orderly aſſembled, and rightly proceeding according to the Pattern, *Acts* 15. we acknowledge as the Ordinance of Chriſt: And tho' not abſolutely neceſſary to the Being, yet many times, thro' the Iniquity of Men, and Perverſneſs of Times, neceſſary to the well-being of Churches, for the eſtabliſhment of Truth and Peace therein.

2. Synods being Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, are therefore made up of Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. The next efficient cauſe of them under Chriſt, is the Power of the Churches ſending forth their Elders and other Acts 15. 2, 3. Meſſengers, who being met together in the Name of Chriſt, are the Matter of a Synod; and they in arguing and Verſe 6. debating and determining Matters of Religion, according to the Word and Ver. 7, to 23. Publiſhing the ſame to the Churches it concerneth, do put forth the proper and formal Acts of a Synod, to Verſe 31. the Conviction and Errors, and Hereſies, and the Eſtabliſhment of Truth Acts 16. 4, 15. and Peace in the Churches, which is the End of a Synod.

3. Magiſtrates have Power to call a Synod, by calling to the Churches to ſend forth their Elders and other 2 Chron. 29. 4, 5, to 11. Meſſengers to counſel and aſſiſt them in Matters of Religion; but yet the conſtituting of a Synod is a Church-Act, and may be tranſacted by the Acts 15. Churches, even when civil Magiſtrates may be Enemies to Churches and to Church-Aſſemblies.

4. It belongeth unto Synods and Councils to debate and determine Con-Acts 15. 1, 2, 6, 7. 1 Chron. 15. 13. 2 Chron. 29. 6, 7. Acts 15. 24, 28, 29. troverſies of Faith, and Caſes of Conſcience; to clear from the Word holy Directions, for the holy Worſhip of God and good Government of the Church: To bear Witneſs againſt Mal-Adminiſtration and Corruption in Doctrine or Manners, in any particular Church; and to give Directions for the Reformation thereof: Not to exerciſe Church-Cenſures in way of Diſcipline, nor any other Act of Church-Authority or Juriſdiction, which that Preſidential Synod did forbear.

5. The Synods Directions and Determinations, ſo far as conſonant to the Word of God, are to be received with Reverence and Submiſſion; not only for their Agreement therewith Acts 15. (which is the principal ground thereof, and without which they bind not at all) but alſo ſecondarily, for the Power, whereby they are made, as being an Ordinance of God appointed thereunto in his Word.

6. Becauſe it is difficult, if not impoſſible for many Churches to come together in one Place, in their Members univerſally; therefore they may aſſemble by their Delegates or Meſſengers, as the *Church* at *Antioch* went not all to *Jeruſalem*, but ſome ſelect Acts 15. 2. Men for that purpoſe. Becauſe none are, or ſhould be more fit to know the ſtate of the Churches, nor to adviſe of ways for the Good thereof, than Elders: Therefore it is fit, that in the choice of the Meſſengers for ſuch Aſſemblies, they have ſpecial reſpect unto ſuch: Yet, inaſmuch, as not only *Paul* and *Barnabas*, but certain Acts 15. 2, 22, 23. others alſo, were ſent to *Jeruſalem* from *Antioch*, *Acts* 15. and when they were come to *Jeruſalem*, not only the Apoſtles and Elders, but other Bretheren, alſo do aſſemble and meet about the Matter: Therefore Synods are to conſiſt both of Elders and other Church-Members, endued with Gifts, and ſent by the Churches, not excluding the Preſence of any Bretheren in the Churches.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Civil Magiſtrates Power in Matters Eccleſiaſtical.

IT is lawful, profitable and neceſſary for Chriſtians to gather themſelves together into Church-Eſtate, and therein to exerciſe all the Ordinances of Acts 2. 41, 47. & 4. 1, 2, 3. Chriſt, according unto the Word, altho' the conſent of the Magiſtrate could not be had thereunto; becauſe the Apoſtles and Chriſtians in their time, did frequently thus practiſe, when the Magiſtrates being all of them *Jewiſh* and *Pagan*, and moſt perſecuting Enemies, would give no countenance or conſent to ſuch Matters.

2. Church-Government ſtands in no Oppoſition to Civil Government of Commonwealths, nor any way intrencheth upon the Authority of Civil Magiſtrates in their Juriſdictions; nor any

any whit weakneth their Hands in governing, but rather ſtrengtheneth them, and furthereth the People in yielding more hearty and conſcionable Obedience to them, whatſoever ſome ill-affected Perſons to the ways of Chriſt have ſuggeſted, to alienate the Affections of Kings and Princes from the Ordinances of Chriſt; as if the Kingdom of Chriſt in his Church, could not riſe and ſtand, without the falling and weakening of their Government, which is alſo of Chriſt: (Iſa. 49. 23.) Whereas the contrary is moſt true, that they may both ſtand together and flouriſh, the one being helpful unto the other, in their diſtinct and due Adminiſtrations.

3. The Power and Authority of Magiſtrates (Rom. 13. 4. 1 Tim. 2. 2.) is not for the reſtraining of Churches, or any other good Works, but for helping in and furthering thereof; and therefore the conſent and countenance of Magiſtrates, when it may be had, is not to be ſlighted, or lightly eſteemed: But, on the contrary, it is part of that Honour due to Chriſtian Magiſtrates, to deſire and crave their Conſent and Approbation therein; which being obtained, the *Churches* may then proceed in their way, with much more Encouragement and Comfort.

4. It is not in the Power of Magiſtrates to compel their Subjects to become Church-Members, (Ezek. 44. 7, 9.) and to partake of the Lord's Supper; for the Prieſts are reproved, that brought unworthy Ones into the Sanctuary: (1 Cor. 5. 11.) Then it was unlawful for the Prieſts, ſo it is as unlawful to be done by Civil Magiſtrates, thoſe whom the Church is to caſt out, if they were in, the Magiſtrate ought not to thruſt them into the Church, nor to hold them therein.

5. (Matth. 2. 25, 26.) As it is unlawful for Church-Officers to meddle with the Sword of the Magiſtrate, ſo it is unlawful for the Magiſtrate to meddle with the Work proper to Church-Officers. The Acts of *Moſes* and *David*, who were not only Princes but Prophets, were extraordinary, therefore not imitable. Againſt ſuch Uſurpation the Lord witneſſed by ſmiting *Uzziah* with Leproſie, (2 Chron. 26. 16, 17.) for preſuming to offer Incenſe.

6. It is the Duty of the Magiſtrate to take care of Matters of Religion, and to improve his civil Authority for the obſerving of the Duties commanded in the firſt, as well as for obſerving of the Duties commanded in the ſecond Table. They are called *Gods*. (Pſal. 88. 8.) The End of the Magiſtrates Office is not only the quiet and peaceable Life of the Subject in Matters of Righteouſneſs and Honeſty, but alſo in Matters of Godlineſs, yea, of all Godlineſs. (1 Tim. 2. 1, 2.) *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Aſa*, *Jehoſhaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*, are much commended by the Holy Ghoſt, for the putting forth their Authority in Matters of Religion: (1 King. 15. 14 & 22. 43. 2 Kin. 12. 3. & 14. 4. & 15. 35.) On the contrary, ſuch Kings as have been failing this way, are frequently taxed and reproved by the Lord. (1 Kings 20. 42.) And not only the Kings of *Juda*, but alſo *Job*, *Nehemiah*, the King of *Nineveh*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom none looked at, as Types of Chriſt, (tho' were it ſo, there were no place for any juſt Objection) are commended in the Books of God, for exerciſing their Authority this way. (Job 29. 25. & 31. 26, 28. Neh. 13. Jonah 3. 7. Ezra 7. Dan. 3. 29.)

7. The Objects of the Power of the Magiſtrate are not things meerly inward, and ſo not ſubject to his cognizance and view, as Unbelief, hardneſs of Heart, erroneous Opinions not vented, but only ſuch things as are acted by the outward Man: Neither their Power to be exerciſed in commanding ſuch acts of the outward Man, and puniſhing the neglect thereof, as are but meer Inventions and Devices of Men, (1 Kings 20. 28, 42.) but about ſuch acts as are commanded and forbidden in the Word: Yea, ſuch as the Word doth clearly determine, tho' not always clearly to the Judgment of the Magiſtrate or others, yet clearly in its ſelf. In theſe he, of Right, ought to put forth his Authority, tho' oft-times actually he doth it not.

8. Idolatry, Blaſphemy, Hereſie, venting corrupt and pernicious Opinions, that deſtroy the Foundation, open contempt of the Word preached, prophanation of the Lord's-Day, diſturbing the peaceable Adminiſtration and Exerciſe of the Worſhip and Holy Things of God, and the like, are to be reſtrained and puniſhed by Civil Authority. (Deut. 13. 1 Kings 20. 28, 42. Dan. 3. 29. Zech. 13. 3. Neh. 13. 31. 1 Tim. 2. 2. Rom. 13. 4.)

9. If any Church, one or more, ſhall grow Schiſmatical, rending it ſelf, from the Communion of other Churches, or ſhall walk incorrigibly and obſtinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the Rule of the Word; in ſuch caſe the Magiſtrate, is to put forth his coercive Power, as the Matter ſhall require. (Joſh. 22.) The Tribes on this ſide *Jordan* intended to make War againſt the other Tribes, for building the Altar of Witneſs, whom they ſuſpected to have turned away therein, from following of the Lord.

F I N I S.

Hiſtorical Remarks

UPON THE

DISCIPLINE

Practiſed in the

Churches of New-England.

§ 1. WHen the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline* had been preſented by the *Synod* unto the *General Court* which called it, ſeveral Perſons from ſeveral *Churches* gave into the *Court* ſome *Objections* againſt ſundry Paſſages and Paragraphs of this *Platform.* The Secretary did, by Order, lay theſe written Objections, before the *Chief*, and moſt of the Miniſters in the *COLONY*, who appointed Mr. *Richard Mather* to draw up an Anſwer to them: The Anſwer by him compoſed, and by the Reſt approved was given in; and the Reſult of all was, that the *Eccleſiaſtical Model* thus fortified, obtained a more abundant Recommendation unto and among this People of God. The Churches have cheerfully embraced it, practiſed it, and been proſpered in it, unto this very Day. And ſome have imagined that there has been herein fulfilled the *Obſervation*, if not *Inſpiration* of the Holy *Brightman* (in Apoc. 17.3.) *That ſome Faithful People in a wilderneſs ſhould have the moſt clear Diſcoveries of the Abominations of the Man of Sin.*

§ 2. More than thirty Years after this, there was a *Synod* of all the Churches in the Colony, aſſembled at *Boſton*, wherein a *Vote* was propounded, *Whether the* Platform of Church-Diſcipline *were approved by that Aſſembly?* Upon which both the *Elders* and *Brethren*, unanimouſly lifted up their Hands in the *Affirmative*, in the *Negative* not one appearing. The Vote was paſſed in theſe Words.

'A *Synod* of the Churches in the Colony of 'the *Maſſachuſets* being called by the honour'd '*General Court*, to convene at *Boſton*, the 10th 'of *September*, 1679. having read and conſider'ed the *Platform of Church-Diſcipline*, agreed 'upon by the *Synod* aſſembled at *Cambridge*, '*Anno* 1648. do unanimouſly approve of the 'ſaid *Platform*, for the *Subſtance of it*; deſiring 'that the Churches may continue ſteadfaſt, in 'the *Order of the Goſpel*, according to what is 'therein declared from the Word of God.

Now in this *Vote* there is that Clauſe, [*For the Subſtance of it*] which muſt be explain'd by my Acknowledgment, That there are ſeveral *Circumſtantials* in the *Platform*, which are *diſputed* by many judicious Miniſters of the preſent Generation: who upon long Enquiry and Experience think that in thoſe Points the *Platform* indeed is not *Subſtantial.* Reader, We will for a while entertain our ſelves with the Particulars.

§ 3. It is very true, that the *Platform* denies not, the *Power* of a *Paſtor*, to *adminiſter the Sacraments unto other Congregations beſides his own*, upon their Deſires to have their Neceſſities thus relieved; by the ſame Token that in the firſt Copy of the Anſwer to the Objections brought into the General Court, againſt the *Platform*, there were theſe Words inſerted, *As we receive the Members of other Churches to Communion in our Churches, ſo we know no juſt Reaſon, why in the want or abſence of the Miniſter of another Church, we may not at their requeſt, adminiſter an Act of our Office unto them, by virtue of Church-Communion*; yet the *Platform*, in a Complaiſance unto the many *Brethren* which were otherwiſe perſwaded, *aſſerts* not ſuch a *Power*, ſo fully as has been by many wiſhed. The fulleſt Words uſed by the *Synod* unto this purpoſe are thoſe in the *Second Section* of the *fifteenth Chapter*; but they were not ſo full, as to have hitherto encouraged (that I can learn) any one Paſtor in the Country to adminiſter the *Supper* (tho' ſome do the *Baptiſm*) of our Lord, in any other Aſſembly but *his own*, only Mr. *Philips* the Paſtor of *Watertown*, did, as I have been inform'd, adminiſter *that*, as well as the *other* Sacrament unto the Church of *Boſton*, when Mr. *Wilſon*, the Paſtor of that Church was gone for *England.* However, as 'tis well known that in the primitve times of the *New-Teſtament*, the Power of a *Paſtor* to diſpence the

the *Seals* of the *New-Covenant*, as well as to *preach* and *bleſs* Authoritatively, in *other Churches*, beſides *his own*, calling for it, was not queſtion'd; when ſome Difference in Opinion happened between *Anicetus*, the Paſtor of the Church at *Rome*, and *Polycarpus*, the Paſtor of the Church at *Smyrna*, the latter took a long Journey, even from *Symrna* unto *Rome*, to viſit the former, for the better comprehending and compoſing of the Difference: *Anicetus* there, to teſtifie his Reſpect unto *Polycarpus*, requeſted him to adminiſter the *Euchariſt* unto that pure and great Church, with which he was now but ſojourning as a Viſitant, and the Thing was done by this excellent Man, of whom *Irenæus* teſtifies, *That he always taught the Churches to obſerve thoſe things which he had learned of the Apoſtles*; and of whom other Interpreters judge, that, as he was the Scholar of *John*, ſo he was the unblameable Angel, addreſſed by the Second of the Seven Epiſtles in *John*'s *Revelation*. Thus, in the primitive Times of our *New-England*, the moſt Eminent of our Divines, acknowledged this Power, defended it, and maintained it. There is now publiſh'd, A Letter of Mr. *Richard Mather* unto Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, which demonſtrates, that it is altogether as lawful for an Officer of a Church to adminiſter the Sacraments to another Congregation, at their entreaty, as it would be to accept a Member of another Congregation, unto an occaſional Communion in the Sacraments with his own; and that the Preſence of his own Church is not at all more neceſſary unto ſuch an Adminiſtration, than the Preſence of the other Congregation would be to the Tranſient Communion of that particular Member. Mr. *Norton*, in his Anſwer to *Apollonius*, affirms, *A Paſtor may charitably perform the Miniſterial Acts of his Office in another Church.* Mr. *Shepard*, in the Defence of the *Nine Poſitions*, affirms, (tho' Mr. *Davenport*, in the *Poſitions* themſelves, does deny it,) *That a Miniſter, occaſionally called thereto, by the deſire of the Church, may lawfully adminiſter the Seals to another Congregation.* And I ſuppoſe there are now few Miniſters in the Country, but what Conſent unto the Words of Dr. *Owen. Altho' we have no Concernment in the Figment of an* indelible Character, *accompanying Sacred Orders, yet we do not think the Paſtoral Office is ſuch a thing, as a Man muſt leave behind him every time he goes from Home. For my own part, if I did not think my ſelf bound to preach as a* Miniſter authorized *in all Places, and on all Occaſions, when I am called thereunto, I think I ſhould never preach more in this World.*

Nor are there many that would withold their Conſent from the Thoughts of Dr. *Goodwin*: *An Elder, one ſet apart for that Office in any Church, is truly a* Miniſter, *occaſionally to exerciſe Miniſterial Acts, as he is called thereunto. Every true Miniſter, actually ſuch to his own Church, is* Medium Applicabile: *A Means and Inſtrument that may apply any Miniſterial Act, out of his own Church in any other Church, if he be called thereunto.*

Wherefore, for the fuller Explanation of the *Platform*, in this Article, there was this *Vote* paſſed, in a Meeting of the Neighbouring Miniſters at *Cambridge*.

¶ Inaſmuch as the *Paſtors* of *any* Evangelical Churches, are, tho' not having a *Paſtoral Charge* of more than *One*, to be acknowledged in *All* of them, as *Ordained Miniſters* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and are actually acknowledged, as *Preaching* in that Capacity, when they are occaſionally put upon preaching of the Goſpel abroad.

Inaſmuch alſo as the *Communion of Churches*, which makes the *Members* of *any* capable of admiſſion to the *Special Ordinances* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in *All* of them, doth likewiſe render it reaſonable, for the *Paſtors* of *any* to be capable of adminiſtring thoſe Ordinances in *All*.

It is therefore our Judgment, That the *Paſtor* of a *Neighbouring Church*, may, upon the Requeſt of a *deſtitute Church*, occaſionally adminiſter the *Sacraments* unto them.

And it is our further Judgment, That the *Second* Article in the *Fifteenth* Chapter of our *Platform of Church-Diſcipline*, is to be underſtood as approving of it.

Nor is it unknown, That Eminent *Congregational Churches*, have, by their *Practice*, manifeſted themſelves to have been of this Judgment before us.

And it ſeems in the pureſt and earlieſt of the Primitive Times to have been allowed.

Neverthele ſs, we think it convenient, that as the deſtitute Churches do, by their *Vote*, call the Neighbouring Paſtors to that *Occaſional Service*, before they attend it, ſo that the *Conſent* of the *Churches*, whereto thoſe Paſtors belong, be not left unconſidered in it.

We do moreover think, That nothing ſhould be done in this Matter, that may, in any wiſe, obſtruct the Welfare of any *bereaved Churches*, in their *ſpeedy ſeeking* of a *ſettled Supply*, for all Ordinances among them; or otherwiſe interrupt and incommode Common Edification.

4. Another Point in the *Platform*, not univerſally received, is, *The diſtinct Office of Ruling Elders*, to join with the *Paſtors*, in thoſe Acts of *Church-Rule*, which are *diſtinct from the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments*, or *to watch over the Converſation of the Church-Members with Authority.* There are ſome who cannot ſee any ſuch Officer as what we call a *Ruling Elder*, directed and appointed in the Word of God; and the Inconveniencies, whereunto many Churches have been plunged by *Elders*, not of ſuch a Number, or not of ſuch a *Wiſdom*, as were deſirable, have much increaſed a Prejudice againſt the Office it ſelf; be ſure, partly through a Prejudice againſt the Office, and partly, indeed chiefly, through a *penury* of Men well qualified for the Diſcharge of it, as it has been heretofore underſtood and applied, Our Churches are now generally deſtitute of ſuch *Helps in Government*: On the other ſide; there are others, who, if they asked, *What Order for* Lay-Elders *in the*

Word

Word of God? Anſwer, That properly, the only *Lay-Elders* known to be in any Church, are the *Chancellours* in the Church of *England*; Perſons *Entruſted* with the *Rules* of the Church, and yet not *Ordained* unto any Office in it. But, that unleſs a Church have *Divers Elders*, the *Church-Government* muſt needs become either *Prelatic* or *Popular*; and that a Church's needing but *one Elder*, is an Opinion contrary not only to the Senſe of the Faithful in all Ages, but alſo to the Law of the *Scriptures*, *where* there can be nothing plainer, than, *Elders, who Rule well, and are worthy of Double Honour*, though they *do not labour in Word and Doctrine*: whereas, if there were any *Teaching Elders*, who do not *Labour in Word and Doctrine*, they would be ſo far from *worthy of Double Honour*, that they would not be *Worthy of any Honour* at all. Towards the adjuſting of the Difference, which has thus been in the Judgments of Judicious Men, ſome *Eſſays* have been made; and one particularly in ſuch Terms as theſe; 'Let it be firſt Recognized, That all the other '*Church-Officers* are the *Aſſiſtants* of the *Paſtor*; 'who was himſelf (as you find, even about 'what the *Deacon* has now to do,) entruſted 'with the *Whole care* of all, until the further 'Pity and Kindneſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'joined other *Officers* unto him, for his Aſſiſtance in it. I ſuppoſe, none will be ſo abſurd 'as to Deny *This* at leaſt; That all the *Church-Officers* are to take the Advice of the *Paſtor* 'with them. Upon which I ſubjoin, that a 'Man may be a *Diſtinct Officer* from his *Paſtor*, 'and yet not have a *Diſtinct Office* from him; 'the *Paſtor* may be the *Ruling Elder*, and yet 'he may have *Elders* to aſſiſt him in *Ruling*, 'and in the *actual Diſcharge* of ſome Things, 'which *They* are able and proper to be ſerviceable to him in. This Conſideration being laid, 'I will perſwade my ſelf, Every *Paſtor* among 'us *will* allow me, *That* there is much Work 'to be done for God, in preparing of what belongs to the *Admiſſion* and *Excluſion* of Church-'Members; in carefully Inſpecting the *way* and '*walk* of them all, and the firſt *Appearance of* '*Evil* with them; in preventing the very beginnings of *Ill Blood* among them, and inſtructing of all *from Houſe to Houſe* more *privately*, 'and warning of all Perſons unto the Things 'more *peculiarly* incumbent on them; in *Viſiting* all the Afflicted, and *Informing* of and *Conſulting* with, the Miniſters, for the welfare of 'the *whole Flock*. And they *muſt* allow me, 'That *this Work* is too heavy for any *one Man*; 'and that more than *one Man*, yea, *all our* '*Churches*, do ſuffer beyond meaſure, becauſe no 'more of *this Work* is thoroughly performed. 'Moreover, They will Acknowledge to me, that 'it is an uſual Thing, with a Prudent and Faithful *Paſtor*, himſelf to ſingle out ſome of the 'more Grave, Solid, Aged Brethren in his Congregation, to *Aſſiſt* him in many parts of *this* '*Work*, on many occaſions in a Year; nor will 'ſuch a *Paſtor* ordinarily do any Important 'thing in his Government, without having firſt 'heard the Counſel of ſuch Bretheren. In ſhort, 'There are few Diſcreet *Paſtors*, but what 'make many Occaſional *Ruling Elders*, every 'Year. I ſay then, Suppoſe the Church by a '*Vote* Recommend ſome ſuch *Bretheren*, the '*Fitteſt* they have, and always more than '*One*, unto the more *ſtated Aſſiſtance* of their '*Paſtor*, in the *Church-Rule*, wherein they may 'be *helps* unto him; I do not propoſe, that 'they ſhould be *Biennial* or *Triennial* only; 'tho' I know, very famous Churches throughout *Europe* have them ſo! Yea, and what, if 'they ſhould by ſolemn *Faſting* and *Prayer*, be 'commended unto the Benediction of God, in 'what ſervice they have to do? What Objection can be made againſt the *Lawfulneſs*? I 'think none can be made againſt the *Uſefulneſs* 'of ſuch a thing. Truly, for my part, if the *Fifth* '*Chapter* of the Firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, would 'not bear me out when Conſcience both of my '*Duty* and my *weakneſs* made me deſire ſuch '*Aſſiſtance*, I would ſee whether the *Firſt Chapter* of *Deuteronomy* would not. Such things as theſe have been offered unto the Conſideration of the *Diverſly-Perſwaded*; and accordingly in a Meeting of Miniſters, that had been *Diverſly-Perſwaded* in this Matter, at *Cambridge*, an Unanimous *Vote* was paſſed for theſe Concluſions.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Office of Ruling-Elders.

I. THough the *Paſtors* of Churches are *Originally* Entruſted with the whole Care of what is to be done, in the *Feeding* and *Ruling* of the Societies, whereof the Holy Spirit hath made them *Overſeers*, yet the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, has made Proviſion for their *Aſſiſtance* in the Management of thoſe *Church-Affairs*, which would otherwiſe too much Incumber them, in Devoting themſelves unto the *Word* and *Prayer*.

II. *Ruling-Elders* are appointed for the Aſſiſtance of their *Paſtors* in the *Government* of their Churches, and the *Inſpection* of the Flocks. And although theſe Officers may not be furniſhed with all thoſe *Attainments* which are neceſſary to a *Paſtor*, yet if they are ſo accompliſhed, as that they may be *Helps* to their *Paſtor* in the Management of their *Church Rule*, they may be Choſen thereunto with much Benefit and Advantage to the People of God.

III. Whereas 'tis the Buſineſs of a *Ruling-Elder* to Aſſiſt his *Paſtor*, in *Viſiting* of the Diſtreſſed, *Inſtructing* of the Ignorant, *Reducing* of the Erroneous, *Comforting* of the Afflicted, *Adviſing* of the Defective, *Rebuking* of the Unruly, *Diſcovering* the State of the whole Flock, Exerciſing the *Diſcipline* of the Goſpel upon Offenders, and Promoting the deſirable *Growth* of the Church; 'tis neceſſary that he be a Perſon of a Wiſdom, Courage, Leiſure, and Exemplary Holineſs and Gravity, agreeable to ſuch Employments.

§ 5. One more Paſſage in the *Platform*, which hath been but rarely *practiſed*, and as little *approved*, is, *That in Churches where there are no Elders*, *Impoſition of Hands for the Ordination of Elders may be performed by ſome of the Brethren*, *orderly choſen by the Church thereunto*; which is indeed mollified with a Conceſſion, *That in Churches where there are no Elders, and the Church ſo deſire, the impoſition of Hands, may be performed by the Elders of other Churches.* It was the Opinion of theſe worthy Men, that the Call and Power whereof a *Paſtor* becomes [indeed the *Firſt*] Recipient Subject, is derived unto him from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the *choice* of a *Church*, inviting him to the *Paſtoral Care* of their Souls. The *Eſſence* of his *Vocation*, they judged was in an *Election* by the Multitude of the *Faithful*, agreeing to ſubmit themſelves unto his Conduct in the Lord, and his *Acceptance* of, his *Compliance* with, that *Election*. *Ordination* they look'd upon, but as a *Ceremony*, whereby a *called Miniſter*, was declared by *Impoſition of Hands*, to be ſolemnly ſet apart for his *Miniſtry*, and in the ſame *Rite*, the Aſſiſtances and Protections and manifold Bleſſings of the Holy Ghoſt, in the Exerciſes of his Miniſtry were ſolemnly implored for him.

Briefly, They reckoned not *Ordination* to be Eſſential unto the *Vocation* of a Miniſter, any more than *Coronation* to the Being of a King; but that it is only a conſequent and convenient *Adjunct* of his *Vocation*; and a ſolemn Acknowledgment of it, with an uſeful and proper Benediction of *him* in it.

Now in as much as the χειροτονία, *Lifting up of the Hands* of the *Fraternity*, was that which performed the *greater* thing; even, to apply the *Vocation* of a *Paſtor*; ſaid they, why may not the χειροθεσία *laying on of the Hands* of the *Fraternity* alſo perform the *leſſer* thing; the thing which, indeed, is but the *Accompliſhment* of what they have already begun, even to publiſh, proclaim and pray over that *Vocation?* To countenance this Liberty of the *Fraternity*, they brought the Example of what was done in the Church of *Iſrael*, when certain *Principal Members* of the Congregation, which were certainly *no Eccleſiaſtical Officers*, did in the Name of the reſt, *impoſe Hands* upon the *Levites*; and afterwards, when all the Congregation, in the like manner, anointed *Zadok*, to be the *Prieſt:* and they further conſidered, that there were ſeveral *Caſes*, wherein an *Ordination* by the Hands of *Elders*, could not be obtained in any tollerable Circumſtances; perhaps *America* had more than once afforded ſuch; in which Caſes they ſaid, *Why may not the People of the Land now take a Man of their Coaſts, and, then, do all that is neceſſary to ſet him up for their Watchman?* But whereas it was objected unto our *New-Engliſh* Divines, by ſuch Writers as the ſweet-ſpirited *Herle*, and warm-ſpirited *Rutherford*, *That the New-Teſtament affords no Example of Impoſition of Hands by the People*, it was anſwered, That the *New-Teſtament* inſtances not the *Impoſition of Hands* on *Ordinary Paſtors*, by any *Ordinary Paſtors* at all. In all the Examples, there, concerning this matter, either the Perſons *by* whom, or the Perſons *on* whom, Hands were impoſed, were *Extraordinary-Officers:* and thus the Objectors will find as much Diſſonancy from the *Scriptural Example*, in their own Practice as they could in ours: Beſides, the Example in the Old Teſtament was of a *Moral* and of a *Laſting* Equity. And in fine, they ſuppoſed that they had on their ſide, a thouſand Conceſſions, in the chief *Defenders* and *Principles* of the *Reformation*; particularly, the Words of the incomparable *Whitaker* (De Eccleſ. Quæſ. 5. Cap. 6.) *If they grant the Calling of our Miniſters to be Lawful, we care the leſs for* Ordination, *for they that have Authority to* Call, *have alſo Authority to* Ordain, *if Lawful Ordination cannot otherwiſe be gotten*; *For* Ordination *doth follow* Calling; *he that is called is, as it were, thereby put into Poſſeſſion of his Office.* And it was the Learned *Calderwood*, who taught them to diſtinguiſh, between what was received *by* (διὰ) and what was received only *with* (μετὰ) the *laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery*; the former notes a *Cauſal Virtue* in the Rite, which accordingly is not affirmed in the Text; the latter notes only the *Concurring* and *Approving* of them that uſed the *Rite*; and accordingly our good Men were deſirous to have the Conſent of a Neighbouring *Presbytery* unto their *Elections* teſtified, in their *Ordinations*, where it could be comfortably procured. On the other ſide; Becauſe the Scripture ſo expreſly mentions, the *laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery*, very Judicious Men, throughout the Country, were altogether averſe to, *The laying on of the Hands of the Fraternity.* They reckoned, that in the *Impoſition of Hands*, there was their *Conſecration* to their Miniſtry, and by this Conſecration they were to be owned, as admitted into the *Order* of *Paſtors*, through the whole Church of God; but they could not allow the Rites of this *Order* to be Regularly and Conveniently performed by any but ſuch as were themſelves of the ſame *Order*; which Perſwaſion has been ſo general, that ſetting aſide a few *plebeian Ordinations*, in the beginning of the World here among us, there have been rarely, any *Ordinations* managed in our Churches but by the *Hands* of *Presbyters:* yea, any *Ordinations*, but ſuch, would be but matters of Diſcourſe and Wonder. The Cuſtom of *New-England* cannot be better deſcribed, than in the terms which deſcribe the Modes of the *African* Churches [*Synod. African. apud Cyprian. Epiſt.* 68. §. 6. *p.* 202.] *Apud nos, & ferè per Provincias univerſas tenetur, ut ad* Ordinationes, *ritè celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui Præpoſitus Ordinatur, Epiſcopi Ejuſdem Provinciæ proximi quiq; conveniant, & Epiſcopus deligatur, plebe præſente, quæ ſingulorum vitam pleniſſimè novit, & unius cujuſq; Actum de ejus Converſatione perſpexit; Quod factum videmus in Sabini Ordinatione, ut de Univerſæ Fraternitatis ſuffragio, & de Epiſcoporum Judicio, Epiſcopatus Ei Deferatur.*

And

And ſo much Reſpect have our Churches had unto the Intereſts of the *Presbytery* in this Point of *Ordination*, that altho' upon the tranſlation of Paſtors from one Church unto another among us, few of the Paſtors thus tranſlated, have ſcrupled being *re-ordained*, yet upon the arrival of ſome deſirable Paſtors formerly *ordained* in *England*, who ſcrupled at it, our deſtituted Churches have gladly *elected* them, and *embraced* them, and ſo ſolemnizing the Tranſaction with Faſting and Prayer, have enjoyed them to all Evangelical Intents and Purpoſes, without their being *re-ordained* at all.

§ 6. If I have reported *three* Difficulties in our *Platform of Church-Diſcipline*, I can add a *fourth*, which hath been as Difficult as any of the reſt.

The Direction given by the *Synod* about the *Admiſſion* of Members into the Church, amounts to thus much. 'Repentance towards God and 'Faith towards our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, are the 'things whereof Men are to be examined at their 'admiſſion into the Church, and which, then, 'they muſt profeſs and hold forth in ſuch ſort 'as may ſatisfie Rational Charity that the 'things are there indeed. The weakeſt meaſure 'of Faith is to be accepted in thoſe that deſire 'to be admitted into the Church: Such Chari'ty and Tenderneſs is to be uſed, as the weakeſt 'Chriſtian, if ſincere, may not be excluded or 'diſcouraged. Severity of Examination is to 'be avoided; in caſe any thro' exceſſive Fear, 'or other Infirmity be unable to make their per'ſonal Relation of their Spiritual Eſtate in pub'lick, it is ſufficient, that the Elders having re'ceived private ſatisfaction, make Relation 'thereof in publick before the Church, they 'teſtifying their Aſſents thereunto: This being 'the way that tends moſt to Edification. But 'where Perſons are of greater Abilities, there it 'is moſt expedient that they make their Rela'tions and Confeſſions, perſonally with their 'own Mouth, as *David* profeſſeth of himſelf. 'A perſonal and publick Confeſſion, and decla'ring of God's manner of working upon the 'Soul, is both lawful, expedient and uſeful. And the *Platform* in *Chap.* 12. § 5. gives the Grounds of this Direction. The Jews tell us of כליא or a *Scare-Crow* upon the top of the *Temple*, which kept off the *Fowls* from defiling of it; and it has been the Opinion of many, that this *Cuſtom* of *Relations*, to be made by Candidates for *Admiſſion* to the Church, of what Operations of the *Regenerating Spirit* have been upon their Souls, is as a *Scare-Crow* to keep Men out of the *Temple*; but, it may be, it has been the Opinion of as many, that none but the *Defilers* of the *Temple* would be kept out by ſuch a *Scare Crow*.

On the one ſide, The Churches demanding an Account of *Experiences*, from thoſe which they receive to ſtated *Church-Fellowſhip*, has been by ſome decryed as an *humane Invention*: And they tell us, that, indeed, according to the Report of *Cæſarius*, there have been *Popiſh Monaſteries* which have demanded ſuch an Account from thoſe that entred thereinto; but that few *Proteſtant Societies* have, till of late, obſerved ſuch an Uſage. Yea, they ſay, that inſtead of having any Divine *Precept* for the bottom of this *Practice*, there is no bottom at all for it, but this, that it *has been a Practice*. The firſt Churches of *New-England* began only with a Profeſſion of Aſſent and Conſent unto the *Confeſſion of Faith*, and the *Covenant* of Communion. Afterwards, they that ſought for the Communion, were but privately examined about a Work of *Grace* in their Souls, by the *Elders*, and then publickly propounded unto the Congregation, only that ſo, if there were any ſcandal in their Lives, it might be objected and conſidered. But in the Year 1634, one of the Brethren having leave to hear the Examinations of the *Elders*, magnified ſo much the Advantage of being preſent at ſuch an Exerciſe, that many others deſired and obtained the like leave to be preſent at it; until, at length, to gratifie this *uſeful Curioſity*, the whole Church always expected the *Liberty* of being thus particularly acquainted with the *Religious Diſpoſitions*, of thoſe with whom they were afterwards to ſit at the Table of the Lord; and that Church which *began* this way was quickly imitated by moſt of the reſt, who, when all come to, have little elſe to plead for it, but that the good Men find themſelves exceedingly edified, when they hear other good Men deſcribing the *Means which the Lord has deviſed, for the bringing back of their baniſhed Souls*.

On the other ſide, It has been argued by others, *That nothing leſs than a probable and a credible profeſſion of a ſaving Faith muſt be made by a Man, before the Supper of the Lord may be adminiſtred unto him*. The *Churches* to whom the Apoſtles directed their Epiſtles, were ſtill viſibly *Saints*, and ſuch as *were made meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*: How many ſcores of Paſſages to this purpoſe have we concerning thoſe Churches, about the underſtanding whereof we may uſe the words of *Calvin*, *Quod exponunt quidam de ſolâ profeſſione mihi frigidum videtur, & ab uſu Scripturæ eſt alienum?* It is on all hands agreed, that the Lord's Supper is an Ordinance communicable unto none but Penitents: Now the Primitive Churches, if *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* may be credited, would not accept a Penitent, until having *examined him, they diſcerned his Converſion and Repentance* to be ſuch *as would be accepted by God*. And the Council of *Nice* gave this for a general Rule, *That the inward ſtate of Penitents be obſerved in order to their admiſſion to the Communion*. Whereupon 'tis argued, If they that are impenitent for *this* or *that* particular Sin, may not come to the Table of the Lord, ſurely, they that may be thought *impenitent* for an whole *courſe of Sin*, are alſo to be *kept out of doors*; which is to be eſteemed the Caſe of all them, whom we may not reaſonably as well as charitably, judge *renewed by the Holy Ghoſt*. Accordingly *Origen* writes, 'That the Chriſtians of the firſt Churches did

5 F 2 'moſt

‘ moſt exquiſitely ſearch the Souls of them that ‘ asked a full Communion with them; and ‘ ſays, When Men have made ſuch a proficiency, that they appear ſanctified by the Di‘vine Word, then we call them up to our My‘ſteries. *Tertullian*, among others, doth adviſe us of the ſtrict *Scrutiny* uſed in his Days, upon the Hearts of the Catechumens; *Whether they did, indeed, renounce all their former Vanities.*

It was the Order, *Fiant ſcrutinia, an verba Fidei radicitus Corde defixerint.* *Cyprian* reports, *Vix plebi perſuadeo:* He could not eaſily *perſuade the Fraternity of his Flock to conſent unto the receiving of ſuch in whom Sincerity was queſtionable.* *Auſtin* affirms, That *according to the ancient Cuſtom, grounded on the moſt evident Truth, none were admitted into the Church on Earth, who were viſibly ſuch as the Scripture excludes from the Kingdom of God in Heaven.* And the Agreement of the Paſtors in the Days of *Conſtance*, about the diſcerning of the *ſincere*, is very memorable. If the Queſtion be put, What it is, that we may ſafely judge, a probable and a credible Profeſſion of a ſaving Faith? It has been anſwered, That *Scripture* muſt be followed and applied by *Reaſon* in this matter: If the *Scripture* aſſert ſuch and ſuch *Marks* to be in the *Experiences* of all the *Regenerate*, then *Reaſon* is in this Caſe to make an Humane Enquiry, Whether our Neighbours have thoſe *Marks* in *their* Experiences? 'Tis not enough to reſtore a Man under Church-Cenſure, for the Man barely to ſay *I repent*; no, but for us to proceed *rationally* in obſerving, whether the likely Symptoms of *Repenting* do appear upon him, is to proceed *Scripturally:* Even ſo, 'tis not enough to qualifie a Man under Church-Trial, for the Man to ſay *I believe*; while there may be diſcovered in him ſuch an ignorant or inſipid ſtate of Soul, as may render it juſtly ſuſpicious, that he is yet a ſtranger to the New Birth. Briefly the thing has been thus diſcourſed.

We muſt beware of *unſcriptural Impoſitions* in this Affair; we muſt not impoſe any *Modes* of Profeſſion, which we have no Warrant for. 'Tis a *Tyranny* to enjoin upon every Man, *A relation about the preciſe time and way of their Converſion unto God.* Few that have been reſtrained by a religious Education, can give ſuch an one. Nor is it any other than a *Cruelty*, to enjoyn upon every Man, *an Oral and a publick relation of their Experiences.* Every good Man has not ſuch a Courage and Preſence of Mind, as can ſpeak pertinently before a Congregation of many hundreds. But ſtill, as the *Probationers* for our Communion are to make a Profeſſion of their Faith in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as that Redeemer *in whom all fulneſs dwels*, and on whom they rely for Communications from that fulneſs to their own Souls: Thus we muſt look for ſome juſtifying Circumſtance of that Profeſſion. Our *Charity* towards all Men, of whom we know nothing amiſs, is to *hope all things*, and believe the beſt: But when we come to make a Judgment of them, that lay claim to Privileges with us, 'tis but *reaſon* that our Charity ſhould require a more *poſitive Evidence* of the Qualification, on which the claim is made. In the Primitive Times they made ſuch a Profeſſion, at their being *added unto the Church*; and the Profeſſion had this juſtifying Circumſtance in it, that they made it, when they endangered their very Lives to make it. I make no doubt, but in ſuch a time of Perſecution, the like Profeſſion ought to be eſteemed ſufficient. But in Places where the true Religion is in *repute* and *faſhion*, then to look for ſome other juſtifying Circumſtance of a Profeſſion, is but a reaſonable Conformity to the cuſtom and manner of the Apoſtles. Now, *Reaſon* cannot readily dictate an eaſier, a fairer, a fitter Method for this, than that a Man of a blameleſs and fruitful *Converſation*, ſhould either by Tongue or Pen expreſs, *what Impreſſions the Word of God has made upon him.* The favour of ſuch a *Relation*, will uſually very much manifeſt the Spirit of him that makes it; and beſides, nothing is more for the Honour of God, or for the Comfort of his People, than to hear good Chriſtians, thus making that Invitation, *Come and hear all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my Soul.* It is true, that after all, we cannot be infallibly ſure, that we do not admit an *Hypocrite in Heart*, into our Communion; nor indeed after the diſtincteſt Profeſſion of a *Dogmatical* and *Hiſtorical* Faith, can we be ſure that the Perſon, whom we admit, is not an *Heretick in Heart.* Nevertheleſs, no Man ſcarce ever doubted, that Communicants muſt be examined about their *Orthodoxy.* But we ſhould go, as far as we reaſonably can to prevent the pollution of Holy Things by the *Unregenerate.*

Well, the reſult of theſe various Apprehenſions has been this: That ſome *unſcriptural Severities* urged in this matter by ſeveral of our Churches, in the beginning of the Plantation, are now generally laid aſide; but ſtill, for the moſt part, there is expected from thoſe that would join unto 'em, a brief *Addreſs*, in the Language of an *experimental Chriſtian*, intimating ſomething of what the eternal Spirit of God has done to conform their Hearts and Lives unto thoſe *Principles of Chriſtianity*, whereof they then make a Profeſſion. 'Tis true, in ſome Churches, if the *Elders* declare their ſatisfaction about the Qualifications of thoſe that offer themſelves, the *People* are, without any further Inquiry, ſatisfied: But in moſt Churches, the People do deſire the Elders to entertain them with a more particular Account of ſuch things, as the Perſons have to preſent for their own more thorough Recommendation unto the good Affection of thoſe, with whom they are to *eat Bread in the Kingdom of* God. Nevertheleſs, there ſeems to have been thought needful on both ſides a Conceſſion to what has been ſometimes propounded in ſuch Terms as theſe.

‘ Our Churches do ordinarily expect from ‘ thoſe, whom they admit unto conſtant and

compleat

'compleat Communion with them, ſome few 'ſavoury Expreſſions [*written*, if not *oral*] of 'what Regenerating *Influences* the *Ordinances* or 'the *Providences* of God, have had upon their 'Souls. There are *ſome* who demand this, as 'a thing required by the Word of God, when '*a Confeſſion with the Mouth*, and *a Profeſſion 'of Repentance as well as* Faith, and *a giving a 'Reaſon of the Hope that is in us* is required: 'And they look upon this as a *juſtifying Circum-'ſtance*, which a reaſonable Charity is to ſeek, 'before it pronounce upon the Credibility of 'that Confeſſion and Profeſſion, whereupon Men 'lay claim to Privileges. Others can't ſee 'thro' this; they rather decry it, as an *humane 'Invention*, yet, rather than Church-Work 'ſhould be at any *ſtay*, both ſides may grant, 'that it is but a piece of *reaſonable Civility*, 'for any that would be accepted as *Members* of 'any *Society* whatſoever, to addreſs that *Socie-'ty* for their acceptance; and that whoever 'doth addreſs a Church of the Lord Jeſus for 'their *Fellowſhip*, ſhould endeavour to do it 'with ſuch Language and Matter, as may be 'like that of one *returning unto God*. If there 'be any further Conteſt whether the Brethren, 'of *right*, are to have an Acquaintance with, or 'Intereſt in, the management of this Matter, I 'am confident, that as the Paſtors, who are the 'Porters to the Houſe of God, will generally 'examine what *Experiences* their Communi-'cants have attained unto; ſo, the Paſtors will 'as generally grant, that it is not *unlawful* for 'them to communicate unto the *Brethren* of 'the Church, the *taſte* which they have had of 'the *Graces*, in ſuch as they now propound un-'to them, to be received as *Brethren*; yea, that 'it is many ways *comfortable* and *profitable*, if 'not altogether *neceſſary*. Behold then a *Tem-'per*, wherein we *may*, as hitherto we *do* in this 'thing *unite*. I have been concerned with ſome 'godly People of the Scotch Nation, who have 'at firſt ſhewn much and hot *Antipathy* againſt '*this way* of our Churches, and yet asked *ad-'mittance* to the Table of the Lord. Theſe 'have conſented unto me, that I ſhould put 'what *Queſtions* I pleaſed, in my *Trials* of 'them; that I ſhould herewithal take in Wri-'ting what *Minutes* I pleaſed of their *Anſwers* 'to me, that being my ſelf now *ſatisfied* con-'cerning them, I might, if I pleaſed, offer that '*ſatisfaction* unto any or all of the Church, who 'looked for it, at our uſual Opportunity. 'Theſe Conceſſions immediately opened *their* 'way in *ours*, unto the *Table* of the Lord, with-'out any Difficulty unto either of us.

§ 7. I think I have now reported the moſt conteſted Paſſages of our *Platform*; neverthe-'leſs, to give a further Elucidation of ſome other Paſſages in that *Platform*, I will ſubjoin the Determination given by a late Aſſembly of our Miniſters at *Cambridge*, upon theſe two Points; The Power of *Synods*, and the Power of *Elders*.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Power of Synods, *with reſpect unto particular Churches.*

I. PArticular *Churches*, having the ſame Original Ends and Intereſts, and being mutually concerned in the *Good* and *Evil* of each other, there is the Light of Nature as well as of Scripture, to direct the *Meeting of Churches* by their *Delegates*, to conſult and conclude things of common Concernment unto them.

II. *Synods*, duly compoſed of Meſſengers choſen by them whom they are to repreſent, and proceeding with a due regard unto the Will of God in his Word, are to be reverenced, as *determining* the Mind of the Holy Spirit concerning things neceſſary to be *received and practiſed*, in order to the Edification of the Churches therein repreſented.

III. All the Commands of God, which bid us to *be well-adviſed*, and *regard a multitude of Counſellors*, do particularly oblige us with Reverence to entertain the Advice of *Synods* aſſembling in the Name and Fear of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for an enquiry after his Directions. And if one Church be to be heard, much more are many Churches to be ſo, in things that properly fall under the Cogniſance thereof.

IV. *Synods* being of *Apoſtolical example*, recommended as a neceſſary Ordinance, it is but reaſonable, that their Judgment be acknowledged as *deciſive*, in the Affairs for which they are ordained; and to deny them the Power of ſuch a Judgment, is to render a neceſſary Ordinance *of none effect*.

V. The Power of *Synods*, is not to *abate*, much leſs to *deſtroy* the Liberties of *particular Churches*, but to *ſtrengthen* and to *direct* thoſe Churches, in the *right uſe* of the Powers given by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto them. And ſuch *Aſſemblies* are therefore to be uſed as a Relief ordained by God for thoſe Difficulties, for which the *Care* and *State* of a *particular Church* affords not a ſufficient Remedy.

The Rights allowed unto *Synods*, in the *Irenicum*, of the excellent *Jeremiah Burroughs*, Chap. 7. we fully conſent and ſubſcribe unto.

¶ PROPOSITIONS

Concerning the Power of Elders *in the Government of the Church.*

I. THe Power of *Church Government* belongs only to the *Elders* of the Church.

The Names of the *Elders*, in the Scriptures are but inſignificant, and unintelligible *Metaphors*, if the *Rule* of the Church be not only in the Hands of its *Elders*.

The Word of God hath ordered the People to *obey the Elders* of the Church, as having the *rule* over them, and a *watch* over their Souls.

An

An Ability to *Rule well* is a Qualification particularly required in the *Elders* of the Church, that they may be able to take a due *Care* of it.

Governments are enumerated among thoſe things in the Church, which *all are not*, but which are compatible to *ſome* only: Now, who but the *Elders?*

Were the *Government* of the Church, as much in the *Brethren* as in the *Elders*, then the whole *Body* were *all Eye*; which it is *not*.

II. There are yet certain Caſes, wherein the *Elders* in the management of their *Church Government* are to take the Concurrence of the *Fraternity*.

'Tis to be done in thoſe *Acts*, to attain the *ends* whereof, there are to follow certain Duties of the *Fraternity*, namely *Elections*, and *Admiſſions* and *Cenſures*.

Hence, in ſuch things, we find the Injunctions of the Scripture addreſſed unto the *whole Church*.

Hence, all *Antiquity* aſſures us, that ſuch Matters were in the Primitive Church, done ſtill *Conſentiente plebe*.

And the *Brethren* of the Church might otherwiſe be obliged unto the doing of things, wherein they cannot *act in Faith*, or be *conſcientiouſly ſatisfied* that ſuch things are to be done.

III. Nevertheleſs, the Paſtor of a Church may by himſelf *Authoritatively* ſuſpend from the *Lord's-Table*, a Brother accuſed or ſuſpected of a *Scandal*, till the Matter may, and ſhould be regularly examined.

Our Lord forbids the coming of ſuch an Offender to his *Altar*, if even one of *leſs*, of *no* Authority in the Church, do ſignifie a reaſonable diſſatisfaction.

The Paſtors of the Church are the Porters of the Temple, empowered ſufficiently to detain ſuch, as they ſee with *moral uncleanneſs* upon them.

And its belonging unto the Porters of the Church to direct the Brethren in the Application of the *neceſſary Diſcipline*; it is not reaſonable that they ſhould be bound in the mean time, to declare *practically*, what ſhall be contrary to ſuch Direction, by adminiſtring the *Lord's Supper* unto a Perſon againſt whom the *Diſcipline* is to be urged.

IV. But the *Elders* of the Church, have a *Negative* on the *Votes* of the *Brethren*; who, indeed, in the Exerciſe of their Liberty and Privilege are under the Conduct of the *Elders*.

To take away the *Negative* of the *Elders*, or the Neceſſity of their *Conſent* unto ſuch Acts, indeed is to take away all *Government* whatſoever, and it is to turn the whole *Regimen of the Church* into a pure *Democracy*.

And, if the *Poſitive* of the *Brethren* can ſuperſede a *Negative* of the *Elders*, either the *Elders* may be driven to do things quite contrary unto the Light of their Conſcience, or elſe the *Brethren* may preſume to do things which belong not unto them.

§ 8. Becauſe there are ſeveral *Church-Caſes* of a very general Importance, which our *Platform* has not reſolved ſo particularly, as hath been deſired by them, that have been more immediately concerned in thoſe *Caſes*, an Aſſembly of Miniſters, meeting at *Cambridge* hath taken Cognizance of them; from whoſe *Regiſters* I have taken leave to tranſcribe the following Memorials. Reader, allow the general Title of them to be *PILLULÆ SINE QUIBUS*.

¶ Propositions.

Concerning the Obligation lying upon Miniſters of the Goſpel, *to* viſit the Sick, *in Times of Epidemical and Contagious Diſtempers.*

I. Miniſters of the Goſpel, are to have a great concern for the *Sick*, under their *Paſtoral Charge*, and endeavour the fulfilling of their Miniſtry, not only by fitting the Neceſſities of their Sick, with their *Prayers*, but alſo by leaving them unacquainted with none of thoſe *Counſels*, which may prepare them for their End.

II. Nevertheleſs, in times of *epidemical Contagion*, the Miniſters of the Goſpel may, by *various Methods*, attend what is neceſſary thus to be attended, without the *ordinary Viſitations* of the infected Chambers.

III. A *Miniſter* ſollicitous about his Duty in *viſiting the Sick* of his Flock, when Peſtilential Contagions are prevailing, may receive much Direction from the *Courage* wherewith he may find the God of Heaven fortifying his Heart unto ſuch an Undertaking.

IV. The bare *deſires of the Sick*, to be viſited by a *Miniſter*, have often ſo much of evident *unſeaſonableneſs*, *unreaſonableneſs*, and perhaps of *worſe Cauſes* in them, that it is no ways fitting a *Life* ſhould be ſacrificed meerly thereunto.

V. When a *Miniſter* is well aſſured, that the *Sick* of his own Flock, are labouring under ſuch *Loads* upon their *Conſciences*, as cannot fitly be unburdened unto any but himſelf, he has a Call from Heaven to venture himſelf unto the utmoſt, for the ſervice of ſuch a Soul, and may expect the Protection of Heaven accordingly to be a *Shield* unto him.

VI. A *Miniſter* in times of *general Mortalities* may do well, before he expoſe himſelf unto the evident Hazards of thoſe Mortalities, to take the Advice and Conſent of that *Church*, unto whoſe Edification the Labours of his Life are dedicated; whether *they* are willing, that he ſhould ſacrifice his Life unto the *private Service* of the Sick. And the Opinion of a People thus asked, will afford much ſatisfaction unto a Miniſter, as to what may be, in this caſe incumbent upon him.

VII. In times extraordinarily *Peſtilential*, if the neighbouring Miniſters, do by a *Lott* ſolemnly

lemnly ſingle out *One* of their Number, to devote himſelf, with the exemption of the *reſt*, unto the help of the *Sick*, it were a Courſe not to be diſapproved: But a Miniſter, ſo devoted, may cheerfully commend himſelf unto the acceptance of God, in the Service of the diſtreſſed.

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning the Caſes, wherein a Miniſter *may* leave *his* People.

I. A *Paſtor* ſettled in the Service of a *People*, is to be ſo ſenſible of his *Deſignation* by the Spirit and the Providence of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for that Service, and of the *Account* that he muſt give unto God about his Behaviour in it, that his *removal* muſt not be raſhly attempted, but with much Conſideration, Conſultation, Supplication and ſincere Deſire to follow the Conduct of Heaven in it. The *frowns* of God, uſe to follow *Removes*, that have not ſo been regulated.

II. That the *Will* of our Lord, about the *removal* of any Paſtor from his *People* may be underſtood, it is requiſite, that the Miniſter do not entirely *aſſume to himſelf* the Judgment of his own Call to remove, but a great Regard muſt be had unto the Direction of the Churches of our Lord in the Neighbourhood.

III. They unto whom the *Judgment* of a *Paſtor's removal* from his People is to be referred, ſhould exactly weigh both the preſent and future Circumſtances of *both*; and endeavour a Proviſion, that neither Party may ſuffer in the *removal* of a Miniſter from his Flock.

IV. In caſe there be ariſen thoſe incurable Prejudices, Diſſentions, Animoſities, and implacable Offences between a *Paſtor* and his People, that all *Reverence* for, and *Benefit* by, his Miniſtry is utterly to be deſpaired, he may *be removed*. The *want of Succeſs*, otherwiſe, is not a ſufficient Cauſe of removal, but it is to be endured, with all humble Patience by the Miniſter, as a *great Affliction*; and, yet with this Encouragement, that God will reward him, *Secundum laborem, non ſecundum proventum.*

V. A *Paſtor* may be removed from his People, in caſe his *Tranſlation* be found neceſſary for the *Common-Good.* The welfare of the *Catholick Church* in the general Edification of a Community, ſhould be of ſuch weight, as to make any *particular Churches*, give way thereunto. But, yet, it becomes not any Miniſter, to *ſeek his own Tranſlation*, by firſt offering himſelf unto it.

VI. There are ſome things, which diſſolve the *Vinculum Paſtorale* between a *Paſtor* and his People; and in caſe thoſe Diſaſters happen, he may be removed. Thus if a Miniſter have a *tolerable Subſiſtence*, wherewith he may, after a *Chriſtian manner* provide for his own, deny'd him; or, if a Miniſter have no way to avoid a Storm of *Perſecution*, purely *Perſonal*, but *by fleeing from one City to another*; a remove may be juſtified. And the *Diſſolution of a Church*, gives the like Liberty, to him, that had been the *Shepherd* of the now *ſcattered Flock.*

VII. Although a *Paſtor* ſhould be willing to encounter many *Difficulties* and *Infirmities* with his People; yet, in caſe that *Chronical Diſeaſes*, which evidently threaten his Life, might hopefully be relieved by his removal, it ſhould *then*, on all Hands, be allowed and adviſed. *Mercy* is here to be preferred before *Sacrifice*, and ſo we find it was in the *Primitive Churches* accordingly.

VIII. If much of *Scandal* will certainly enſue, upon the *removal* of a *Paſtor* from his People, *That* ſhould weigh down many Circumſtances, that would rather invite ſuch a *removal.*

QUESTION.

Whether it be lawful for a Man *to* Marry *his* Wife's Siſter?

I. A *Marriage* between a Man and his Wife's own *Siſter*, is poſitively prohibited in that Law of God, *Lev.* 18. 16. *That a Man may not marry his Brother's Wife.* By the plaineſt Conſequence, a Woman may not marry her *Siſters Husband.* The *Degree* prohibited, is exactly the ſame.

II. The *Law* that has prohibited the Marriage of a Man to his Wife's own *Siſter* has an Authority and an Obligation reaching even to the *Gentiles*, upon *whom the Ends of the World are come.* 'Tis evident, that the Violation of *this Law*, is declared one of thoſe *Abominations*, for which the ancient *Canaanites* were *ſpued out of their Land.* And we find the *New Teſtament*, in divers places, inſiſting upon thoſe Prohibitions, among which *this Law*, is one. The *good Order* which God has by this Law eſtabliſhed in *humane Society*, is that which the *Light of Nature*, in Mankind, as *now* increaſed, does abundantly teſtifie unto. The *Diſpenſation* which the *Sovereign Lawgiver* once gave, in one Inſtance, hereunto, was extraordinary. The Example of *Jacob*, in this Matter, is to be diſapproved by all that would be eſteemed *his Children*, as well as that of his *Polygamy.*

III. 'Tis the *Law* of our God, in *Lev.* 18. 6. *None of you ſhall approach* (in a Marriage) *unto any that is near of kin to him.* Now the Kindred betwixt a Man and his Wife's own *Siſter*, is of the *neareſt ſort*: For, *Inter Virum & Mulierem non contrahitur affinitas, ſed ipſi ſunt affinitatis cauſa*: So then this *Affinity* is not leſs than *in Primo Genere*, and therefore *unlawful.* It is likewiſe the concurrent Senſe of the *greateſt Divines* (particularly aſſerted in the Aſſemblies *Confeſſion of* Faith,) that of what degree any one is of *Conſanguinity* to his Wife, in the ſame degree of *Affinity* is that Perſon to the *Husband.* And that an *Husband* is forbidden to marry with the *Conſanguines* of his *Wife*, by the ſame Rule that *Conſanguines* are forbidden to marry among themſelves.

themſelves. And this Aſſertion may be demonſtrated from the *Rules* given, in the 18th Chapter of *Leviticus*. Wherefore as a Man may not marry his *own Siſter*, ſo not the *Siſter of his Wife*, which is *one Fleſh* with him.

IV. The *Marriage* in the Queſtion, has been ſo *ſcandalous* among the whole People of God, that whoſoever is guilty of it, is therein worthy to be *cut* off from the Communion of the *Catholick Church*; yea, it hath been one of the Imperial Laws, *Duabus Sororibus Conjungendi, penitùs Licentiam ſubmovemus*. Much leſs may ſuch an Iniquity be countenanced among the People of *our Profeſſion*.

QUESTION.

Whether, and how far, the Diſcipline *of our Lord in our Churches, is to be extended to the* Children *therein* Baptized ?

I. WE judge, that the *Diſcipline* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in our Churches ought to be extended unto the *Children baptiſed* in them: In as much as theſe Perſons are certainly thoſe, which the Scripture calls *within*, and not *without*; and the *Lambs* as well as others in the *Flocks* of our Lord are to be *fed*: And the *Practice* of the pureſt Churches has been agreeable to this Principle, as well the *Primitive* before, as the *Bohemian* and others ſince the *Reformation*: Reaſon alſo ſays, that where a *Priviledge* is expected, a *Diſcipline* is to be acknowledged.

II. Although it is a Memberſhip in the *Catholick Church*, that gives Right unto *Baptiſm*, yet *particular Churches*, as well as the *Paſtors* of thoſe Churches, owe a Duty to the *Catholick Church*, part of which Duty is the Application of *Diſcipline*, unto thoſe *Baptiſed* Perſons, whom the Providence of God ſhall caſt under their Inſpection.

III. The *Diſcipline*, which we count owing unto theſe Perſons, is, an *Inſtruction* in the Laws of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, an *Admonition* upon a ſcandalous violation of thoſe Laws, and upon *Incorrigibleneſs* in Evil, an open *rejection* from all *Eccleſiaſtical Privileges*: And although Perſons are moſt clearly *liable* to this *Proceſs*, when they have actually *renewed* their *Baptiſmal Covenant*, and *recognized* their ſubjection to the *Government* of our Lord, in his Church, and the *Children of the Church* are to be accordingly laboured withal, that they may be brought hereunto, yet we do not think, that any of the ſaid Perſons, *refuſing*, or *neglecting* thus to do, are thereby *exempted* from ſuch a *Care* of the Church, to bring them unto *Repentance*.

QUESTION.

In what Caſes is a Divorce *of the* Married, *juſtly to be purſued, and obtained?*

I. TO judge, determine and accompliſh a *Divorce*, of any *married* Perſons, the *Civil Magiſtrate* is to be addreſſed or concerned.

II. In caſe any *married* Perſons be found under *natural Incapacities*, and *Inſufficiencies*, which utterly diſappoint the confeſſed Ends of *Marriage*, the *Marriage* is to be declared a *Nullity*.

III. In caſe any *married* Perſon, be found already bound in a *Marriage* to another yet living, a *Divorce* is to be granted unto the aggrieved Party.

III. In caſe any *married* Perſon be convicted of ſuch *Criminal Uncleanneſſes*, as render them one *Fleſh*, with another Object than that unto which their *Marriage* has united them, the injured Party may ſue and have their *Divorce* from the Offending; which is the plain Senſe of the Sentence, paſſed by our Lord, *Matth.* 19. 9.

V. In caſe there be found *Inceſt* in a *Marriage*, a *Divorce* is to command the *ſeparation* of the *married*.

VI. In caſe it be found, that a Perſon *married*, had by *Fornication* before Marriage, been made *One* with a Perſon, related unto the Perſon with whom they are *now married*, within the Degrees made *Inceſtuous* by the Law of God, it is a juſt Plea for a *Divorce*.

VII. In caſe of a *malicious Deſertion* by a *married* Perſon, who is obliged and invited to return, a *Divorce* may be granted by lawful Authority unto the *forſaken*. For the Word of God is plain, *That a Chriſtian is not bound in ſuch Caſes*, by the *Marriage* unto One, which has thus wilfully violated the *Covenant*; and tho' our Saviour forbids *a Man's putting away his Wife, except it be for Fornication*, yet he forbids not *Rulers* to reſcue an innocent Perſon from the enthralling Diſadvantages of another, that ſhall ſinfully *go away*.

VIII. As for *married* Perſons long abſent from each other, and not heard of, by each other, the Government may ſtate what *length of time* in this caſe, may give ſuch a preſumption of *Death* in the Perſon abroad, as may reckon a *Second Marriage* free from ſcandal.

IX. A *Divorce* being legally purſued, and obtained, the innocent Perſon that is *releaſed* may proceed unto a *Second Marriage in the Lord*: Otherwiſe the ſtate of *Believers* under the *New Teſtament*, would in ſome of theſe Caſes, be worſe than what the God of Heaven directed for his People under the *Old*.

PRO-

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Concerning Ordination.

I. A ſolemn *ſeparation* to the Service of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his Church, is Eſſential to the Call of a *Church Officer*.

II. The *Election* of the Church, and a *Compliance* with, and an *Acceptance* of that Election, by a Perſon coming under a *ſeparation*, is that wherein lies the *Eſſence* of his *Call* to miniſter unto that *particular Church*.

III. The *Impoſition of Hands*, in the *Ordination* of a *Church-Officer*, is a *Rite*, not only *lawful* to be retained, but it ſeems by a Divine *Inſtitution* directed and required; ſo that although the Call of a Perſon to *Church-Office* may not become null and void, where that *Rite* may have been omitted, as it is to the *Seniors* and *Deacons* in moſt of the *Reformed Churches*: Yet we cannot approve the omiſſion of it. A *Ceremonial defect* may be blameworthy.

IV. When it is enjoyned, *Lay Hands ſuddenly on no Man*; there ſeems a plain *Poſitive*, in that *Negative*; and it is implied, *that Hands are to be laid on ſome*. Now *when*, or *where*, but in *Ordination?*

V. The *whole Ordination* to a *Miniſtry*, ſeems intended in the Apoſtles Expreſſion, of a *Gift given with the laying on of Hands*; yea, nothing leſs than the whole Miniſtry, under that *Ordination*, ſeems compriſed in the Apoſtles Expreſſion of the *Doctrine of laying on of Hands*: And ſuch a *Synecdoche* intimates that this *Rite* is no inconſiderable *Part* of that, whereof 'tis put for the *Whole*.

VI. The Church of God, in all Ages, has uſed an *Impoſition of Hands*, as a *Rite*, many ways agreeable to the Will of God; and beſides the Uſe of this *Rite*, ſometimes on *miraculous* Accounts, there has ſtill been a more conſtant Uſe of it, on *Eccleſiaſtical* Accounts; not *conferring* but *confeſſing* of *Qualifications*, in the Subjects that received it; which one Reaſon has in it many and weighty Conſiderations.

VII. The *Impoſition of Hands*, being a *Rite* uſed by the Primitive Churches in the *confirming* and *reſtoring* of *Church-Members*, and this not altogether without the countenance of *Scripture*, it ſeems very much to take away all Pretence for laying it aſide in the Ordination of *Church Officers*.

VIII. 'Tis well known, that the Jews even in their *Schools*, and in almoſt every *ſpecial Work* for God, whereto Men were ſet apart, uſed *Impoſition of Hands*, as a *Rite* accompanying ſuch a *Dedication*.

IX. The *Impoſition of Hands*, having been a *Rite*, which the People of God under the *Old Teſtament* in his Name applied unto ſuch purpoſes, as a *Benediction* of a *Perſon*, a *Deſignation* to a *Function*, an *Oblation* of what was to be preſented unto God, and a *Devolution* of certain Burdens, on the *Heads* of ſuch, as were treated with it: The Lord has continued this *Rite* in the *Ordaining* of *Church Officers*, with ſome to *ſuch* Intents and Purpoſes.

X. Moſt unexceptionable is the *Impoſition of Hands*, by a *Presbytery*; but more exceptionable by a *Fraternity*. The Word of God mentions the *former* expreſly, but not the *latter*, in the *New Teſtament*. They were ſuch Hands as *Titus*'s, that were left to *ordain Elders*: What need of that, if the *Hands* of common Believers were ſufficient? They were ſuch *Hands* as *Timothy*'s that were to *make over* Church Betruſtments, *unto faithful Men, able to teach others*. Who fitter to ſignifie the needed Approbation of other Churches? And inaſmuch as in *Ordination*, there is an acknowledgment of Admiſſion into an *Order*, it is but reaſonable, that ſome who are in ſome *Order* of *Church-Power* ſhould give it.

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

Touching the Power of chuſing *a Paſtor.*

A *Society of Believers*, combined for the Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in *all* his Ordinances, have the Right of chuſing the *Paſtor*, that is to adminiſter unto them thoſe Ordinances.

The *Scriptures* do ſtill call for the *Suffrages* of the *Brethren*, in the *Churches*, for all *Elections* in thoſe Churches, and particularly that of *Elders*.

In the oldeſt and pureſt of its Times, we ſtill find the *Brethren* of the Church, poſſeſſed of a Power to *chuſe for its ſelf*; and the deſtruction of the Power was amongſt none of the earlieſt Encroachments of *Antichriſt*.

The *Jus Patronatûs* in ſome Churches pretended unto, is an Uſurpation upon the *Flock of God*, juſtly to be exploded.

The Pretences of the Civil *Magiſtrate* unto the like Diſpoſal, for the ſame Cauſes, were for many Ages no leſs juſtly than ſharply denied.

A *particular Church*, owing a great Regard unto the *Church Catholick*, in the uſing of its own *Right*, is bound in Duty to Conſult the Satisfaction and Edification of *others*, in their Election of a *Paſtor*.

Miniſters and *Meſſengers*, of neighbouring Churches, have Power to except againſt any Election of a *Paſtor*, who by *Errors* or *Scandals*, may be rendred unfit for the *common Service* of the Goſpel.

Churches in the *Election* of a *Paſtor* are to conſider the Benefit of *all* that are to be his *Hearers*; and more particularly the Concurrence of ſuch as are by the Covenant and Appointment of God, under the *Church-watch* among them.

The Reſpect that *Churches* do ſhew to others in the *Election* of a Paſtor, ought ſo to be managed, as that they do not permit their own *juſt Privileges* to be extinguiſhed, by *anticipating Impoſitions* upon them.

Churches may ſuffer their *Elections* to be *directed*, yea, and be *diverted* by Conſiderations, which they owe to *others* in the *Vicinity*, without ſurrendring their Liberties to be ſmothered by any, that would unjuſtly impoſe thereupon.

QUESTION.

Whether there are any Caſes, wherein a Miniſter *of the Goſpel, may* lay down *his* Miniſtry ?

NO Man can rightly, wiſely, or ſafely become a Miniſter of the Goſpel, without a Call of God, which Call is *mediate*, and manifeſted by Miniſterial Gifts, with ſome *Inclination* and *Opportunity* to exerciſe thoſe Gifts.

When a Miniſter of the Goſpel does by the *compelling Providence* of God, become deprived of thoſe *eſſential things*, whereby his Call was diſcovered, without any rational Proſpect of *recovering* them, he may then *lay down* his Miniſtry.

But before one called unto the Miniſtry, do *relinquiſh* it, there ſhould be ſuch a Concurrence of *Incapacities*, that a Perſon's own *Arbitrary Inclinations*, acted by Temptations, may not be the things, that ſhall diſmiſs him. One conſecrated unto the Miniſtry, is thus, *pro Termino vitæ*; nor may a Man ſetting his Hand unto this *Plough*, at his own Pleaſure *look back*.

For one in the Sacred Miniſtry to leave it, for the ſake of *Riches* or *Honours*, more likely to be acquired in another *way of living*, or for the ſake of *diſcouragements*, ariſing from *Unſucceſsfulneſs*, or *Perſecution*, or other *Difficulties*, is no ways allowable.

A Perſon diſabled by the Infirmities of old Age for the Labour of the Miniſtry, ſtill retaining his Office, is to be ſtill conſidered, in the dutiful Regards of the *Church*, as their Paſtor notwithſtanding.

A *Cenſure*, though an unjuſt one of a Civil Magiſtrate, ſilencing a particular Miniſter, may in ſome Caſes be a ſufficient Reaſon for his forbearing to do his Work, for *ſome time*, or in *this place*, though it releaſe him not from the Obligation of his *Holy Calling*.

The Diſaſters, which have been obſerved, as frequently following thoſe, who have deſerted ther *Spiritual Warfare*, without the leave of the Lord, are juſt Admonitions unto all Miniſters of our Lord, againſt any undue *Deſertion* of the Service wherein they have been liſted.

QUESTION.

Whether the Paſtor *of a Church, upon a* common Fame *of a* Scandal, *committed by any in his Church, be not bound in Duty to enquire into that* Scandal, *although there ſhould not be brought any* formal Complaint *unto him of it ?*

I. ACcording to the Apoſtolical Direction, an Enquiry into an Offence, was ordered upon this Conſideration, 1 *Cor.* 5. 1. *It is reported commonly.*

II. The Elders of *Iſrael* were to make Enquiry into an Offence after this manner, *Deut.* 13. 12, 14. *If thou ſhalt hear ſay— Then ſhalt thou enquire and make ſearch, and ask diligently.*

III. The Commendation of a *Civil Ruler*, does by proportion and parity of Reaſon belong to an Eccleſiaſtical One, *Job* 26. 16. *The cauſe which I knew not, I ſearched out.*

IV. The ſame that may move others to complain of a *Scandal*, unto the Paſtor, ſhould move the Paſtor to *enquire* after a reported *Scandal*; namely, the Glory of the Lord, the Defence of the Church, and the Welfare of the erring Perſon; every one of which will ſuffer, if ſuch Enquiry be not made.

V. The Neighbours may be ſo far under the Power of *Temptation*, as to forbear making orderly Delations of *Scandals* committed; and it is therefore neceſſary, that ſuch things fall under the Enquiry of the Paſtor, thereto by *common Fame* alarmed.

VI. The Paſtor of a Church, is by Office, to *watch* over the *Converſation* of the People, and a Noiſe of *Scandal* ariſen in the *Converſation* of thoſe under his *Watch*, is a ſufficient *provocation* for his Enquiry after it.

VII. Finally, a rumour of a *Scandal* in a Church Member, is that wherein the *Name* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is concerned, and for the vindication of that *worthy Name*, an Enquiry being made into it, there may appear ſuch powerful *Preſumptions*, while there are not yet ſufficient *Convictions* of Guilt in the Party concerned, that the Perſon ſhall be bound (except in a *Capital Caſe*) either to give a poſitive Denial, or to make a penitent Confeſſion, of the Matter commonly famed of him.

QUESTION.

How far the Confeſſions *of a guilty and a troubled* Conſcience, *are to be kept* ſecret *by the* Miniſter *or* Chriſtian, *to whom the* Confeſſions *have been made ?*

I. 'TIS very certain, that ordinarily the Confeſſions of a guilty and a troubled Conſcience, are to be kept *ſecret* by thoſe, to whom they are made. The *Ends* for which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt has directed unto ſuch Confeſſions, would be all fruſtrated, if they ſhould not be moſt religiouſly concealed; and they are made, *as unto the Lord.*

II. Neverthele ſs, when *evident Miſchief* will ariſe, general or perſonal, either in point of *Safety* or of *Juſtice*, by the concealment of a *ſecret Confeſſion*, it is no longer to be kept *ſecret*. In ſuch Caſes the confeſſing Perſon himſelf can have no *eaſe* in his own Conſcience (which is the Deſign of Confeſſion) without publiſhing his own Crime; and therefore there can be no Obligation upon *any other* to aſſiſt him in *covering* of it.

III. When

III. When the endangered *Safety* or *Intereſts* of others, make it neceſſary for the Confeſſion of a Secret Sin, to be expoſed, it is fit for the Perſon, who has heard this *Confeſſion*, to adviſe the Perſon *himſelf*, that within a Time limited and convenient, he do himſelf make it known unto the Perſons concerned; which if he fail to do, Then is the Time for the *firſt Hearer* of the *Confeſſion* to do his Duty.

IV. In the Great *Capitals*, if there be no other ways, a Divulgation thereof, He that hath had the Confeſſion of ſuch a Secret Sin, may come in as a *Second Witneſs*, to reveal the Secret, for the Conviction of the Malefactor under Judicial Proceſs.

V. Where the Confeſſion of a Secret Sin is to be further divulged, it is to be examined, Whether the Sin may not be told, without the Name of the Perſon, that has committed and confeſſed it.

VI. A Miniſter of the Goſpel, receiving a Confeſſion, often times has Cauſe to conſider, whether the Perſon that makes it, may not make his Knowledge thereof, many ways *injurious* to himſelf; and if ſo, he may with his *beſt Prudence* provide againſt ſuch Injuries.

VII. In thoſe *Land defiling* Sins, where a Perſon is not bound by a Confeſſion, to deliver himſelf up to the Hazard of the Law, no Miniſter is bound, from the meer Nature of the Crimes, to betray the Confeſſion that has been made unto him.

QUESTION.

What is the Duty owing from the Church, *to Perſons who upon private* Prejudices, *withdraw from the* Communion *of it?*

I. PErſons that have taken up any private *Prejudices* againſt any in the Communion of the Church, whereto they do belong, are directed by the Commandment of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and are engaged by the *Covenant*, of Watchfulneſs, to endeavour the Repentance of the Perſons under ſuppoſed Offence by a *perſonal Application*.

II. They that upon *Offences* taken, do neglect this way of proceeding, are guilty of Sin againſt the Lord's Commandment, and their own Covenant; and by their withdrawing from the Table of the Lord, their Sin is aggravated.

III. The withdrawing of Perſons thus irregularly from the Communion of the Church at the Lord's Table, does carry an hard and high Imputation upon the Church it ſelf, which adds more of a Fault unto ſo ſinful a *Schiſm*.

IV. If the Perſon that hath been offended, hath done his Duty, and either the Paſtor do refuſe to lay the Matter before the Church, for the Inſignificancy of it, or the Church upon the Hearing of it, do pronounce it ſatisfied, the Perſon is obliged ſtill to continue his *Communion* with the Church, untill a *Council of Churches* declare the contrary.

V. Such a ſinful Separation from the Communion of the Church, being a Moral Evil, the Scandal is to be by the Diſcipline of the Church proceeded againſt, as other cenſurable Scandals. The Paſtor upon Obſervation and Information of the Sin, is to ſend for the Perſon withdrawing, and inſtruct, and convince and admoniſh him; and upon Contumacious Obſtinacy, the Church is to deal with him, as one unruly, and walking diſorderly.

VI. Neverthele*ſ*s, *Compaſſion* towards the Ignorant, or Injured, is very much to determine the more or leſs *Vigour*, wherewith ſuch Offences are to be proſecuted.

QUESTION.

What Loan *of* Money, *upon* Uſury, *may be practiſed.*

I. USury, being an *Advance* on any thing lent by *Contract*, it is not reſtrained unto *Money* only; *Victuals* or any other Thing (as the Oracles of the Sacred Scriptures declare unto us) are capable of being *lent upon Uſury*. The main Difference of *Uſury* from other ways of *Dealing*, is the Owners not running the Riſque of the *Principal*.

II. That there is an *Uſury* lawful to be taken, is from ſeveral Paſſages in the *Divine Law*, ſufficiently ſignified unto us. For Firſt, under the Old Teſtament, God allowed unto his People the Practice of *Uſury*; he expreſly ſaid, *Deut.* 23. 20. *Unto a Stranger thou mayſt lend upon Uſury.* And the Allowance of *Uſury* upon a *Stranger*, had never been given, if *Uſury* had in it any intrinſick Turpitude. Yea, in all the Places of the Old Teſtament, prohibiting unto the *Iſraelites* the Demand of *Uſury upon a Brother*, there are Clauſes in the Context, which ſeem to intimate, as if the *poor Brother* only were intended, in the Prohibition. However, the peculiar Conſtitution of the *Iſraelitiſh* Commonwealth, is enough to releaſe us *Gentiles*, from the Obligation of the Edicts againſt *Uſury*, given thereunto. And the Words of the *Pſalmiſt* and *Prophet*, that ſeem to reproach *Uſury*, muſt accordingly be expounded with a Limitation, to the *Uſury*, which the Law had countermanded. Hence alſo in the New Teſtament, our Saviour has a Paſſage of ſuch Importance, as to give Countenance, in *Matth.* 25. 27. unto a *Man's receiving his own with Uſury*, and in the New Teſtament alſo, *John Baptiſt*, in *Luke* 13. 3. forbad not unto the *Publicans*, that *Uſury* which their Condition of Life led them unto.

III. There is every ſort of Law, except the Popiſh, to juſtifie a Regulated *Uſury*. 'Tis juſtified by the Law of Neceſſity and Utility; Humane Society, as now circumſtanced, would ſink, if all *Uſury* were impracticable. 'Tis juſtified by the Law of Equity; it is very equal that a Man ſhould partake in the Benefits which his Eſtate procures for another Man. Yea, it may be the Duty of another Man to give me a *Uſury*,

namely when he gains by my poſſeſſions; it would be *Iniquity* in him to do otherwiſe: and certainly then it cannot be a *Sin*, for me to *take*, that which 'tis his *duty* to *give*. 'Tis juſtified by the Law of *Parity*; there is no manner of Reaſon, why the *Uſury* of *Money*, ſhould be more faulty, than that of any other thing; for Money is as really Improveable a thing, as any other Commodity whatſoever: nor can a Contract in this Caſe, be more blameable, than in any other. Nor is it contrary to the Law of Charity, that a Man ſhould expect ſomething, for the ſupport and Comfort of his own Family, for the profitable uſe, which other Men make of thoſe things whereof he is himſelf the Proprietor.

IV. Nevertheleſs the *Law of Charity*, is to Regulate our *Uſury*, that it may not become unlawful, by the *Biting Extremity*, into which it may otherwiſe be carried. It is an Eternal and a Glorious Rule of *Charity*, that in Dealing with a Neighbour, a Man moſt propoſe his *Neighbour's Advantage*, as well as *his own*, and he ſhould not propoſe to make his *own Advantage* by adding to his *Neighbours Miſery*. Moreover, when the General Rules of *Charity* oblige a Man to *Relieve* the *Neceſſities* of a Neighbour, or to *remit* of what he might have *exacted* from a Neighbour, if it had not been for thoſe Neceſſities, *Uſury* muſt not ſuperſede that *Charity*. Whence alſo, to Demand *Uſury* from the *Poor*, when we Accommodate them for their mere *neceſſary* Suſtenance and Subſiſtence, is a *Sin*. 'Tis a *Sin* likewiſe, to Refuſe helping the *Poor* becauſe we would Keep all that we have to ſerve the Deſigns of *Uſury*. Nor can it be any other than a Sin to require as much for *Uſury*, as for *Hire*, which are Carefully to be Diſtinguiſhed. And an *Idle Uſury*, which is, when Men ſo confine themſelves to the way of Living upon *Uſury*, as to render themſelves otherwiſe *Unuſeful* unto the Publick. This is juſtly become a thing of an *Evil Character*. But yet in all theſe things, the Application of the *Rules of Charity*, is to be left unto a Man's own *Conſcience*, which is to be Adviſed from the *Word* of God, with the Beſt Helps of Underſtanding that Word.

All theſe things being thus Conſidered, the ſevere *Declamations* of the *Ancients* againſt *Uſury*, muſt be of no further Account with us, than their Diſcourſes againſt *Limning*, or *Swearing*, or Fighting, or Sitting and Acting, in a *Court* of *Civil Judicature*.

QUESTION.

Whether it be in the Power of Men to State *any* Days *of* Publick Worſhip?

I. NO *Time* is to be made *Holy* to the Lord, but what is made Holy by the Lord; and if there be no *Inſtitution* of God, the Great *Lord of Time*, for a *ſtated time* to be made *Holy* to himſelf, 'tis a *Superſtition* in any Man to make it ſo.

II. Very ſenſible is the Difference, between taking a *Time* to do a *Sacred Work*, and Doing a *Work* to keep a *ſtated Time*. The *Light of Nature* tells us there muſt be a *Time* for every Work; but it is only the *Fourth Commandment* of God, that ſeparates *one time* from the reſt, for the conſtant Performance of Religious Work upon it.

III. To eſteem any *Good Work* the *Better*, for it's being done on ſuch or ſuch a *Return of Time*, which God hath not, in his Word, ſet apart for it, is to make the *Time* it ſelf a *part* of the Worſhip; and it is an unwarrantable Impoſing upon Heaven with our own *Inventions*.

IV. Solemn *Humiliations* and *Thankſgivings*, are *Moral Duties* to be obſerved *pro Cauſis & Temporibus*. And the Direction of Divine *Providence* in laying before us freſh *Occaſions* of them, is to be Regarded; which cannot be done, if they be made perpetual.

V. The Church of *Iſrael*, kept no Days of Religious Worſhip, except what were of *Divine Inſtitution*. The Days of *Purim*, are by a *Different Hebrew Word* for them plainly intimated to have been of no other Character than *Political Commemorations*; and beſides, *Mordechai* who ordered them, was a *Prophet*. The Feaſt of *Dedication* among the *Jews*, can have nothing pleaded for it, from the preſence of our Lord at it; nor were the former *Dedications* of the *Temple*, under any *Anniverſary Commemorations*.

VI. 'Tis not a *Work*, but a *Word*, that muſt *Sanctiſie a Day*; and if an *Extraordinary Work* of God, were enough to prefer *one Day* before another for the Devotions of Chriſtianity, the *Proteſtant Kalender* muſt ſoon be as full as the *Popiſh*.

VII. When the Apoſtle blamed the *Galatians*, for obſerving the Days, which *God* himſelf had Inſtituted, much more does he blame us, if we Celebrate ſuch Days, as only *Men* have deviſed. And when the Apoſtle forbad the *Coloſſians*, to *let any Man judge them in reſpect of an Holy Day*, he ſuffers not us to Sacrifice our *Chriſtian Liberty*, unto *Humane Impoſitions* of *ſtated Holy Days* upon us, nor a *private Perſon* to Impoſe it upon himſelf.

QUESTION.

Whether it be Lawful to Eat Blood, *and* Things Strangled?

I. PLain are the Words of the Apoſtle, in Rom. 14. 14. *I know and am perſwaded by the Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing unclean of it ſelf.* In which Paſſage there may be reſpect unto thoſe Words of our *Lord Jeſus*, in Math. 15. 11. *Not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth the Man.*

II. The Scriptures of the *New Teſtament* give an Allowance for *Eating all ſorts of Meat*, wherein *Blood* is included. The Apoſtle ſpeaks of him as an *Orthodox* Man, in Rom. 14. 2. *who*

who believeth he may eat all things; intimating that it was from *weakneſs in Faith*, and Ignorance in the Doctrine of the Goſpel, to *doubt* about it. The Scripture condemns the Superſtition of thoſe, in 1 Tim. 4. 3, 4. *Who abſtain from Meats, which God had created to be received with Thankſgiving; for nothing is to be refuſed:* If *Nothing*, then ſure, *not Blood*. The Scripture permits us that Liberty, in 1 Cor. 10. 25. *Whatſoever is ſold in the Shambles, that Eat, asking no Queſtion for Conſcience ſake.* Now it was uſual to ſell *Blood* in the *Shambles*.

III. The uſe of *Blood*, in *Medicine*, is not queſtioned: The *Spirit* and the *Powder* of *Blood*, is, by the Warrant of the *Sixth Commandment*, freely uſed, for our Health: Why then ſhould the uſe of *Blood* in *Diet*, be any Queſtion?

IV. If a *thing ſtrangled* may be eaten, then *Blood* may be ſo too. Chriſtians do not ordinarily ſcruple to Eat a thing ſtrangled; and the Eating of a thing which Dies of it ſelf (which is the ſame caſe) was never unlawful for the *Gentiles*.

V. The Reaſon of the Precept forbidding Blood, unto the *Jews* was merely Ceremonial: Namely, becauſe Blood was Typical of that Great Blood, which makes Attonement for our Sins, and becauſe, being the *Organ* of *Life*, it muſt be ſacred unto God the *Author* of *Life*. Now ſince the Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt has been ſhed; every Precept, which is only Ceremonial, is Abrogated.

VI. The forbidding of Blood unto *Noah*, in *Gen.* 9. 4 ſeems to have been *living Blood*, and for the prevention of that Bloody, Ferocious, Inhumane Diſpoſition, which was then prevailing in the World. And all the Commandments given to *Noah*, were not *Moral*.

VII. The forbidding of Blood unto the Primitive Churches, in *Acts* 15. 20. was a Temporary Advice, for the avoiding of Scandal. It would not only have prejudiced the *Jews* againſt all Chriſtianity, but alſo it would have confirmed the *Pagans*, in their Idolatry; For the Principal Entanglements of their *Idolatry*, lay in theſe four things, of *Idolathytes*, *Fornication*, *Blood* and *Strangulates*, which are elſewhere ſummed up in two, *The eating of things Sacraficed unto Idols*, and, *committing Fornication.* To forbear theſe Things, was to teſtifie a *Renunciation of Heatheniſm*. To uſe any of theſe things among the *Heathens*, was to juſtifie their *Devil-Worſhip*. Now the World is in other Circumſtances, and, *Ceſſatio Cauſæ efficit, ut ceſſaret Obſervatio*. *Fornication* yet remains upon other, and farther, and moral, and more general Accounts, a *Sin*.

QUESTION.

Whether* Significant Ceremonies, *in the* Worſhip *of God, not* Inſtituted *by him, are* Lawful *to be uſed?

I. THE *Sign* of *Internal*, are *Parts* of *External* Worſhip; in both whereof, the Great God hath commanded us to *glorifie* him: Even, *with our Spirits, and with our Bodies, which are his.*

II. There are *Natural Ceremonies*, with which the *Light of Nature* does direct Men to the worſhip of God: And *theſe* are to be uſed in the *worſhip of God*, as far as we have the *Word of God*, reinforcing and countenancing of them.

III. Some Ceremonies of Reſpect among Men, are uſed in Exerciſes of Religion, but as Expreſſions of *Civility* to the *People of God*, with whom we Aſſemble, for the *Worſhip of God*; and theſe are to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe Actions, which we apply to the *Lord himſelf* immediately.

IV. There are *Ceremonies appointed*, for ſome ſignification of *Inward Graces* and *Moral Duties*, in the Worſhip of God; which, without that Appointment, would not ſignifie what they do: And it is the *Prerogative* of *God* alone, to ordain all ſuch Rights as theſe.

V. For Men to take upon them, to Declare, what *Ceremonies* of *Worſhip*, the God of Heaven ſhall Accept, and Reward, and Bleſs, otherwiſe than he hath himſelf, in his Holy Laws declared, is a very Criminal Preſumption: And this Pride of Man has generally been Chaſtized, with a manifold Curſe of God.

VI. The *Second Commandment*, forbids not all *Images* (or ſignificant Ceremonies) in the Worſhip of God, but, *Thy making them for thy ſelf.*

VII. The *Authority* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as the glorious *King* and *Prophet*, of his Church, is profanely invaded, when the Worſhip of God, with the *Significant Ceremonies* of it, is taught by the *Inventions of Men.*

VIII. The *Sacred Scriptures* pronounce it, an Argument ſufficient, for the *Rejecting* and *Condemning* of any thing, in the Worſhip of God, if God himſelf hath not preſcribed it. Thus, Jer. 7. 31. *They did that which I commanded them not, neither came it into my Heart.* Thus, Heb. 7. 14. *Of that Moſes ſpake nothing.* Thus, Lev. 10. 1. *They offered ſtrange Fire, before the Lord, which he commanded them not.*

IX. 'Tis very certain, That under the *Old Teſtament*, there was not any one *ſignificant Ceremony* allow'd, in the Worſhip of God, but what God himſelf had inſtituted. If the Churches of the *New Teſtament* will proceed in this matter, without a *Divine Inſtitution*, let them then produce their *Charter*.

X. The *Apoſtolical Writings* to the *Galatians* and the *Coloſſians*, forbid us to practiſe any *ſignificant Ceremony* in the Worſhip of God which God himſelf had *once Appointed*, but now Aboliſhed. Much leſs may we now practiſe any which God *never appointed at all.*

QUEST-

QUESTION.

Whether the Games *of* Cards *or* Dice, *be Lawful to be uſed, among the Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion ?*

I. THere is, at the leaſt, a great *ſuſpicion* brought on the *Lawfulneſs* of theſe Games, by the *Lottery*, which they turn upon.

Lots being mentioned in the ſacred Oracles of the Scripture, as uſed only in *weighty Caſes*, and as an Acknowledgment of *God ſitting in Judgment*, with a deſire of his Power and Providence to be manifeſted, and not without an *Invocation of God*, for the *end of Strife*, therein implied: They cannot be made the *Tools* and *Parts* of our *common Sports*, without, at leaſt, ſuch an *appearance of Evil*, as is forbidden in the word of God.

II. The *General Rules*, which in all *Recreations* are to be obſerved, are ſo generally tranſgreſſed in theſe *Games*, that *ordinarily* it can be no other than a *Sin* to uſe them.

Theſe Diverſions *Faſcinate* the Minds of thoſe that practiſe them, at ſuch a rate, that if ever thoſe Perſons come to be converted unto God, they bitterly lament the *loſs of time* in which that practice hath involved them. And the many other *Paſſions* and *Follies* almoſt inſeparable from theſe Diverſions, render the *Diverſions* themſelves to be, Sins againſt the *Commandments*, which prohibit the Evils thereby occaſioned.

III. The *Scandal* of theſe *Games*, declares it a Scandalous thing for *Chriſtians* to meddle with them.

The *fit Character* given to theſe uſages, not only by *Chriſtians* of all ſorts and ranks, and in all Ages, whoſe, *juſt invectives* againſt them would fill Volumes, but by the Sober and Moral *Pagans* alſo, has brought them among the things of *Evil Report*, which by *Chriſtians* are to be avoided. That Man's Heart is inordinately ſet upon *Play*, who had rather *do things* under ſuch an *univerſal condemnation*, than forbear a little *Play*, that may certainly be forborn without any Damage.

IV. *Gains* of Money or Eſtate, by *Games*, be the *Games* what they will, are a ſinful Violation of the Law of *Honeſty* and *Induſtry*, which God has given us.

QUESTION.

What Reſpect is due to Places *of Publick Worſhip ?*

HOly Places were appointed under the Law of old, by the great Law-giver of *Iſrael*, partly to prevent Idolatry among the People, but chiefly to direct the Thoughts of the Faithful unto the *Meſſiah*, wherein God was reſolved for to dwell for ever. Notwithſtanding,

I. There is now no Place which renders the Worſhip of God, more acceptable for its being there performed: It's foretold concerning the Times of the Goſpel, in *Zeph.* 2. 11. *Men ſhall worſhip him, every one from his place.* 'Tis foretold in *Mal.* 1. 11. *In every place incenſe ſhall be offered to my Name, and a pure offering.*

'Tis foretold in *John* 4. 24. That the *Spiritual Worſhip* of God, ſhall now be accepted with him, in other Places as well as in *Jeruſalem.*

We are commanded, in 1 *Tim.* 2. 8. *That Men pray in every place.*

There is a Truth, in the famous Dr. *Uſher's* Obſervation: ' In Times of Perſecution, the ' Godly did often meet in Barns, and ſuch ob-' ſcure Places; which were indeed publick, be-' cauſe of the Church of God there; as where-' ever the Prince is, there is the Court, tho' it ' were in a poor Cottage.

There were Parts of Worſhip, in the *Moſaick Pedagogy*, which could not be performed any where but at the *Holy Places*, appointed. There are no Parts of the Worſhip confined unto any Places under the *New Teſtament.*

They who expect the Divine regard for what they do in the Worſhip of God, becauſe 'tis done in this or that Place, do not pray looking towards the Temple; our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the true Temple of God, is therein overlooked.

II. To prepare and repair Places for the Publick Worſhip of God, and keep thoſe Places in ſuch a Condition, that they be not unfit for the ſolemn Exerciſes of Religion: This is but an Act of Obedience to him, who, when he requires Worſhip from us, doth alſo ſuppoſe that there muſt be Places for it. But the ſetting of theſe Places off, with a Theatrical Gaudineſs, does not ſavour of the Spirit of a true Chriſtian Society.

III. While the Duties of Divine Worſhip, are performing in any Places, an agreeable Reverence is to be maintained in thoſe Places; not ſo much out of Reſpect unto the Places, as unto the Duties therein performed, and the Perſons concerned with us in the Duties. Nevertheleſs, the Synagogues alſo are to be conſidered, as *the Houſes of God.*

IV. To offer Affronts to Places built for the Worſhip of God, with deſign therein to affront the Worſhip for which they are built, is a vile Impiety. Nor will the great God hold them guiltleſs, who ſo take his Name in vain.

V. Places intended for the Sacred Worſhip of God, may lawfully be put unto any civil Service, for which they may be accommodated, at the Times when the Sacred Worſhip is not there to be attended; ſo far as Contempt of God and his Ordinances doth not naturally and neceſſarily follow thereupon; even as Courts were kept in the Synagogues among the Jews.

QUESTION.

Whether, to drink Healths, *be a thing fit to be practiſed, by the Profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion?*

Anſwered in the following Propoſitions.

I. IT is too notorious to be denied, That it was originally an Heathen Cuſtom to drink thoſe which were called, *The Cups of Health*, in token of Reſpect to the Object mentioned in their Cups. The great *Auſtin* truly ſays, *De paganorum obſervatione remanſit.* It is a *Relique of Paganiſm.* And inaſmuch as it is not a natural Action, but an Action of a religious Nature, and as themſelves called it, *a Devotion*, it is now reached by thoſe Oracles of God, which forbid our learning the Ways and the Works of the Heathen, and our walking as the Gentiles in the Vanity of their Minds, and our keeping the vain Converſation received by Tradition from our Fathers.

II. That which very much adds to the Obligations lying upon Chriſtians to abandon this *Relique of Paganiſm*, is the Idolatrous and Diabolical Intentions that gave the firſt riſe unto it. We are aſſured from all the Monuments of Antiquity, that the *Healths* drunk by the Pagans were firſt of all *Drink Offerings* to their *Demons*, they were a *Cup of Devils*; and then ſufficiently to Compliment their Princes and Patrons they carried on the Offerings to thoſe Mortals alſo; and laſtly, the Compliment proceeded ſo far as to take in any Friends, whom they ſaw cauſe to treat with ſuch Flouriſhes of Affection. It becomes Chriſtians to beware of having any *Fellowſhip with ſuch unfruitful Works of Darkneſs.*

III. To drink a Cup, as a Part, or Sign, of our Invocation upon the bleſſed God, for the Health of any Perſon, is a *Superſtition* directly forbidden by the *Second Commandment:* Nor is it ordinarily free from a violation of the *Third.* And that the drinking of an Health is thus deſigned, and ſo becomes no other than a *prophane Sacrament*, was the Judgment of *Ambroſe*, when he wrote thoſe words, *Quid memorem Sacramenta? Bibamus pro ſalute Imperatorum.* To drink an Health implies an Application to ſome Object for that Health: This way of it is unwarrantable.

IV. To begin or follow Healths, which bind Perſons to drink off their Cups, is a manifold Offence againſt Charity, Juſtice and Reaſon. Such Healths being as the ancients truly called them, *The Devils Shooing-Horns to draw on Drunkenneſs*, are Scandals wherein much brutiſh Folly is committed, and more occaſioned. The Primitive Chriſtians therefore juſtly refuſed them, and condemned them. Great Emperors have made Edicts againſt them. Pagan Writers have ſatyrically laſhed them. And even Popiſh Writers have reproached the Proteſtant Profeſſion, for their being ſo much practiſed under it.

V. Not only the numberleſs, and prodigious Exorbitancies of *Health-drinking*, are to be avoided by every Chriſtian, but the very propoſing our Cups to the Proſperity of what is therein remembred. 'Tis a vain Plea, that we drink no more than a *civil Remembrance* of the Perſon, or Affairs mentioned in our Cups. Why is the Action of *drinking* ſingled out, rather than any other for the token of the Remembrance? And why is there ſuch ſtreſs laid upon a Concurrence in the Action? It is but a continuation of the old Paganiſm, which had better be utterly aboliſhed, than thus refined and preſerved. Every thing that ſerves either to revive, or to maintain the old Pagan Follies, and harden Men in them, ſhould be declined by them, that would adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour.

QUESTION.

Whether Inſtrumental Muſick *may lawfully be introduced into the Worſhip of God, in the Churches of the* New Teſtament?

Conſidered and anſwered in the following Concluſions.

I. THE Inſtrumental Muſick uſed in the old Church of *Iſrael*, was an Inſtitution of God: It was [2 *Chron.* 29. 25.] the Commandment of the Lord *by the Prophets.* And the Inſtruments are called *God's Inſtruments*, [1 *Chron.* 16. 42.] and *Inſtruments of the Lord*, [2 *Chron.* 7. 6.] Now there is not one word of Inſtitution in the *New Teſtament*, for *Inſtrumental Muſick* in the Worſhip of God. And becauſe the Holy God rejects all he does not command in his Worſhip, he now therefore in effect ſays unto us, *I will not hear the Melody of thy Organs.* But, on the other ſide, the Rule given doth abundantly Intimate, that *no Voice* is now to be heard in the Church, but what is ſignificant and edifying, by ſignification; which the Voice of *Inſtruments* is not.

II. Tho' Inſtrumental Muſick were admitted and appointed in the Worſhip of God under the *Old Teſtament*, yet we do not find it practiſed in the *Synagogue* of the Jews, but only in the *Temple.* It thence appears to have been a part of the *Ceremonial Pedagogy*, which is now aboliſhed; nor can any ſay it was a part of *Moral Worſhip.* And, whereas the common Uſage now hath confined *Inſtrumental Muſick* to *Cathedrals*, it ſeems therein too much to *Judaize*; which to do is a part of the *Anti-Chriſtian Apoſtacy*, as well as to *Paganize.*

III. In our aſſerting, a Matter of the *Old Teſtament*, to have been *Typical*, 'tis not needful, that we be always able to particularize any *future Myſteries* of the *New Teſtament* therein referred unto; *Truths* which were then of a *preſent* Conſideration, were ſometimes repreſented

ſented in the *Types* then uſed among the People of God, which helps to underſtand the Caſe of *Inſtrumental Muſick.*

IV. *Inſtrumental Muſick* in the Worſhip of God, is but a very late Invention and Corruption in the Church of the *New Teſtament*. The Writings that go under the name of *Juſtin Martyr* deny it and decry it. *Chryſoſtom* ſpeaks meanly of it. Even *Aquinas* himſelf, about 400 Years ago, determines againſt it, as *Jewiſh* and *Carnal*. *Bellarmine* himſelf confeſſes, that it was but late received in the Church.

V. If we admit *Inſtrumental Muſick* in the Worſhip of God, how can we reſiſt the Impoſition of all the *Inſtruments* uſed among the ancient Jews? Yea, *Dancing* as well as *Playing*, and ſeveral other *Judaic Actions*? Or, how can we decline a whole *Rabble* of Church-Officers, neceſſary to be introduced for *Inſtrumental Muſick*, whereof our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath left us, no manner of Direction?

QUESTION.

Whether* Baptiſm *is to be adminiſtred by any but the* Ordained Miniſters *of our* Lord *Jeſus Chriſt?

I. WE find no Commiſſion or Permiſſion from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for any to be the Adminiſtrators of *Baptiſm*, except thoſe whoſe *Work* it is by his *Commiſſion* to *preach* the Goſpel, *Matth.* 28. 9. And none have a *Commiſſion*, to make the preaching of the Goſpel their *Work*, but ſuch as are, with the Call of the Faithful thereunto, *ſet apart* for that Work, *Rom.* 10. 15.

Baptiſm is a *Seal* of the *Covenant*; for any but an Officer to apply the *Seal*, in the Name of the Great King of Heaven, is a preſumptuous Arrogance.

Baptiſm is one of the *Evangelical Myſteries*, and none but *Stewards* in the Houſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may pretend unto the Diſpenſation of thoſe *Myſteries*.

The Apoſtolical Writings intimate, that ſome are *ſent to Baptiſe*. Hence none are to *Baptiſe*, but thoſe that are *ſent*.

II. As both the *Primitive* and *Proteſtant* Churches, have ſignified their diſlike of *Baptiſm* adminiſtred by common Hands: Thus the Diſorder, and Confuſion, and the Contempt of the Inſtitutions of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which would be thereby introduced, is a ſufficient prejudice againſt it.

III. The Original of the Allowance and Countenance, given in ſome Churches, unto *undue Adminiſtrators* of *Baptiſm* has been from groſs Errors in the Minds of Men, about the Neceſſity and Operation of that Sacrament, whereof, *non Privatio ſed Contemptus damnat.*

¶ PROPOSITIONS.

***Concerning the Marriage of* Couſin-Germans.**

I. THO' in the firſt Propagation of Mankind from *one Head*, by the Great God reſolved and required, it was neceſſary for *Brothers*, to Marry their *Siſters*, yet that ſo the Bonds of Amity in Humane Society might be the better increaſed, the Lord afterwards prohibited ſeveral *Marriages*, under the Title of Inceſt; and ſome were now too *near akin* to be united: there were degrees of *Conſanguinity*, and ſo of *Affinity*, wherein Marriages might not be contracted.

II. Albeit the *Light of Nature* teaches Men to preſerve a *Diſtance*, and *Honour*, for ſome that are very nearly related, and *Natural Conſcience* reluЀts with Horror at ſome Conjunctions; like, what the Apoſtle calls, *a Fornication that is not ſo much as named among the Gentiles*, and thoſe which the Poets themſelves call, *Vetitos Hymenæos*, and Impieties; yet it is a *Moral Law* of God, poſitively given, or a *Law*, the general reaſon whereof, is in the Nature of the thing, but the particular Limitation of it is by Revelation from God, that is to determine the *Degrees*, wherein *Marriages* are to be judged *Unlawful* and *Inceſtuous*.

III. In the Eighteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, there is a Law of Heaven, declaring the *Degrees*, wherein *Marriages* are forbidden; and there is no doubt, that all that come within thoſe *Degrees*, are as much *forbidden*, tho' they be not expreſly *mentioned*.

What is pronounced a *Sin*, by that *Law*, is to be eſteemed a *Sin*, by the *Gentiles*, as well as *Jews*, (which the Concluſion of it, abundantly intimates:) But what falls not within the reach of that *Law*, is no *Sin*: and the *Canon Law*, which for ſome Covetous and Enſlaving ends, hath made vaſt additions to this *Law* of God, is to be rejected, as full of Superſtitious Impoſitions.

IV. If we exactly conſider the *Line* in the Eighteenth Chapter of *Leviticus*, we ſhall find, that the moſt remote Relations forbidden to *Marry*, (which are, the *Brother*, and the *Brothers Daughter*) ſtand one Degree nearer to the *root*, than *Couſin Germans* do. An *Uncle* or an *Aunt* therefore; being the furtheſt, with whom a Marriage is interdicted, it ſeems plain, that the Marriage of *Couſin-Germans* is not *Inceſtuous*.

V. Altho' *Couſin-Germans*, that are *Married* unto each other, now may and ſhould, with all Peace of Mind, live together in the fear of God, and not give way to diſtreſſing ſcruples; or queſtion the Lawfulneſs of their *Marriage* any more than the Famous *Holoman* would have done, who has written to prove it, *pium & Chriſtianum eſſe*. Neverthel eſs, there is much to be ſaid for the diſſuading of *Couſin-Germans*, from coming together in Marriage. *Inexpedience*

ence we know ſometimes does produce *unlawfulneſs*. This Marriage may be very *Inexpedient*, it borders as near, as is poſſible, to what is unlawful. There is no need of coming ſo near, while we have ſuch a *wide World* before us. One end of *Marriage*, namely to promote, and extend *alliances*, is damnified herein. Some Wiſe and Good Men have been ſo troubled in their Minds, concerning theſe *Marriages*, that it is an eaſier thing to abſtain here from, than to extirpate ſuch a trouble from the Minds of the Faithful.

Some of the moſt conſiderable among the *Ancients*, eſpecially *Ambroſe*, and *Auſtin*, beſides Five ſeveral *Councils*, have ſeverly *cenſured* them; and the Churches of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, do to this Day prohibit them. So that upon the whole, the advice of the renowned *Ames* may ſeem not amiſs, *Tutius eſt abſtinere*.

QUESTION.

Whether, or how far the Diſcipline *of our Churches upon offences in them, is to depend upon the Conviction of thoſe Offences in the Courts of* Civil Judicature ?

I. TO bring the *Diſcipline of the Church*, into a dependance on the Direction of the *Civil Magiſtrate*, is to put it under undue, and unſafe diſadvantages. The mutual dependance of thoſe, on each other, as 'tis not founded in the Oracles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſo it has been the occaſion of no little Confuſion in the World.

II. Some things may be cenſured in the *Court*, for Tranſgreſſions of the Laws, which may ſcarce deſerve the Cenſures of the *Church*.

III. Some things may be cenſured in the *Church* for Offences, againſt which, the *Court* has no Cenſures by any Law provided.

IV. Perſons may be ſo defective in their defence of themſelves by *Legal formalities*, as to fall under the Cenſures of the *Court*; and yet the *Church* may ſee cauſe, and do well, to acquit them.

V. Perſons may be acquited in the *Court* of Crimes laid to their Charge, for want of *Conviction*, and yet the Evidence may be ſo Convictive, that a *Church* may Condemn them thereupon.

VI. When a *Church* paſſes a Cenſure on any Delinquent, it is convenient and adviſable, that the Circumſtances of it be ſo managed, as to expoſe as little as may be, the cenſured Perſon unto the Sentence of the *Court*.

VII. A *Church* may do well ſometimes, to expreſs it's Faithfulneſs unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by cenſuring ſome Evils, which a *Court* may faultily neglect to Animadvert upon.

VIII. Sometimes a Caſe may be ſo dark, that a *Church* may hope to be eaſed of *Labour*, and freed from *Error*, by a *Court* firſt ſifting of it, and then *Chriſtian Prudence* would make uſe of that help, to come at the knowledge of the Truth.

IX. When a Seſſion of a *Court* is very near, a *Church* may prudently forbear for a *little while*, a Proceſs, which the neceſſity of a Soul fallen into Sin, and the Vindication of the Name of the Lord, makes not proper to be forborn for a *greater while*.

X. When things are not very *Apparent*, or, very *Important*, it is prudently done of a *Church*, to defer the early deciſion of a Matter, which will produce between it, and the *Court*, a Controverſie of dangerous Conſequence.

XI. As 'tis the Duty of a *Church* to ſee that the Witneſſes of a *Crime*, to be judged by it, be obliged to ſpeak, as in the ſpecial preſence of the Great God, ſo if it be feared that the Witneſſes will not be Faithful, unleſs they be upon *Oath*, it is Prudence to defer 'till the *Civil Magiſtrate* have examined them.

XII. Or, if *Witneſſes* refuſe to come at all unto the *Church*, which the *Civil Magiſtrate* may and will compel to give in their Teſtimonies, a *Church* can in Prudence do no other than defer, 'till thoſe Witneſſes can be brought to teſtifie what is expected from them.

The Judgment of the Miniſters, met at Boſton, May, 11. 1699. *upon a Caſe Addreſſed unto them, concerning* LOTTERIES.

I. GReat is the Difference, between, a *Lottery* ſet up, by Perſons acting in a *private Capacity*; and a *Lottery* ſet up, by the *Government*, who have Power to lay a *Tax* upon the People, but chooſe to leave unto the more eaſie Determination of a *Lottery*, the Perſons who ſhall pay the Summ which the Neceſſities of the Publick require. A *Parliamentary Lottery* takes only from the *Voluntary*, what the *Government* might have Demanded, with a more *general Impoſition*; and only when the People are plunged into ſuch diſtreſs, that a more *general Impoſition* would be grievous to them; and it employs for the welfare of the Publick, all that is thus raiſed by the *Lottery*. Whereas a more *private Lottery*, is managed, by thoſe that have no Antecedent claim unto any thing of their Neighbours, and it is deſigned merely for *private advantage*.

II. It is a Principle embraced among all well-informed Chriſtians, That no calling is *Lawful*, but what is *uſeful* unto *Humane Society*, in ſome of it's Intereſts, except there be in a *Calling*, ſome *Tendency*, to make an addition unto the Enjoyments and Intereſts of *Humane Society*, no Chriſtians may ſet it up. The Oracles of Heaven, tell us, Chriſtians muſt *Learn to poſſeſs honeſt Trades for neceſſary uſes*. To ſet up a *Lottery* is to ſet up a *Calling*. But tho' this or that particular Man may be a *Gainer*; yet it would puzle any Man to tell, what neceſſary, or convenient *uſes*, of Humane Society, where the *Lottery* is opened, are at all ſerved. The *Minds*, the *Bodies*, the *Riches*, the *Defence*, or the

regular *Delights*, of Humane Society, have by this *Lottery*, no addition made unto them.

III. Not only the *Undertakers* of a *Lottery*, have a certain gain unto themſelves, from Humane Society; but ſo likewiſe have they, who in the *Lottery*, draw the *Tickets of Benefit*: and every one that Ventures, doth it with a deſire to fall upon thoſe *Tickets* in the Drawing. 'Tis very certain, that for this *Benefit*, none of thoſe can pretend, that they do any one thing *Beneficial* to Humane Society. They only Hire the Undertakers, to transfer the Eſtates of others unto them, without any ſervice done by them, to the Intereſts of any others under Heaven. But we do not judge this pleaſing unto God, that Mens Rights be ordinarily transferred from one to another, merely in a way of Reference to Divine Providence, without conſidering any ſervice therein intended unto the Community, or any help to Mankind in its true Intereſts. Nor is ventring in a *Lottery* on Shore, of the ſame Nature with venturing in a *Merchandiſe* at Sea.

IV. In a Lottery ſo contrived, that when all the *Prizes* be drawn, they do not make up, and fetch out, near the whole Summ that was depoſited by the *Adventurers*, there is a plain *Cheat* upon the People. The *Undertakers* in ſuch a *Lottery*, only reſolve to Pillage the People of ſuch a Conſiderable Summ; and invite a number to aſſiſt them in their Action, with *hopes* of going ſhares with them in the Advantage; and ſuch is the Corruption of Mankind, that the mere *hopes* of getting the Riches of other Men, without the doing of any ſervice to them for it, will engage Men to run the hazzard of being Loſers.

Upon the whole; we cannot approve it, that any particular Perſons do either undertake, or countenance any ſuch *Lotteries*, as have been ſometimes practiſed in other places, and the Danger which there is, leſt the Luſts of Men, once engaged in theſe *Lotteries*, proceed unto a multitude of other Diſorders, to the ruine of their Employments and their Families, does further move us, to withold our approbation from them.

§ 9. Having ſo often produced the *Propoſitions* voted by an Aſſembly of Miniſters at *Cambridge*, for the Explanation of our *Platform*, 'tis not, here, amiſs, on this occaſion to give ſome Hiſtory of that *Aſſembly*.

Know then, that according to the Advice of Mr. *Hooker*, who about a Week before he fell ſick of his laſt, let fall theſe words, *We muſt Agree upon conſtant Meetings of Miniſters, and ſettle the Conſociation of Churches, or elſe we are utterly undone!* It has been the care of the Miniſters, in the ſeveral *Vicinages* throughout the moſt part of the Countrey, to eſtabliſh ſuch *conſtant Meetings*, whereat they have *informed* one another of their various Exerciſes, and *aſſiſted* one another in the Work of our Lord: beſides a general Appearance of all the Miniſters in each Colony, once a Year, at the *Town*, and the *Time* of the *General Court* for *Elections* of *Magiſtrates* in the Colonies. Theſe Meetings have not all obliged themſelves to *one Method* of Proceeding, in purſuing of mutual Edification; ſome do ſtill *Faſt* and *Pray* together, and ſpeak in their turn to a *propoſed Subject*, much after the manner of the Great *Grindal*'s Lectures: Others do only after the publick Lectures, then, held in the Congregation of that Paſtor, to whoſe Houſe they Adjourn, *Confer* a while together upon matters of Concernment: but *one* of theſe Meetings is regulated by the following Orders.

It is agreed by us whoſe Names are underwritten, that we do Aſſociate *our ſelves for the promoting of the Goſpel, and our mutual Aſſiſtance and Furtherance in that great Work:*

In order thereunto,

I. 'THAT we meet conſtantly, at the 'College in *Cambridge*, on a *Monday* 'at Nine or Ten of the Clock in the Morn'ing, once in *ſix Weeks*, or oftner, if need 'be.

II. 'That in ſuch Meetings, one ſhall be 'choſen *Moderator pro Tempore*, for the better 'Order and Decency of our Proceedings, which '*Moderator* is to be choſen, at the end of every 'Meeting.

III. 'That the *Moderator*'s Work be,

1. 'To *End* the Meeting, wherein he is 'Choſen, and to *begin* the next with '*Prayer*.

2. 'To propoſe *Matters* to be Debated, 'and Receive the *Suffrages* of the 'Bretheren.

3. 'To Receive with the *Conſent* of the 'Bretheren, the *Subſcriptions* of ſuch 'as ſhall join with us; and keep all 'Papers belonging to the *Aſſociation*.

4. 'To give and receive *Notices*, and ap'point *Meetings*, upon Emergent Oc'caſions.

IV. 'That we ſhall ſubmit unto the Counſils, 'Reproofs and Cenſures of the Bretheren ſo 'Aſſociated and Aſſembled, in all things in the 'Lord [*Eph.* 5. 21.]

V. 'That none of us ſhall relinquiſh this *Aſ'ſociation*, nor forſake the *appointed Meet'ings*, without giving ſufficient *Reaſon* for the 'ſame.

VI. 'That

VI. 'That our *Work*, in the ſaid Meeting 'ſhall be;

1. 'To Debate any Matter referring to '*our ſelves*.

2. 'To Hear and Conſider any *Caſes* that 'ſhall be propoſed unto us, from '*Churches* or private Perſons.

3. 'To Anſwer any *Letters* directed un-'to us, from any other *Aſſociations* or 'Perſons.

4. 'To Diſcourſe of any *Queſtion* pro-'poſed at the former Meeting.

§ 10. *Such* and *ſo* hath been our *Platform of Church Diſcipline*: If our Bretheren of the *Presbyterian* Perſwaſion be ſtill uneaſie in any Article of it, let theſe things be offered for a Cloſe.

Firſt, The *Presbyterian* Miniſters of this Country do find it no Difficulty to *Practiſe* the ſubſtance of it, in and with their ſeveral Congregations; and when it comes to the *practice* they do not find ſo much of Difficulty, as, at firſt, appear'd in the *Notion*.

Secondly, The Reverend Perſons of the *Presbyterian* way, who wrote the *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici*, as long ſince as the Year 1654. declared,

'As we agree wholly in the ſame *Confeſſion* '*of Faith*, ſo we agree in many things of great-'eſt Concernment, in the matters of *Church* '*Diſcipline*. And thoſe things wherein we dif-'fer, are not of ſuch Conſequence as to cauſe a '*Schiſm* between us, either in *Worſhip*, or in '*Love* and *Affection*.

'Our Debates are (as it was ſaid of the *Diſ-'putes* of the Ancient Fathers, one with another 'about leſſer differences) not *Contentiones* but '*Collationes*. We can truly ſay, as our Bre-'theren do in their Preface, *That it is far from* '*us ſo to* Atteſt *the* Diſcipline *of Chriſt as to* 'Deteſt *the* Diſciples *of Chriſt*; *ſo to Conteſt* '*for the Seam-leſs Coat of Chriſt, as to Crucifie* '*the Living Members of Chriſt*; *ſo to divide* '*our ſelves about Church-Communion, as thro'* '*breaches to open a wide Gap, for a deluge of* '*Antichriſtian and profane Malignity, to ſwallow* '*up both Church and Civil State*.

Thirdly, The Bretheren of the *Presbyterian* way in *England*, are lately come unto ſuch an Happy *Union*, with thoſe of the *Congregational*, that all former Names of Diſtinction, are now ſwallowed up in that Bleſſed one of *United Bretheren*. And now partly becauſe one of *New-England*, namely Mr. *Increaſe Mather*, then Reſident at *London*, was very ſingularly Inſtrumental in Effecting of that *Union*; but more becauſe that *Union*, hath been for many *Luſtres*, yea, many *Decads* of Years Exemplified in the Churches of *New-England*, ſo far, that I believe, 'tis not poſſible for me to give a truer Deſcription of our *Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution*, than by Tranſcribing thereof. The Articles of that *Union* ſhall here be Repeated.

Heads of Agreement,

Aſſented to by the

United Miniſters, formerly call'd *Presbyterian* and *Congregational*.

I. *Of Churches and Church-Members*.

1. WE acknowledge our *Lord Jeſus Chriſt* to have One *Catholick Church*, or *Kingdom*, comprehending all that are united to him, whether in Heaven or Earth. And do conceive the whole Multitude of Viſible Believers, and their Infant-Seed (commonly call'd the *Catholick Viſible Church*) to belong to Chriſt's Spiritual Kingdom in this World. But for the Notion of a *Catholick Viſible Church* here, as it ſignifies it's having been collected into any formed Society, under a viſible Humane Head on Earth, whether One Perſon ſingly, or Many Collectively, we, with the reſt of Proteſtants, unanimouſly diſclaim it

2. We agree, that particular Societies of viſible Saints, who, under Chriſt their Head, are ſtatedly joined together, for ordinary Communion with one Author in all the Ordinances of Chriſt, are *particular Churches*, and are to be owned by each other, as inſtituted Churches of Chriſt, though differing in *Apprehenſions* and *Practice* in ſome leſſer Things.

3. That none ſhall be admitted as Members, in order to Communion in all the ſpecial Ordinances of the Goſpel, but ſuch Perſons as are knowing, and ſound in the *Fundamental Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion*, without ſcandal in their Lives; and to a Judgment regulated by the Word of God, are Perſons of viſible Holineſs and Honeſty; credibly profeſſing Cordial Subjection to Jeſus Chriſt.

4. A competent number of ſuch *viſible Saints*, (as before deſcribed) do become the capable Subjects of ſtated Communion in all the *ſpecial Ordinances of Chriſt* upon their mutual declared Conſent and Agreement to *walk together therein according to Goſpel Rule*. In which Declaration, different degrees of *Explicitneſs*, ſhall no ways hinder ſuch Churches from owning each other, as inſtituted Churches.

5. Tho' *parochial Bounds*, be not of *Divine Right*, yet for common Edification, the Members of a *particular Church* ought (as much as coveniently may be) to live near one another.

6. That each *particular Church* hath right to uſe their own Officers; and being furniſhed with ſuch as are *duly qualified* and *ordained* according to the Goſpel Rule, hath Authority from Chriſt for exerciſing *Government*, and of enjoying all the *Ordinances* of *Worſhip* within it ſelf.

7. In the Adminiſtration of *Church Power*, it belongs to the *Paſtors* and other Elders of every particular Church, if ſuch there be to *rule* and *govern*, and to the Brotherhood to *conſent* according to the *Rule of the Goſpel*.

8. That all Profeſſors as before deſcribed, are bound in Duty, as they have opportunity to join themſelves as *fixed Members* of ſome particular Church; their thus joining being part of their profeſſed Subjection to the *Goſpel of Chriſt*, and an inſtituted Means of their Eſtabliſhment and Edification; whereby they are under the *Paſtoral Care*, and in caſe of *ſcandalous* or *offenſive Walking*, may be Authoritatively admoniſhed or cenſured for their Recovery, and for Vindication of the *Truth* and the *Church* profeſſing it.

9. That a *Viſible Profeſſor* thus joined to a *particular Church* ought to continue ſtedfaſt with the ſaid Church; and not forſake the Miniſtry, and Ordinances there *diſpenſed*, without an orderly *ſeeking* a *Recommendation* unto another Church, which ought to be given, when the Caſe of the Perſon apparently requires it.

II. *Of the* Miniſtry.

1. WE agree that the *Miniſterial Office* is inſtituted by Jeſus Chriſt for the gathering, guiding, edifying and governing of his Church; and to continue to the end of the World.

2. They who are called to this *Office* ought to be endued with *competent Learning* and *miniſterial Gifts*, as alſo with the Grace of God, ſound in Judgment, not Novices in the Faith and Knowledge of the Goſpel; without ſcandal, of Holy Converſation, and ſuch as *devote* themſelves to the Work and Service thereof.

3. That ordinarily none ſhall be ordained to the Work of this Miniſtry, but ſuch as are *called* and *choſen* thereunto by a particular Church.

4. That in ſo great and weighty a Matter as the calling and chuſing a *Paſtor*, we judge it ordinarily requiſite, that every ſuch Church conſult and adviſe with the *Paſtors* of neighbouring Congregations.

5. That after ſuch *Advice* the Perſon conſulted about, being choſen by the Brotherhood of that *particular Church* over which he is to be ſet, and he accepting, be duly ordained and *ſet apart* to his Office over them; wherein 'tis ordinarily requiſite that the *Paſtors* of *Neighbouring Congregations* concur with the *preaching Elder* or *Elders*, if ſuch there be.

6. That whereas ſuch *Ordination* is only intended for ſuch as *never before had been* ordained to the *miniſterial Office*; if any judge, *that in the caſe alſo* of the *removal* of one *formerly ordained*, to a new Station, or *paſtoral Charge*, there ought to be a like, ſolemn recommending him and his *Labours to the Grace and Bleſſing of God*; no different Sentiments or Practice herein, ſhall be any occaſion of *Contention* or *Breach of Communion* among us.

7. It is expedient, that they who enter on the *work of preaching the Goſpel*, be not only qualified for Communion of Saints; but alſo, that except in *Caſes extraordinary*, they give proof of their *Gifts* and *Fitneſs* for the ſaid *Work*, unto the *Paſtors* of Churches, of *known Abilities* to diſcern and judge of their *Qualifications*; that they may be ſent forth with ſolemn *Approbation* and *Prayer*; which we judge needful, that no Doubt may remain concerning their being called unto the Work; and for preventing (as much as in us lyeth) ignorant and raſh Intruders.

III. *Of Cenſures.*

1. AS it cannot be avoided, but that in the pureſt Churches on Earth, there will ſometimes Offences and Scandals ariſe by reaſon of Hypocriſie and prevailing Corruption; ſo Chriſt hath made it the Duty of every Church, to reform it ſelf by Spiritual Remedies appointed by him to be applyed in all ſuch Caſes, *viz. Admonition* and *Excommunication*.

2. *Admonition*, being the rebuking of an Offending Member in order to Conviction, is in caſe of private Offences to be performed according to the Rule in *Matth.* 18. 15, 16, 17. and in caſe of publick Offences openly before the Church, as the Honour of the Goſpel, and the nature of the Scandal ſhall require: And, if either of the *Admonitions* take place for the recovery of the *fallen Perſon*, all further Proceedings in a way of *Cenſure* are thereon to ceaſe, and *ſatisfaction* to be declared accordingly.

3. When all *due Means* are uſed, according to the *Order of the Goſpel* for the reſtoring an *offending and ſcandalous Brother*, and he, notwithſtanding remains impenitent, the Cenſure of *Excommunication* is to be proceeded unto; wherein the *Paſtor* and other *Elders* (if there be ſuch) are to lead and go before the *Church*; and the Brotherhood to give their Conſent in a way of Obedience unto Chriſt, and to the *Elders*, as over them in the Lord.

4. It may ſometimes come to paſs, that a *Church-Member*, not otherwiſe ſcandalous may *ſinfully withdraw*, and divide himſelf from the *Communion of the Church* to which he belongeth: In which caſe, when all *due Means* for the reducing him, prove ineffectual, he having thereby

by cut himſelf off from *that Churches Communion*; the Church may juſtly eſteem and declare it ſelf diſcharged of any further Inſpection over him.

IV. *Of* Communion *of* Churches.

1. WE agree that particular Churches ought not to walk ſo diſtinct and ſeparate from each other, as not to have Care and Tenderneſs towards one another. But their Paſtors ought to have frequent Meetings together, that by mutual Advice, Support, Encouragement, and Brotherly Intercourſe, they may ſtrengthen the Hearts and Hands of each other in the *Ways of the Lord.*

2. That none of our particular Churches ſhall be ſubordinate to one another, each being endued with equality of Power from Jeſus Chriſt. And that none of the ſaid particular Churches, their Officer or Officers, ſhall exerciſe any Power, or have any Superiority, over any other Church or their Officers.

3. That known Members of particular Churches conſtituted as aforeſaid, may have occaſional Communion with one another in the Ordinances of the Goſpel, *viz.* the *Word*, *Prayer*, *Sacraments*, *ſinging of Pſalms*, diſpenſed according to the mind of Chriſt: Unleſs that Church, with which they deſire Communion, hath any juſt Exception againſt them.

4. That we ought not admit any One to be a Member of our reſpective Congregations, that hath join'd himſelf to another, without Endeavours of mutual Satiſfaction of the *Congregations concerned.*

5. That One Church ought not to blame the Proceedings of another, until it hath heard, what that Church charged, its Elders or Meſſengers, can ſay in vindication of themſelves from any charge of Irregular or injurious Proceedings.

6. That we are moſt willing and ready to give an Account of other Church-Proceedings to each other, when deſired; for preventing or removing any Offences, that may ariſe among us. Likewiſe we ſhall be ready to give the Right Hand of Fellowſhip, and walk together according to the Goſpel Rules of Communion of Churches.

V. *Of* Deacons *and* Ruling-Elders.

WE agree, the Office of a Deacon is of Divine Appointment, and that it belongs to their Office to receive, lay out, and diſtribute the Churches Stock to its proper Uſes, by the direction of the Paſtor, and, Bretheren, if need be. And whereas diverſe are of Opinion, That there is alſo the Office of Ruling-Elders, who labour not in Word and Doctrine; and others think otherwiſe; we agree that this Difference make no Breach among us.

VI. *Of occaſional* Meeting *of Miniſters*, &c.

1. WE agree that in order to Concord, and in other weighty and difficult Caſes, it is needful and according to the mind of Chriſt, that the Miniſters of ſeveral Churches be conſulted and adviſed with about ſuch Matters.

2. That ſuch Meetings may conſiſt of ſmaller or greater Numbers, as the Matter ſhall require.

3. That particular Churches, their reſpective Elders and Members, ought to have a reverential Regard to their Judgment, ſo given, and not diſſent there from without apparent Grounds from the Word of God.

VII. *Of our* Demeanour *towards the* Civil Magiſtrate.

1. WE do reckon our ſelves obliged continually to pray for God's Protection, Guidance and Bleſſing upon the Rulers ſet over us.

2. That we ought to yield unto them not only Subjection in the Lord, but Support, according to our Station and Abilities.

3. That if at any time, it ſhall be their Pleaſure to call together any number of us, to require an Account of our Affairs, and the State of our Congregations, we ſhall moſt readily expreſs all dutiful Regard to them herein.

VIII. *Of a* Confeſſion *of* Faith.

AS to what appertains to ſoundneſs of Judgment in Matters of Faith, we eſteem it ſufficient that a Church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the Word of God, the perfect and only rule of Faith and Practice, and own either the Doctrinal part of thoſe commonly called the *Articles* of the Church of *England*, or the Confeſſion, or Catechiſms, ſhorter or larger compiled by the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, or the Confeſſion agreed on at the *Savoy*, to be agreeable to the ſaid Rule.

IX. *Of our* Duty *and* Deportment *towards them that are not in Communion with us.*

1. WE judge it our Duty to bear a Chriſtian Reſpect to all Chriſtians, according to their ſeveral Ranks and Stations, that are not of our Perſwaſion or Communion.

2. As for ſuch as may be ignorant of the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, or of *Vicious Converſation*, we ſhall in our reſpective Places, as they give Opportunity, endeavour to explain to them the Doctrine of Life and Salvation, and to our utmoſt perſwade them to be reconciled to God.

3. That ſuch who appear to have the Eſſential Requiſites to Church-Communion, we ſhall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with Diſputes about leſſer Matters.

As we aſſent to the fore-mentioned *Heads of Agreement*, ſo we unanimonſly reſolve as the Lord ſhall enable us to *Practiſe* according to them.

The

The Third PART.

THE PRINCIPLES owned, AND THE ENDEAVOURS uſed, BY THE Churches of New-England: Concerning the Church-State of Their Poſterity.

Si Eccleſia debet unquam Refloreſcere, neceſſe eſt, at à puerorum Inſtitutione Exordium fiat. Luther.

1. AS the *Engliſh* Nation has been honoured above moſt of the Proteſtant and Reformed World, with clearer Diſcoveries of ſeveral moſt conſiderable Points in our Chriſtian Religion; particularly the Points of a true Evangelical Church-Order; ſo the *New Engliſh* part of this Nation hath had a ſingular ſhare in receiving and imparting the Illuminations, which the Light ſhining in a dark Place hath given thereabout. Very true and juſt are the printed Words of the well known Mr. *Nathanael Mather*, on this Occaſion.

'Amongſt all that have ſuffered for, and 'ſearched into theſe Truths, they of *New-England*, juſtly deſerve and will have a Name 'and a Glory, as long as the Earth ſhall have any 'Remembrance of an Engliſh Nation. After 'Ages will honour them for that great and 'high Adventure of Theirs, in tranſporting 'themſelves, their Wives and little Ones, up'on the rude Waves of the vaſt Ocean into a 'remote, deſolate and howling Wilderneſs, and 'there encountring by Faith and Patience with 'a World of Temptations and Streights and 'preſſing Wants and Difficulties, and this upon 'no other Inducements, but that they might 'meet with him whom their Souls loved, in 'the midſt of his Golden Candleſticks, and ſee 'him, as they have there ſeen him in his 'Sanctuary. It might rationally be now expected, that our compaſſionate Lord Jeſus Chriſt would graciouſly gratifie the Deſires and Labours of ſuch an Holy Generation with as full an Underſtanding of his revealed Will about his inſtituted Worſhip, as he has at any time granted unto any of his People; and that eſpecially the Officers of inſtituted Churches humbly, prayerfully and carefully engaged in Studies for their Service, would lye under as direct an Influence of his Holy Spirit, as any Inquirers whatſoever. But there is one very important Article

Article of *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline* whereabouts the Churches of *New-England* have had a moſt peculiar Exereiſe and Concernment; and that is *the Eccleſiaſtical State of their Poſterity.*

2. When our Churches were come to between twenty and thirty Years of Age, a numerous *Poſterity* was advanced ſo far into the World, that the *Firſt-Planters* began apace in their ſeveral Families, to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Grand-Fathers*: But among the immediate Parents of the *Grand-Children*, there were multitudes of well diſpoſed Perſons, who partly through their own Doubts and Fears, and partly thro' other culpable Neglects, had not actually come up to the covenanting State of *Communicants* at the Table of the Lord. The good old Generation could not without many uncomfortable Apprehenſions, behold their Off-ſpring excluded from the *Baptiſm* of Chriſtianity, and from the Eccleſiaſtical Inſpection which is to accompany that Baptiſm; indeed it was to leave their Off-ſpring under the Shepherdly Government of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in his Ordinances, that they had brought their Lambs into this Wilderneſs. When the Apoſtle bids Churches to *Look diligently, leſt any Man fail of the Grace of God*, there is an Eccleſiaſtical Word uſed for that *looking diligently*; intimating that God will ordinarily bleſs a regular Church watch, to maintain the Intereſts of *Grace* among his People: And it was therefore the Study of thoſe prudent Men, who might be call'd our *Seers*, that the Children of the Faithful may be kept as far as may be, under a Church-watch, in expectation that they might be in the fairer way to receive the *Grace* of God; thus they were *looking diligently*, that the proſperous and prevailing Condition of Religion in our Churches, might not be *Res unius ætatis*, a matter of one Age alone. Moreover, among the next Sons or Daughters deſcending from that Generation, there was a numerous Appearance of ſober Perſons, who profeſſed themſelves deſirous to renew their *Baptiſmal-Covenant*, and ſubmit unto the *Church-Diſcipline*, and ſo have their Houſes alſo marked for the Lord's; but yet they could not come up to that experimental Account of their own Regeneration, which would ſufficiently embolden their Acceſs to the other Sacrament. Wherefore, for our Churches now to make no Eccleſiaſtical Difference between theſe hopeful Candidates and Competents for thoſe our further Myſteries; and Pagans, who might happen to hear the Word of God in our Aſſemblies; was judged a moſt unwarrantable Strictneſs, which would quickly abandon the biggeſt part of our Country unto Heatheniſm. And on the other ſide, it was feared, that if all ſuch, as had not yet expoſed themſelves by cenſurable Scandals found upon them, ſhould be admitted unto all the Priviledges in our Churches, a wordly part of Mankind might, before we are aware, carry all Things into ſuch a courſe of Proceeding, as would be very diſagreeable unto the Kingdom of Heaven.

§ 3. The *Queſtions* raiſed about theſe Matters, came to ſome Figure firſt, in the Colony of *Connecticut*; where the pious *Magiſtrates* obſerving the begun Dangers of *Paroxyſms*, which might affect the *State* as well as the *Church*, on this Occaſion, procured a Draught of the agitated *Queſtions*, and ſent them to the Magiſtrates of the *Maſſachuſet's* Colony, with a Requeſt, that ſeveral of the ableſt Miniſters, in both Colonies might upon mature Deliberation, give in their Anſwers thereunto. Accordingly, the Letters of the Government, procured an Aſſembly of our principal Miniſters at *Boſton* on *June* 4. 1657. who by the 19th of that Month prepared and preſented an elaborate Anſwer to twenty one *Queſtions*; which was afterwards printed in *London*, under the Title of, *A Diſputation concerning Church-Members and their Children.* Beſides, other Caſes referring to the *Church State* of Children born in the Boſom of the Church, it is in this Diſputation aſſerted and maintained, '*That it is the Duty* of Infants, who *confederate* in their Parents, when grown up unto 'Years of *Diſcretion*, tho' not yet fit, for the '*Lord's Supper*, to own the *Covenant*, they 'made with their Parents, by entering thereinto, 'in their own Perſons: And it is the Duty of 'the *Church*, to call upon them for the perfor'mance thereof; and, if being called upon, 'they ſhall refuſe the Performance of this great 'Duty, or otherwiſe to continue Scandalous, 'they are liable to be *cenſured* for the ſame, 'by the Church. And in caſe they underſtand 'the *Grounds of Religion*, and are not Scanda'lous, and ſolemnly own the *Covenant* in their 'own Perſons, wherein they give up both them'ſelves and their Children unto the Lord, 'and deſire *Baptiſm* for them, we ſee not ſuf'ficient cauſe to deny *Baptiſm* unto their 'Children.

§ 4. The *Practice* of *Church-Care*, about the Children of our Churches thus directed and commended, was but gradually introduced; yea, it met with ſuch Oppoſition as could not be encountred with any thing leſs than a *Synod* of *Elders* and *Meſſengers*, from all the Churches in the *Maſſachuſet* Colony. Accordingly, the *general Court*, having the neceſſity of the Matter laid before them, at their ſecond Seſſion in the Year 1661. iſſued out their *Deſire* and *Order* for the convening of ſuch a *Synod* at *Boſton* in the Spring of the Year enſuing. And for the Deliberations of that *Synod*, beſides the grand Queſtion, about *the Subject of Baptiſm*, there was another Queſtion propounded about *the Conſociation of Churches*, which was of no ſmall Conſequence to the Intereſts of Chriſtianity in the Country. As the Divines of *New-England* were Sollicitous that the *Propagation* of our Churches might hold pace with that of our Off-ſpring, ſo they were induſtrious for the *Combination* of our Churches into ſuch a Bundle of *Arrows*, as might not eaſily be broken. However, they had by their Adverſaries been termed *Independents*, nevertheleſs they ſolemnly, on this Occaſion, repeated and ſubſcribed, that Profeſſion of their famous Bretheren in the English

Engliſh Nation; 'That it is the moſt to be abhorred Maxim, that any Religion hath made Profeſſion of, and therefore of all other the moſt contradictory, and diſhonourable unto that of Chriſtianity, that a ſingle and particular Society of Men, profeſſing the name of Chriſt, and pretending to be endowed with a Power from Chriſt, to judge them that are of the ſame Body and Society with themſelves, ſhould further arrogate unto themſelves an Exemption from giving Account, or being cenſurable by any other, either Chriſtian Magiſtrate above them, or Neighbour Churches about them. Under the Influence of theſe Concernments, the *Elders* and *Meſſengers* of the Churches aſſembled at *Boſton*, in the Year 1662. who under the Conduct of ſeveral ſucceſſive *Moderators*, at length agreed upon certain *Propoſitions*; which being tendred unto the *general Court*, there was an *Order* there paſſed on *Oct.* 8. 1662. for the Publication and Commendation thereof unto all the Churches in the Juriſdiction. They were as followeth.

THE ANSWER OF THE ELDERS and other MESSENGERS of the Churches, aſſembled at *Boſton*, in the Year 1662. TO THE QUESTIONS propounded to them, by Order of the Honoured General Court.

QUESTION I.

Who are the Subjects of Baptiſm?

ANSWER.

THE Anſwer may be given in the following *Propoſitions*, briefly confirmed from the Scriptures.

1. 'They that, according to Scripture, are Members of the Viſible Church, are the Subjects of Baptiſm.

2. 'The Members of the Viſible Church, according to Scripture, are Confederate Viſible Believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-Seed, *i. e.* Children in Minority, whoſe next Parents, one or both, are in Covenant.

3. 'The Infant-Seed of Confederate Viſible Believers, are Members of the ſame Church with their Parents, and when grown up are perſonally under the Watch, Diſcipline and Government of that Church.

4. 'Theſe adult Perſons, are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, meerly becauſe they are, and continue Members, without ſuch further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.

5. 'Church-Members who were admitted in Minority, underſtanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publickly profeſſing their Aſſent thereto, not ſcandalous in Life, and ſolemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themſelves and their Children to the Lord, and ſubject themſelves to the Government of Chriſt in the Church, their Children are to be baptiſed.

6. 'Such Church-Members, who either by Death, or ſome other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindred from publick Acting as aforeſaid, yet have given the Church cauſe in Judgment of Charity, to look at them as ſo qualified, and ſuch as had they been called thereunto, would have ſo acted, their Children are to be baptiſed.

7. 'The Members of Oxthodox Churches, being ſound in the Faith and not ſcandalous in Life, and preſenting due Teſtimony thereof; theſe occaſionally coming from one Church to another may have their Children baptiſed in the Church, whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches: But if they remove their Habitation, they ought orderly to Covenant and Subject themſelves to the Government of Chriſt in the Church, where they ſettle their abode, and ſo their Children to be baptiſed. It being the Churche's Duty to receive ſuch into Communion, ſo far, as they are regularly fit for the ſame.

The

The Confirmation of theſe Propoſitions from the Scripture, followeth.

Proposition I.

They, that according to Scripture, are Members of the Viſible Church, are the Subjects of Baptiſm.

The Truth hereof may appear by the following Evidences from the Word of God.

1. WHen Chriſt ſaith, *Go ye therefore and teach*, or (as the Greek is) *diſciple all Nations, Baptiſing them*, Matth. 28. 19. He expreſſeth the Adæquate Subject of Baptiſm, to be *Diſciples* or *diſcipled Ones*. But *Diſciples* there, is the ſame with *Members of the Viſible Church*. For the Viſible Church is Chriſt's School, wherein all the Members ſtand related and ſubjected to him, as their Maſter and Teacher, and ſo are his *Scholars* or *Diſciples*, and under his teaching, as *ver.* 20. And it is that viſible Spiritual Kingdom of Chriſt, which he, there, from his kingly Power, *v.* 18. ſendeth them to ſet up and adminiſter, in *v.* 19. The Subjects whereof are under his Laws and Government; *v.* 20. Which Subjects (or Members of that Kingdom, *i. e.* of the Viſible Church) are termed *Diſciples*, *v.* 19. Alſo in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, (the Story of their Accompliſhment of that Commiſſion) Diſciples are uſually put for Members of the Viſible Church, *Acts* 1. 15. *In the midſt of the Diſciples*, who, with others added to them, are called the *Church*, *Act.* 2. 47. The Members whereof are again called *Diſciples* , Acts 6. 1, 2. Acts 9. 1. *Againſt the Diſciples of the Lord*; *i. e.* againſt the *Church of God*, 1 Cor. 15. 9. Galat. 1. 13. Acts 9. 26. *He aſſayed to join himſelf to the Diſciples.* The *Diſciples* of *Lyſtra*, *Iconium* and *Antioch*, *Acts* 14. 21, 22. are call'd the *Church* in each of thoſe Places, *v.* 23. ſo the *Church*, *v.* 27. the *Diſciples*, *v.* 28. *Acts* 18. 22. *The Church at Cæſarea*; Acts 21. 16. *The Diſciples of Cæſarea*: So *Acts* 18. 23. with *Chap.* 15. 41. & *Gal.* 1. 2. *Acts* 18. 27. & *Chap.* 20. 1. From all which it appeareth, that *Diſciples* in *Matth.* 28. 19. and *Members of the Viſible Church*, are Terms equivalent; and *Diſciples* being, there, by Chriſt himſelf made the Subjects of Baptiſm, it followeth that the Members of the Viſible Church are the Subjects of Baptiſm.

2. Baptiſm is *the Seal of the firſt Entrance or Admiſſion into the Viſible Church*; as appeareth from thoſe Texts, 1 *Cor.* 12. 13. *Baptiſed into one Body*, *i. e.* our Entrance into the Body or Church of Chriſt, is ſealed by Baptiſm: And *Rom.* 6. 3, 5. *Gal.* 3. 27. where 'tis ſhewed that Baptiſm is the Sacrament of *Union*, or of *ingrafting* into Chriſt the Head, and conſequently into the Church his Body, and from the Apoſtle's conſtant practice of baptiſing Perſons upon their firſt coming in, or firſt giving up themſelves to the Lord and them. *Acts* 8. 12. and 16, 15. 33. and 18. 8. and *Acts* 2. 41. 42. they were baptiſed at their firſt *Adding* to the Church, or Admiſſion into the *Apoſtle's Fellowſhip*, wherein they, afterward, *continued.* And from its anſwering unto Circumciſion, which was a Seal of Initiation or Admiſſion into the Church; hence it belongs to all, and only thoſe that are entred into, that are within or that are Members of the Viſible Church.

3. *They that according to Scripture are Members of the Viſible Church, are in Covenant.* For it is the Covenant, that conſtituteth the Church, *Deut.* 29. 12, 13. They muſt *enter into Covenant*, that they might be *eſtabliſhed the People* or Church *of God.* Now the initiatory Seal is affixed to the Covenant, and appointed to run parallel therewith, *Gen.* 17. 7, 9, 10, 11. ſo *Circumciſion* was, and hence called *the Covenant*, *Gen.* 17. 13. *Acts* 7. 8. And ſo *Baptiſm* is being in like manner annexed to the *Promiſe* or Covenant, *Acts* 2. 38, 39. and being the Seal that anſwereth to Circumciſion, *Col.* 2. 11, 12.

4. *Chriſt doth ſanctifie and cleanſe the Church by the waſhing of Water*, *i. e.* by Baptiſm, *Eph.* 5. 25, 26. Therefore the whole Church, and and ſo all the Members thereof (who are alſo ſaid in Scripture to be *ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 2.) are the Subjects of Baptiſm. And altho' it is the *Inviſible Church*, unto the Spiritual and Eternal Good whereof, this and all other Ordinances laſtly, have reſpect, and which the place mentioned in *Eph.* 5. may in a ſpecial manner look unto, yet it is the *Viſible Church* that is the next and immediate Subject of the Adminiſtration thereof. For the Subject of viſible external Ordinances to be adminiſtred by Men, muſt needs be viſible. And ſo the Apoſtle baptized ſundry Perſons, who were of the viſible, but not of the inviſible Church, as *Simon Magus*, *Ananias* and *Saphira*, and others. And there are viſibly *purchaſed* and *ſanctified* by the Blood of Chriſt, *the Blood of the Covenant*, *Acts* 20. 28. *Heb.* 10. 29. Therefore the Viſible Seal of the Covenant and of cleanſing by Chriſt's Blood belongs to them.

5. *The Circumciſion is often put for the whole Jewiſh Church, or for the Members of the Viſible Church under the* Old Teſtament. Thoſe *within* are expreſſed by [the *circumciſed*] and thoſe *without* by [*the Uncircumciſed*] *Rom.* 15. 8. and 3. 30. *Eph.* 2. 11. *Judges* 14. 3. and 15. 18. 1 *Sam.* 14. 6. and 17. 26, 36. *Jer.* 9. 25, 26. Hence by proportion Baptiſm (which is our Goſpel Circumciſion, *Col.* 2. 11. 12.) belongs to the whole Viſible Church under the *New Teſtament.* Actual and perſonal Circumciſion, was indeed proper to the Males of old, Females being but incluſively and virtually circumciſed and ſo counted of the Circumciſion: But the Lord has taken away that Difference now, and appointed Baptiſm to be perſonally applied to both Sexes. *Acts* 8. 12. and 16. 15. *Gal.* 3. 28. So that every particular Member of the Viſible Church is now a Subject of Baptiſm. We conclude, therefore, that Baptiſm pertains to the whole Viſible Church, and to all and every one therein, and to no other.

PROPOSITION II.

The Members of the Viſible Church according to Scripture, are confederate Viſible Believers, in particular Churches, and their Infant-ſeed, i. e. ***Children in Minority, whoſe next Parents, one or both are in Covenant.***

Sundry Particulars are compriſed in this Propoſition, which we may conſider and confirm diſtinctly.

Partic. 1. ADult *Perſons, who are Members of the Viſible Church, are by Rule confederate Viſible Believers, Acts* 5. 14. *Believers were added to the Lord.* The *Believing Corinthians* were Members of the Church there, *Acts* 18. 8. with 1 *Cor.* 1. 2. and 12. 27. The Inſcription of the Epiſtles written to Churches, and calling the Members thereof *Saints* and *Faithful*, ſhew the ſame thing, *Eph.* 1. 1. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Col.* 1. 2. And that conſideration, *i. e.* Covenanting explicite or implicite (the latter preſerveth the Eſſence of Confederation, the former is Duty and moſt deſirable) is neceſſary to make one a Member of the Viſible Church, appears, 1. Becauſe the Church is conſtituted by Covenant; for there is between Chriſt and the Church, the mutual Engagement and Relation of King and Subjects, Husband and Spouſe; this cannot be, but by Covenant (internal if you ſpeak of the Inviſible Church, external of the Viſible) a Church is a Company that can ſay, God is our God and we are his People, this is from the Covenant between God and them. *Deut.* 29. 12, 13. *Ezek.* 16. 8. 2. The Church of the *Old Teſtament* was the Church of God by *Covenant*, *Gen.* 17. *Deut.* 29. and was reformed ſtill by the renewing of the Covenant, 2 *Chron.* 15. 16. and 23. 12. and 34. 31. 32. *Neh.* 9. 38. Now the Churches of the *Gentiles* under the *New Teſtament* ſtand upon the ſame Baſis or Root, with the Church of the *Old Teſtament*, and therefore are conſtituted by *Covenant*, as that was, *Rom.* 11. 17, 18. *Eph.* 2. 11, 12, 19. and 3. 6. *Heb.* 8. 10. 3. Baptiſm enters us into the Church Sacramentally, *i. e.* by ſealing the Covenant. The *Covenant*, therefore, is that which conſtitutes the Church, and infers Memberſhip, and is the *Vow* in *Baptiſm* commonly ſpoken of.

Partic. 2. *The Members of the Viſible Church are ſuch as are confederate in particular Churches.* It may be minded that we are here ſpeaking of Members, ſo ſtated in the Viſible Church, as that they are Subjects, to whom Church Ordinances may regularly be adminiſtred, and that according to ordinary Diſpenſation. For were it granted, that *the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts* did ſometimes baptiſe ſuch, as were not Members of any particular Church, yet their extraordinary Office large Power and Commiſſion renders them not imitable therein by *ordinary Officers*. For then they might baptiſe in private, without the Preſence of a Chriſtian aſſembly, as *Philip did the Eunuch*. But that in ordinary Diſpenſation the Members of the Viſible Church, according to the Scripture, are, ſuch as are Members of ſome particular Church, appears, 1. Becauſe the Viſible Believer that profeſſedly Covenants with God doth therein give up himſelf to wait on God in all his Ordinances, *Deut.* 26. 17, 18. *Matt.* 28. 19, 20. But all the Ordinances of God are to be enjoyed only in a particular Church. For how often do we find in the Scripture that they came *together into one place*, (or met as a Congregational particular Church) for the Obſervation and Enjoyment of the Ordinances, *Acts* 2. 1, 44, 46. and 4. 31. and 11. 26. and 20. 7. 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. and 11. 18. and 20. 33. and 14. 23. 2. The Apoſtle in his Epiſtles writing to *Saints* or *Believers*, writes to them as in *particular Churches*, 1 *Cor.* 1, 2. *Eph.* 1. 1. *Phil.* 1. 1. *Col.* 1. 2. And when the Story of the *Acts* ſpeaks of Diſciples, other places ſhew that thoſe are underſtood to be *Members of particular Churches*, *Acts* 18. 23. with *Gal.* 1. 2. *Acts* 21. 16. with 18. 22. and 11. 26. and 14. 22, 23, 27, 28. All which ſhews that the Scripture acknowledgeth no ſettled orderly Eſtate of Viſible Believers in Covenant, with God, but only in particular Churches. 3. The Members of the Viſible Church are Diſciples, as was above cleared, now *Diſciples* are under *Diſcipline*, and liable to Church Cenſures: For they are ſtated Subjects of Chriſt's Laws and Government, *Matt.* 28. 19, 20. but Church Government and Cenſures are extant now in ordinary Diſpenſation only in a particular Church, *Matt.* 18. 17. 1 *Cor.* 5. 4.

Partic. 3. *The Infant-ſeed of confederate Viſible Believers are alſo Members of the Viſible Church.* The truth of this is evident from the Scriptures and Reaſons following.

Argum. 1. *The Covenant of* Abraham, *as to the Subſtance thereof*, viz. *That whereby God declares himſelf to be the God of the Faithful and their Seed*, Gen. 17. 7. *continues under the Goſpel*, as appears. 1. Becauſe the Believing inchurched *Gentiles* under the *New Teſtament*, do ſtand upon the ſame *Root* of *covenanting Abraham*; which the *Jews* were *broken off from*. *Rom.* 11. 16, 17, 18. 2. Becauſe *Abraham* in regard of that Covenant was made *a Father of many Nations*, *Gen.* 17. 4, 5. even of *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*, under *New Teſtament* as well as *Old*. *Rom.* 4. 16, 17. *Gal.* 3. 29. *i. e.* in *Abraham* as a Pattern and Root, God not only ſheweth how he juſtifies the Believer, *Gal.* 3. 6. 9. *Rom.* 4. but alſo conveyed that Covenant to the Faith, and their Seed in all Nations, *Luke* 19. 9. If a Son of *Abraham*, then *Salvation*, *i. e.* the Covenant-Diſpenſation of Salvation is *come to his Houſe*. 3. As that Covenant was communicated to proſelyte *Gentiles* under the *New Teſtament*, ſo its Communication to the inchurched *Gentiles* under the *New Teſtament* is clearly held forth in diverſe Places, *Gal.* 3. 14. The Bleſſing of *Abraham* compriſeth both the internal Benefits of Juſtification by Faith, &c. which the Apoſtle is there treating of; and the external

nal Diſpenſation of Grace in the viſible Church to the Faithful and their Seed, *Gen.* 28. 4. but the whole Bleſſing of *Abraham* (and ſo the whole Covenant) *is come upon the Gentiles thro' Jeſus Chriſt*, Eph. 2. 12, 19. They had been Strangers, but now were no more *Strangers* from the Covenants of Promiſe, *i. e.* from the Covenant of Grace, which had often been renewed,eſpecially with *Abraham*,and the Houſe of *Iſrael*, and had been in the External Diſpenſation of it, their peculiar Portion, ſo that the *Epheſians*, who were afar off, being now called and made nigh, *v.* 13, 17. they have the Promiſe or the Covenant of Promiſe to them and to their Children, according to *Acts* 2. 39. and ſo are Partakers of that Covenant of *Abraham*, that we are ſpeaking of, *Eph.* 3. 6. The Inchurched Gentiles are put into the ſame Inheritance for Subſtance (both as to inviſible and viſible Benefits, according to their reſpective Conditions) are of the ſame Body, and Partakers of the ſame Promiſe with the Jews, the Children of *Abraham*, of old. The ſame may be gathered from *Gen.* 9. 27. *Mat.* 8. 11. & 21. 43. 4. Sundry Scriptures which extend to Goſpel-times do confirm the ſame Intereſt to the Seed of the Faithful which is held forth in the Covenant of *Abraham*, and conſequently do confirm the Continuance of that Covenant, as *Exod.* 20. 6. there in the Sanction of a Moral and Perpetual Commandment, and that reſpecting Ordinances, the Portion of the Church, God declareth himſelf to be a God of Mercy to them that love him, and to their Seed after them in their Generations,conſonant to *Gen.* 17. 7. compare herewith, *Pſalm* 105. 8, 9. and *Deut.* 7. 9. *Deut.* 30. 6. The Grace ſignified by *Circumciſion* is there promiſed to Parents and Children, importing the Covenant to both, which Circumciſion ſealed, *Gen.* 17. and that is a Goſpel Promiſe, as the Apoſtles citing part of that Context, as the Voice of the Goſpel ſhews *Rom.* 10. 6,8. with *Deut.*20. 11,14. and it reacheth to the Jews in the latter Days, *v.* 1, 5. *Iſa.* 65. 23. In the moſt glorious Goſpel-State of the Church, *v.* 17, 19. The Bleſſing of the Lord is the promiſed Portion of the *Offſpring* or Children as well as of the Faithful Parents, ſo *Iſa.* 44. 3, 4. *Iſa.* 59. 20, 21. *Ezek.* 37. 25, 26. at the future calling of the Jews, which thoſe Texts have Reference to (*Rom.*11. 26. *Ezek.* 37.19,22,23,24.) their Children ſhall be under the Promiſe or Covenant of ſpecial Grace to be conveyed to them in the Ordinances, *Iſa.* 59. 21. and be Subjects of *David*, *i. e.* Chriſt their King, *Ezek.* 37. 25. and have a Portion in his Sanctuary, *v.* 26. and this according to the Tenor of the Ancient Covenant of *Abraham*, whereby God will be their God (*viz.* both of Parents and Children) *and they ſhall be his People*, *v.* 26, 27. Now altho' more abundant Fruits of the Covenant may be ſeen in thoſe times, and the Jews then may have more abundant Grace given to the Body of them to continue in the Covenant, yet the Tenor and Frame of the Covenant it ſelf is one and the ſame both to Jews and Gentiles under the New Teſtament, *Gal.* 3. 28. *Col.* 3. 11. *Heb.* 8. 10. *The Houſe of Iſrael*, i. e. the Church of *God* both among *Jews* and *Gentiles* under the *New-Teſtament* have that Covenant made with them, the Summ whereof is, *I will be their God, and they ſhall be my People*, which is a renewing of that Covenant of *Abraham* in *Gen.* 17. (as the ſame is very often over in thoſe Terms renewed in Scripture, and is diſtinguiſhed from the Law, *Gal.* 3. 16, 17. *Heb.* 8. 9.) wherein is implied God's being *a God to the Seed*, as well as Parents, and taking *both* to be his *People*, tho' it be not expreſſed : even as it is often plainly implied in that Expreſſion of the Covenant in other places of the Covenant in other places of Scripture, *Deut.* 29. 13. *Jer.* 31. 1. and 32. 38, 39. and 30. 22, 20. *Ezek.* 37. 27, 25. Alſo the *writing of the Law in the Heart* in *Heb.* 8. 10. is that *Heart Circumciſion*, which *Deut.* 30. 6. extends both to Parents and Seed. And the term *Houſe of Iſrael* doth according to Scripture Uſe fitly expreſs and take in (eſpecially as to the eternal Adminiſtration of the Covenant) both Parents and Children: Among both which are found that Elect and ſaved Number; that make up the inviſible *Iſrael*, compare *Jer.* 13. 11. and 9. 26. *Iſaiah* 5. 7. *Hoſ.* 1. 6. *Ezek.* 39. 25. Neither may we exclude the *leaſt in Age* from the Good of that Promiſe, *Heb.* 8. 11. (they being ſometimes pointed to by that Phraſe, *from the leaſt to the greateſt*, *Jer.* 44. 12. with *v.* 7.) no more than the leaſt in other Reſpects, compare *Iſaiah* 54. 13. In *Acts* 2. 39. At the paſſing of thoſe *Jews* into *New-Teſtament* Church-State, the Lord is ſo far from *repealing the Covenant Intereſt*, that was granted unto *Children* in the former Teſtament, or from making the Children there loſers by their Parents Faith, that he doth expreſly *renew* the old Grant, and tells them, that the *Promiſe* or Covenant (for the Promiſe and the Covenant are Terms that do mutually infer each other, compare *Acts* 3. 25. *Gal.* 3. 16, 17, 18, 29. *Rom.* 4. 16. *Heb.* 6. 17.) *is to them and their Children*, the ſame is aſſerted to be the appointed Portion of the *far off* Gentiles, when they ſhould be *called*. By all which it appears that the *Covenant of Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. 7. whereby *God is the God of the Faithful and their Seed*, continues under the Goſpel.

Now if the Seed of the Faithful be ſtill in the Covenant of *Abraham*, then they are *Members of the Viſible Church*. 1. Becauſe that Covenant of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. 7. was properly *Church Covenant*, or *the Covenant which God makes with his Viſible Church*, *i. e.* The Covenant of Grace conſidered in the external Diſpenſation of it, and in the Promiſes and Privileges that belong to that Diſpenſation. For many were taken into that Covenant, that were never of the *Inviſible* Church, and by that Covenant the Family of *Abraham*, as alſo by the renewing thereof the Houſe of *Iſrael* afterwards were eſtabliſhed the Viſible Church of God, *Gen.* 17. and *Deut.* 29. 12, 13. and from

that Covenant Men might be broken off, *Gen.* 17. 14. *Rom.* 11. 17, 19. and to that Covenant, *Circumciſion*, the Badg of Church-Memberſhip, was annexed. Therefore the Covenantees therein, were and are Church-Members. 2. Becauſe in that Covenant the *Seed* are ſpoken of in Terms deſcribing or inferring Church-Memberſhip, as well as their Parents: For they *have God for their God* and are *his People* as well as the Parents, *Gen.* 17. 7, 8. with *Deut.* 29. 11, 13. They have the Covenant made with them, *Deut.* 29. 14, 15. and the Covenant is ſaid to be *between God and them, (between me and thee and between thy Seed after thee:* So the Hebrew runs) *Gen.* 17. 7. They are alſo in that Covenant appointed to be the Subjects of the *Initiatory Seal* of the Covenant, the Seal of Memberſhip, *Gen.* 17. 9, 10, 11. Thefore the Seed are according to that Covenant, Members of the Viſible Church as well as their Parents.

Argum. 2. *Such Seed or Children are federally Holy*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 14. the Word [*Holy*] as applied to any ſort of Perſons, is never in Scripture uſed in a lower Senſe, than for *federal* or *Covenant Holineſs* (the Covenant Holineſs of the Viſible Church) but very often in that Senſe, *Ezr.* 9. 2. *Deut.* 7. 6. and 14. 2, 21. and 26. 19. and 28. 9. *Exod.* 19. 6. *Dan.* 8. 24. and 12. 7. *Rom.* 11. 16. So that to ſay, they are Holy in this Senſe, *viz.* by Covenant Relation and Seperation to God in his Church, is as much as to ſay, *They are in the Covenant of the Viſible Church, or Members of it.*

Argum. 3. From *Mark* 10. 14, 15, 16. *Matt.* 19. 14. Children's Memberſhip in the Viſible Church, is either the next and immediate Senſe of thoſe Words of Chriſt, *Of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven*; and ſo *the Kingdom of Heaven*, or *of God*, is, not rarely, uſed in other Scriptures to expreſs the Viſible Church, or Church Eſtate, *Matth.* 25. 1. and 21. 43. and 8. 11, 12. or it evidently follows from any other Senſe, that can rationally be given of the Words. For thoſe may not be denied a place or portion in the Viſible Church, whom Chriſt affirms to have a Portion in the Kingdom either of Inviſible Grace or of eternal Glory: Nor do any in ordinary Courſe paſs into the Kingdom of Glory hereafter, but thro' the Kingdom of Grace in the Viſible Church here. And alſo, that Chriſt, there, graciouſly invites and calls little Children to him, is greatly diſpleaſed with thoſe that would hinder them, aſſerts them, notwithſtanding their Infancy, to be exemplary in their receiving the Kingdom of God, embraceth them in his Arms and bleſſeth them: All which ſhews Chriſt's dear Affection to, and owning of the Children of the Church, as a part of his Kingdom; whom we, therefore, may not diſown, leſt we incur his Diſpleaſure, as the Diſciples did.

Argum. 4. Such Seed or Children are Diſciples, according to *Matth.* 28. 19. as appears. 1. Becauſe Subjects of Chriſt's Kingdom are equivalent with Diſciples there, as the frame of that Text ſhews, *v.* 18. 19, 20. but ſuch Children are Subjects of Chriſt's Kingdom, or *of the Kingdom of Heaven*, *Matth.* 9. 14. In the diſcipling of all Nations intended in *Matth.* 28. 19. *the Kingdom of God*, which had been the Portion of the Jews, was communicated to the *Gentiles* according to *Matth.* 21. 43. But in the Kingdom of God theſe Children have an Intereſt or Portion, *Mark* 10. 14. 2. The Apoſtles in accompliſhing that Commiſſion, *Matth.* 28. 19. did Diſciple ſome Children, *viz.* the Children of diſcipled Parents, *Acts* 2. 39. and 15. 10. They are there called and accounted Diſciples, whom the falſe Teachers would have brought under the Yoke of Circumciſion after the manner of *Moſes*, *v.* 1. 5. But many of thoſe were Children; *Exod.* 12. 48. *Acts* 21. 21. *Lydia* and her Houſhold, the Jaylor and all his were diſcipled and baptiſed, *Acts* 16. 15, 31, 33. *Paul* at *Corinth* took in the Children into the Holy School of Chriſt, 1 *Cor.* 7. 14. 3. Such Children belong unto Chriſt; for he calls them unto him, as his, to receive his Bleſſing, *Mark* 10. 13, 16. They are to be received in his Name, *Mark* 9. 37. *Luke* 9. 48. They have a part in the Lord, *Joſh.* 22. 24, 25. therefore they are his Diſciples: For to belong to Chriſt, is to be a Diſciple of Chriſt, *Mark* 9. 41. with *Matth.* 10. 42. Now if they be Diſciples, then they are Members of the Viſible Church, as from the equivalency of thoſe Terms was before ſhewed.

Argum. 5. *The whole Current and Harmony of Scripture ſhews, that ever ſince there was a Viſible Church on Earth, the Children thereof have by the Lord's Appointment been a part of it.* So it was in the *Old*, and it is and ſhall be ſo in the *New Teſtament*. *Eve, the Mother of all Living* hath a Promiſe made, *Gen.* 3. 15. not only of Chriſt the Head-Seed, but thro' him alſo of a Church-Seed, to proceed from her in a continued lineal Succeſſion, which ſhould continually be at viſible Enmity with, and ſtand at a diſtance, or be ſeparated from the Seed of the Serpent. Under that Promiſe made to *Eve* and her Seed the Children of *Adam* are born, and are a part of the Church in *Adam*'s Family: Even *Cain* was ſo, *Gen.* 4. 1, 3. till *caſt out of the Preſence of God* therein, *v.* 14. being now manifeſtly one of the Seed of the Serpent, 1 *John* 3. 12. and ſo becoming the Father of a wicked unchurched Race. But, then God appointed unto *Eve*, another, *viz. Seth*, in whom to continue the Line of her Church-Seed, *Gen.* 4. 25. How it did continue in his Seed in their Generations, *Gen.* 5. ſheweth. Hence the Children of the Church are called *Sons of God*, (which is as much as Members of the Viſible Church) in contradiſtinction to the Daughters of Men, *Gen.* 6. 2. If righteous *Noah* be taken into the Ark (then the only preſerving place of the Church) his *Children* are taken in with him, *Gen.* 7. 1. tho' one of them, *viz. Ham*, after proved degenerate and wicked; but till he ſo appears, he is continued in the Church with his Bretheren: So *Gen.* 9. 25, 26, 27. as the Race of *Ham* or his Son *Canaan* (Parents and Children) are curſed; ſo *Shem* (Parent and Children) is bleſſed, and continued in the place of Bleſſing, the Church

Church, as *Japhet* alſo, or *Japhet*'s Poſterity (ſtill Parent and Children) ſhall in time be brought in. The Holy Line mentioned in *Gen* 11. 10, 26. ſhews how the Church continued in *the Seed of Shem*, from him unto *Abraham*. When that Race grew degenerate, *Joſh*. 24. 2. Then God called *Abraham* out of his Country, and from his Kindred, and *eſtabliſhed his Covenant with him*, which ſtill took in Parents and Children, *Gen*. 17. 7, 9. ſo it did after in the Houſe of *Iſrael*, *Deut*. 29. 11, 12, 13. and when any Eminent Reſtoration or Eſtabliſhment, is promiſed to the Church, the Children thereof are ſtill taken in as ſharers in the ſame, *Pſal*. 102. 16, 28. and 69. 35, 36. *Jer*. 32. 38, 39. *Iſa*. 65. 18, 19, 23. Now when Chriſt comes to ſet up the Goſpel Adminiſtration of his Church in the New Teſtament, under the term of the *King of Heaven*, *Mat*. 3. 2. and 11. 11. He is ſo far from taking away Children's Portion and Memberſhip therein, that himſelf aſſerts it, *Mat*. 19. 14. The Children of the *Gentile*, but now *Believing Corinthians*, are *Holy*, 1 *Cor*. 7. 14. The Apoſtle writing to the Church of *Epheſus* and *Coloſſe*, ſpeaks to *Children*, as a part thereof, *Eph*. 6. 1. *Col*. 3. 20. The Inchurched *Romans* and other *Gentiles* ſtand on the *Root of Covenanting Abraham*, and in the *Olive* or Viſible Church, they and their Children, till broken off (as the *Jews* were) by poſitive Unbelief, or Rejection of Chriſt, his Truth or Government, *Rom*. 11. 13, 16, 17. 22. The Children of the *Jews* when they ſhall be called, ſhall be as aforetime in Church-Eſtate, *Jer*. 30. 20. with 31. 1. *Ezek*. 37. 25. 28. from all which it appears, that the Series, or whole Frame and Current of Scripture Expreſſions doth hold forth *the continuance of Children's Memberſhip in the Viſible Church*, from the Beginning to the End of the World.

Partic. 4. *The Seed or Children, who become Members together with their Parents* (*i. e.* by means of their Parents Covenanting) *are Children in Minority*. This appears, 1. Becauſe ſuch Children are Holy by their Parents Covenanting, who would *elſe be unclean*, 1 Cor. 7. 14. but they would not elſe neceſſarily be unclean, if they were Adult; for then they might Act for themſelves, and ſo be Holy by their perſonal Covenanting; neither, on the other Hand would they neceſſarily be *Holy*, if Adult, (as he Aſſerts the Children there to be, for they might continue Pagans. Therefore the Apoſtle intends only Infants, or Children in Minority. 2. It is a Principle, that carries Evidence of Light and Reaſon with it, as to all Tranſactions Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, that *if a Man be of Age, he ſhould anſwer for himſelf*, Joh. 9. 21. They that are come to Years of Diſcretion, ſo as to *have Knowledge and Underſtanding* fit to act in a matter of that nature, are to Covenant by their own Perſonal Act. *Neh*. 10. 28, 29. *Iſa*. 44. 5. 3. They that are regularly taken in with their Parents, are reputed to be viſible *Entertainers of the Covenant, and Avouchers of God* to be their God, *Deut*. 26. 7, 18. with *Deut*. 29. 11, 12. But if Adult Children ſhould without regard to their own perſonal Act, be taken in with their Parents then ſome might be reputed *Entertainers*, that are manifeſt *Rejectors* of the Covenant, for ſo an Adult Son or Daughter of a Godly Parent may be.

Partic. 5. *It is requiſite unto the Memberſhip of Children, that the next Parents, one or both, be in Covenant.* For altho' After-Generations have no ſmall Benefit by their Pious Anceſtors, who derive federal Holineſs to their ſucceeding Generations in caſe they keep their ſtanding in the Covenant, and be not Apoſtates from it; yet the *Piety* of Anceſtors ſufficeth not, unleſs the next Parent *continue* in Covenant, *Rom*. 11. 22.

1. Becauſe if the next Parent be cut or broken off, the following Seed are broken off alſo, *Exod*. 20. 5. *Rom*. 11. 17, 19, 20. as the Gentile believing Parents and Children were taken in; ſo the *Jews*, Parents and Children, were then broken off.

2. One of the Parents muſt be a Believer, or *elſe the Children are unclean*, 1 Cor. 7. 14.

3. If Children may be accounted Members and Baptiſed, though the next Parents be not in Covenant, then the Church ſhould be bound to Baptiſe thoſe, whom ſhe can have *no power over nor hope concerning*, to ſee them brought up in the true Chriſtian Religion, and under the Ordinances: For the next Parents being wicked, and not in Covenant, may carry away and bring up their Children *to ſerve other Gods*.

4. If we ſtop not at the next Parent, but grant that Anceſtors may, notwithſtanding the Apoſtacy of the next Parents convey Memberſhip unto Children, then we ſhould want a ground where to ſtop, and then all the Children on Earth ſhould have right to Memberſhip and Baptiſm.

PROPOSITION. III.

The Infant-Seed of Confederate viſible Believers, are Members of the ſame Church with their Parents, and when grown up are perſonally under the Watch, Diſcipline, and Government of that Church.

1. THAT they are Members of the ſame Church with their Parents, appears; 1. Becauſe, ſo were *Iſaac* and *Iſhmael* of *Abraham*'s Family-Church, and the Children of *Jews*, and *Proſelytes* of *Iſrael*'s National Church: and there is the ſame Reaſon, for Children now to be of the *ſame Congregational-Church* with their Parents; Chriſt's Care for Children and the ſcope of the Covenant, as to Obligation unto Order and Government is as great now, as then. 2. Either they are Members of the ſame Church with their Parents, or of ſome other Church, or Non-Members: But neither of the latter; therefore the former. That they are not Non-Members was before proved in *Propoſ*. 2. *Particul*. 3. and if not Members of the *ſame Church*

Church with their Parents, then of *no other.* For if there be not Reaſon ſufficient to ſtate them Members of that Church, where their Parents have covenanted for them, and where ordinarily they are Baptiſed and do Inhabit, then much leſs is there Reaſon to make them Members of any other: and ſo they will be Members of no particular Church at all, and it was before ſhewed that there is no Ordinary, and Orderly ſtanding eſtate of Church-Members, but in ſome particular Church. 3. *The ſame Covenant-Act is accounted the Act of Parent and Child:* but the Parents covenanting rendered himſelf a Member of this particular Church; therefore ſo it renders the Child alſo. How can Children come in, with and by their Parents, and yet come into a Church wherein and whereof their Parents are not, ſo that as they ſhould be of one Church, and their Parents of another. 4. Children are in *an orderly and regular ſtate:* for they are in that ſtate, wherein the Order of God's Covenant, and his Inſtitution therein hath placed them; they being Members by virtue of the Covenant of God. To ſay their ſtanding is diſorderly, would be to impute diſorder to the Order of God's Covenant, or Irregularity to the Rule. Now all will grant it to be moſt orderly and regular, that every Chriſtian be a Member in ſome particular Church, (and in that particular Church) where his regular Habitation is, which to Children uſually is, where their Parents are. If the Rule call them to remove, then their Memberſhip ought orderly to be tranſlated to the Church, whither they remove. Again, Order requires, that *the Child*, and the *power of Government over the Child*, ſhould go together. It would *bring ſhame* and Confuſion, for the Child to be from under Government, *Prov.* 29. 15. and Parental and Eccleſiaſtical Government concurring do mutually help and ſtrengthen each other. Hence the Parent and the Child muſt be Members of the ſame Church, unleſs the Child be by ſome ſpecial Providence ſo removed, as that ſome other Perſon hath the power over him.

2. *That when theſe Children are grown up, they are perſonally under the Watch, Diſcipline and Government of that Church*, is manifeſt; for 1. Children were under *Patriarchal* and *Moſaical* Diſcipline of old, *Gen.* 18. 19. and 21. 9, 10, 12. *Gal.* 5. 3. and, therefore, under *Congregational* Diſcipline now. 2. They are within the Church, or Members thereof, (as hath been, and after will be further proved) and therefore ſubject to Church Judicature, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. 3. They are Diſciples, and, therefore, under Diſcipline in Chriſt's School, *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. 4. They are *in Church-Covenant*, and, therefore, ſubject to *Church Power*, *Gen.* 17. 7. with *Chap.* 18. 19. 5. They are *ſubjects of the Kingdom of Chriſt*, and therefore under the Laws and Government of his Kingdom, *Ezek.* 37. 25, 26. 6. *Baptiſm* leaves the Baptiſed (of which number theſe Children are) in a ſtate of ſubjection to the *Authoritative Teaching* of Chriſt's Miniſters, and to the *obſervation of all his Commandments*, *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. and therefore in a ſtate of ſubjection unto Diſcipline. 7. Elders are charged *to take heed unto, and to feed*, (that is, both to Teach and Rule, compare *Ezek.* 34. 3, 4.) *all the Flock*, or Church, *over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made them Overſeers*, *Acts* 20. 28. That Children are a part of the Flock, was before proved: and ſo *Paul* accounts them, writing to the ſame Flock or Church of *Epheſus*, *Eph.* 6. 1. 8. otherwiſe Irreligion and Apoſtacy would Inevitably break into Churches and no Church-way left by Chriſt to prevent or heal the ſame: which would alſo bring many Church Members under that dreadful Judgment of being let alone in their wickedneſs, *Hoz.* 4. 16. 17.

PROPOSITION IV.

Theſe Adult Perſons are not therefore to be admitted to full Communion, meerly becauſe they are and continue Members, without ſuch further Qualifications as the Word of God requireth thereunto.

The Truth hereof is plain.

1. FROM 1 *Cor.* 11. 28, 29. where it is required that ſuch as come to the Lord's Supper, be able *to examine themſelves, and to diſcern the Lord's Body*; elſe they will *Eat and Drink unworthily, and Eat and Drink Damnation*, or Judgment, *to themſelves*, when they partake of this Ordinance, but mere Memberſhip is ſeparable from ſuch Ability to examine One's ſelf, and diſcern the Lord's Body: as in the Children of the Covenant that grow up to Years is too often ſeen. 2. In the Old Teſtament, though Men did continue Members of the Church, yet for Ceremonial Uncleanneſs they were to be kept from full Communion in the Holy Things, *Levit.* 7. 20, 21. *Numb.* 9. 6, 7. and 19. 13, 20. yea and the Prieſts and Porters in the Old Teſtament, had ſpecial charge committed to them, that Men *ſhould not partake in all the Holy things*, unleſs duly qualified for the ſame, notwithſtanding their Memberſhip, 2 *Chr.* 23. 19. *Ezek.* 22. 26. and 44. 7, 8, 9, 23. and therefore much more in theſe times, where Moral fitneſs and ſpiritual Qualifications are wanting, *Memberſhip alone*, is not ſufficient for *full Communion.* More was required to Adult Perſons *Eating the Paſſover*, than mere Memberſhip, thefore ſo there is now to the Lord's Supper.

For they were to *Eat to the Lord*, *Ex.* 12. 14 which is expounded in 2 *Chro.* 30. where *keeping the Paſſover to the Lord*, *Ver.* 5. imports, and requires exerciſing Repentance, *ver.* 6, 7. their actual giving up themſelves to the Lord, *ver.* 8. *Heart preparation* for it, *ver.* 19. and Holy rejoycing before the Lord, *ver.* 21, 25. See the like in *Ezra* 6. 21, 22. 3. Tho' all Members of the Church are ſubjects of Baptiſm, they and their Children, yet all Members may not partake of the Lord's Supper, as is further manifeſt

manifeſt from the different Nature of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. Baptiſm firſtly and properly ſeals *Covenant-Holineſs*; as Circumciſion did, *Gen.* 17. *Church-Memberſhip*, *Rom.* 15. 8. *Planting into Chriſt*, *Rom.* 6. and ſo Members, as *ſuch*, are the ſubjects of Baptiſm, *Mat.* 28. 19. But the Lord's Supper is the Sacrament of *growth in Chriſt*, and of *ſpecial Communion* with him, 1 *Cor.* 10. 16. which ſuppoſeth *a ſpecial Renewing and Exerciſe* of Faith and Repentance, in thoſe that partake of that Ordinance. Now if Perſons even when Adult may be and continue Members, and yet be debarred from the Lord's Supper, until meet Qualifications for the ſame do appear in them; then may they alſo (until like Qualifications) be debarred from that Power of *Voting* in the Church, which pertains to Males in full Communion. It ſeems not Rational, that thoſe, who are not themſelves fit for all Ordinances, ſhould have ſuch an Influence referring to all Ordinances, as Voting in Election of Officers, Admiſſion and Cenſures of Members doth import. For how can they, that are not able to Examine and Judge themſelves, be thought able and fit to Diſcern and Judge in the weighty Affairs of the Houſe of God, 1 *Cor.* 11. 28, 31. with 1 *Cor.* 5. 12.

PROPOSITION V.

Church-Members who were admitted in Minority, underſtanding the Doctrine of Faith, and publickly profeſſing their Aſſent thereto; not ſcandalous in Life, and ſolemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themſelves and Children to the Lord, and ſubject themſelves to the Government of Chriſt in the Church, their Children are to be Baptiſed.

This is Evident from the Arguments following.

Arg. 1. *These Children are partakers of that which is the main ground of Baptiſing any Children whatſoever, and neither the Parents nor the Children do put in any Bar to hinder it.*

1. *That they partake of that, which is the main ground of Baptiſing any*, is clear; Becauſe Intereſt in the Covenant is the main ground of Title to Baptiſm, and this theſe Children have. 1. *Intereſt in the Covenant is the main ground of Title to Baptiſm*; for ſo in the Old Teſtament, this was the ground of Title to Circumciſion, *Gen.* 17. 7, 9, 10, 11. to which Baptiſm now anſwers, *Col.* 2. 11, 12. and *Acts* 2. 38, 39. they are on this ground exhorted to *be Baptiſed*, becauſe *the promiſe* or Covenant *was to them, and to their Children.* That a Member, or one in Covenant, *as ſuch*, is the ſubject of Baptiſm, was further cleared before, *Propoſ.* 1. 2. *That theſe Children have Intereſt in the Covenant* appears; Becauſe *if the Parent be in Covenant, the Child is alſo:* for the Covenant is to Parents and *their Seed in their Generations*, Gen. 17. 7, 9. *The promiſe is to you, and to your Children, Acts* 2. 39. If the Parent ſtands in the Church, ſo doth the Child among the *Gentiles* now, as well as among the *Jews* of old, *Rom.* 11. 16, 20, 21, 22. It is unheard of in Scripture that the Progreſs of the Covenant ſtops at the Infant-Child. But *the Parents in queſtion are in Covenant* as appears. 1. Becauſe they were once in Covenant, and never ſince Diſcovenanted. If they had not once been in Covenant, they had not warrantably been Baptiſed; and they are ſo ſtill, except in ſome way of God they have been Diſcovenanted, caſt out, or cut off from their Covenant Relation, which theſe have not been: neither are Perſons once in Covenant, *broken off* from it, according to Scripture, ſave for notorious Sin and Incorrigibleneſs therein, *Rom.* 11. 20. which is not the caſe of theſe Parents. 2. Becauſe the Tenor of the Covenant is *to the Faithful, and their Seed after them, in their Generations*, Gen. 17. 7. even to *a Thouſand Generations*, *i. e.* conditionally, provided that the Parents ſucceſſively do continue to be *keepers* of the Covenant, *Exod.* 20. 6. *Deut.* 7. 9, 11. *Pſal.* 105. 8. which the Parents in queſtion are, becauſe they are not (in Scripture Account in this Caſe) forſakers or rejecters of the God and Covenant of their Fathers: See *Deut.* 29. 25, 26. 2 *Kings* 17. 15, 20. 2 *Chro.* 7. 22. *Deut.* 7. 10.

2. That theſe Parents, in queſtion, *do not put any Bar to hinder* their Children from Baptiſm, is plain from the Words of the Propoſition, wherein they are deſcribed to be ſuch as *underſtand the Doctrine of Faith, and publickly profeſs their Aſſent thereto:* Therefore, they put not in any Bar of groſs Ignorance, Atheiſm Hereſie or Infidelity: Alſo they are *not ſcandalous in Life, but ſolemnly own the Covenant, before the Church*, therefore they put not in any Bar of Prophaneſs, or Wickedneſs, or Apoſtacy from the Covenant, whereinto they entred in Minority: That the Infant Children, in queſtion do themſelves put any Bar, none will imagine.

Arg. 2. The Children of the Parents in queſtion, are *either Children of the Covenant, or Strangers from the Covenant*, Eph. 2. 12. *either Holy or Unclean*, 1 Cor. 7. 14. either *within* the Church or *without*, 1 Cor. 5. 12. either ſuch as *have God for their God*, or *without God in the World*, Eph. 2. 12. But he that conſiders the Propoſition, will not affirm *the latter* concerning theſe Children: and *the former* being granted, infers their Right to Baptiſm.

Arg. 3. To deny the Propoſition would be, 1. To ſtraiten the Grace of Chriſt in the Goſpel-Diſpenſation, and to make the Church in New-Teſtament times in a worſe Caſe, relating to their Children ſucceſſively, than were the *Jews* of old. 2. To render the Children of the *Jews*, when they ſhall be called, in a worſe Condition, than under the Legal Adminiſtration; contrary to *Jer.* 30. 20. *Ezek.* 37. 25, 26. 3. To deny the Application of the Initiatory-Seal to ſuch as regularly ſtand in the Church and Covenant, to whom

whom the *Moſaical* Diſpenſation, nay, the firſt Inſtitution in the Covenant of *Abraham*, appointed it to be applied, *Gen.* 17. 9, 10. *Joh.* 7. 22, 23. 4. To break God's Covenant by denying the initiatory Seal to thoſe that are in Covenant, *Gen.* 17. 9, 10, 14.

Arg. 4. Confederate viſible Believers, tho' but in the loweſt degree ſuch, are to have their Children baptized; witneſs the Practice of *John Baptiſt* and the Apoſtles, who baptized Perſons upon the firſt beginning of their Chriſtianity. But the Parents in Queſtion are confederate viſible Believers, at leaſt in ſome degree. For, 1. Charity may obſerve in them ſundry poſitive Arguments for it; witneſs the Terms of the Propoſition, and nothing evident againſt it. 2. Children of the godly qualified but as the Perſons in the Propoſition, are ſaid to be faithful, *Tit.* 1. 6. 3. Children of the Covenant (as the Parents in queſtion are) have frequently the beginning of Grace wrought in them in younger years, as Scripture and Experience ſhews. Inſtance *Joſeph*, *Samuel*, *David*, *Solomon*, *Abijah*, *Joſia*, *Daniel*, *John Baptiſt* and *Timothy*. Hence this ſort of Perſons ſhewing nothing to the contrary, are in Charity, or to Eccleſiaſtical Reputation Viſible Believers. 4. They that are regularly in the Church (as the Parents in queſtion be) are Viſible Saints in the Account of Scripture (which is the Account of Truth) for the Church is, in Scripture-Account, A Company of Saints, 1 *Cor.* 14. 33. & 1. 2. 5. Being in Covenant and Baptized, they have Faith and Repentance *indefinitely given* to them in the Promiſe, and ſealed up in Baptiſm, *Deut.* 30. 6. which continues valid, and ſo a valid Teſtimony for them while they do not reject it. Yet it does not neceſſarily follow, that theſe Perſons are immediately fit for the Lord's Supper, becauſe, tho' they are *in a Latitude of Expreſſion*, to be accounted Viſible Belivers, or *in Numero Fidelium*, as even Infants in Covenant are, yet they may want that Ability to examine themſelves, and that ſpecial Exerciſe of Faith, which is requiſite to that Ordinance; as was ſaid upon *Propoſit.* 4.

Arg. 5. *The denial of Baptiſm to the Children in Queſtion, hath a dangerous Tendency to Irreligion and Apoſtacy*; becauſe it denies them, and ſo the Children of the Church ſucceſſively, *to have any part in the Lord*; which is the way to make them *ceaſe from fearing the Lord*, Joſ. 22. 24, 25, 27. For if they have a *Part in the Lord*, *i. e.* a Portion in *Iſrael*, and ſo in the Lord the God of *Iſrael*, then they are in the Church, or Members of it, and ſo to be baptized, according to *Propoſ.* 1. The owning of the Children of thoſe that ſucceſſively continue in Covenant to be a *part of the Church*, is ſo far from being deſtructive to the purity & proſperity of the Church & of Religion therein (as ſome conceive) that this Imputation belongs to the contrary Tenet. To ſeek to be more pure than the Rule, will ever end in Impurity in the Iſſue. God hath ſo framed his Covenant, and conſequently the Conſtitution of his Church thereby, as to deſign a Continuation and Propagation of his Kingdom therein, from one Generation to another. Hence the Covenant runs, *To us, and to our Seed after us in their Generations.* To keep in the Line, and under the Influence and Efficacy of this Covenant of God, is the true way to the Church's Glory: To cut it off and diſavow it, cuts off the Poſterity of *Zion*, and hinders it from being (as in the moſt glorious Times it ſhall be) *an eternal Excellency and the Joy of many Generations.* This Progreſs of the Covenant eſtabliſheth the Church, *Deut.* 29. 13. Jer. 30. 20. The contrary therefore doth diſeſtabliſh it. This obligeth and advantageth to the Conveyance of Religion down to after Generations; the care whereof is ſtrictly commanded, and highly approved by the Lord, *Pſalm* 78. 4, 5, 6, 7. *Gen.* 18. 19. This continues a Nurſery ſtill in Chriſt's Orchard or Vineyard, *Iſa.* 5. 1, 7. the contrary neglects That, and ſo lets the whole run to ruine. Surely God was an Holy God, and loved the *Purity* and *Glory* of the Church in the Old Teſtament; but when he went in this way of a ſucceſſive *Progreſs* of the Covenant to that End, *Jer.* 13. 11. If ſome did then, or do now, decline to Unbelief and Apoſtacy, that doth not make *the Faith of God* in his Covenant *of none effect*, or the Advantage of Intereſt therein, inconſiderable; yea, the more Holy, Reforming and Glorious that the Times are, or ſhall be, the more eminently is a ſucceſſive Continuation and Propagation of the Church therein deſigned, promiſed and intended, *Iſa.* 60. 15. & 59. 21. *Ezek.* 37. 25, 28. *Pſalm* 102. 16, 28. *Jer.* 32. 39.

Arg. 6. *The Parents, in Queſtion, are perſonal, immediate, and yet continuing Members of the Church.*

1. That they are perſonal Members, or Members in their own Perſons, appears, 1. Becauſe they are perſonally Holy, 1 *Cor.* 7. 14. not Parents only, but [your Children] are Holy. 2. They are perſonally baptized, or have had Baptiſm, the Seal of Memberſhip applied to their own Perſons; which being regularly done, is a Divine Teſtimony, that they are in their own Perſons Members of the Church. 3. They are perſonally under Diſcipline, and liable to Church-Cenſures in their own Perſons; *vide Propoſ.* 3. 4. They are perſonally (by means of the Covenant) in a viſible State of Salvation. To ſay they are not Members in their own Perſons, but in their own Parents, would be as if one ſhould ſay, They are ſaved in their Parents, and not in their Perſons. 5. When they commit Iniquity, they perſonally break the Covenant, therefore are perſonally in it, *Jerem.* 11. 2, 10. *Ezek.* 16.

2. By the like Reaſons, it appears, that Children are immediate Members, as to the Eſſence of Memberſhip (*i. e.* that they themſelves in their own Perſons, are the immediate Subjects of this adjunct of Church-Memberſhip) though they come to it by Means of their Parents covenanting. For as touching that Diſtinction of Mediate and Immediate, as applied to Memberſhip (which ſome urge) we are to diſtinguiſh 1. Between the Efficient and Eſſence of Memberſhip. 2. Between the Inſtrumental Efficient, or Means

Means thereof, which is the *Parents Profeſſion* and Covenanting; and the Principal Efficient, which is Divine Inſtitution. They may be ſaid to be *mediate* (or rather *mediately*) Members, as they become Members *by means* of their Parents Covenanting, as an Inſtrumental cauſe thereof: but that doth nothing vary or diminiſh *the Eſſence* of their Memberſhip. For Divine Inſtitution giveth or granteth a real and perſonal Memberſhip unto them, as well as unto their Parents, and maketh the Parent a publick Perſon, and ſo his Act theirs to that end.

Hence the Eſſence of Memberſhip, that is, *Covenant-Intereſt, or a place and portion within the Viſible Church* is really, properly, perſonally and immediately the Portion of the Child, by Divine Gift and Grant, *Joſ.* 22. 25, 27. their *Children have a part in the Lord* as well as themſelves. *A part in the Lord*, there, and *Church-Memberſhip* (or *Memberſhip in Iſrael*) are terms equivalent. Now *the Children* there, and *a part in the Lord*, are *ſubject* and *adjunct*, which nothing comes between, ſo as to ſever the Adjunct from the Subject; therefore they are *immediate Subjects* of that Adjunct of *immediate Members*. Again, their viſible Ingrafting into Chriſt the Head, and ſo into the Church his Body, is ſealed in their Baptiſm: but in Ingrafting nothing comes betwixt the Graft and the Stock: Their Union is immediate; hence they are immediately inſerted into the Viſible Church, or immediate Members thereof. The *Little Children* in *Deut.* 29. 11. were perſonally and immediately a part of the *People of God*, or Members of the Church of *Iſrael*, as well as their Parents. To be in Covenant, or to be a *Covenantee* is the *formalis Ratio* of a Church Member. If one come to be in Covenant one way, and another in another, but both are in Covenant or Covenantees (*i. e.* parties with whom the Covenant is made, and whom God takes into Covenant) as Children here are, *Gen.* 17. 7, 8. then both are in their own Perſons the immediate Subjects of the *formalis Ratio* of Memberſhip, and ſo immediate Members. To *Act* in covenanting is but the Inſtrumental means of Memberſhip, and yet Children are not without this neither. For the Act of the Parent (their publick perſon) is accounted their's, and they are ſaid to *enter into Covenant*, Deut. 29. 11, 12. So that what is it that Children want unto an Actual, Compleat, Proper, Abſolute and Immediate Memberſhip? (ſo far as theſe terms may with any propriety or pertinency be applied to the matter in hand) Is it *Covenant Intereſt* which is the *formalis Ratio* of Memberſhip? No, they are in Covenant. Is it *Divine Grant and Inſtitution*, which is the *Principal Efficient?* No, he hath clearly declared himſelf, that he grants unto the Children of his People a portion in his Church, and appoints them to be Members thereof. Is it an *Act of Covenanting*, which is the *Inſtrumental means?* No, they have this alſo reputatively by Divine Appointment, making the Parent a *publick Perſon*, and accounting them to Covenant in his Covenanting. A different manner and means of conveying the Covenant to us, or of making us Members, doth not make a different ſort of the Memberſhip, We now are as truly perſonally and immediate Members of the Body of fallen Mankind, and, by Nature Heirs of the Condemnation pertaining thereto as *Adam* was, though he came to be ſo by *his own perſonal Act*, and we by *the Act of our publick Perſon*. If a Prince give ſuch Lands to a Man and his Heirs ſucceſſively, while they continue Loyal; the following Heir is a true and immediate Owner of that Land, and may be perſonally diſinherited if Diſloyal, as well as his Father before him. A Member is one, that is according to Rule, (or according to Divine Inſtitution) *within* the Viſible Church.

Thus the Child is properly and perſonally, or immediately. *Paul* caſts all Men into two ſorts, thoſe *within*, and thoſe *without*, i. e. *Members* and *Non-Members*, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. It ſeems he knew of no ſuch diſtinction of *mediate* and *immediate* as puts a *medium* between theſe two. *Object.* If Children be compleat and immediate Members as their Parents are, then they ſhall immediately have all Church Privileges, as their Parents have, without any further Act or Qualification, *Anſw.* It follows not. All Privileges that belong to Members, *as ſuch*, do belong to the Children as well as the Parents: But all Church Privileges do not ſo. A Member as ſuch (or all Members) may not partake of all Priviledges; but they are to make progreſs both in Memberly duties and privileges, as their Age, Capacity and Qualifications do fit them for the ſame.

3. *That their Memberſhip ſtill continues in Adult Age, and ceaſeth not with their Infancy*, appears; 1. Becauſe in Scripture Perſons are *broken off* only for notorious Sin, or incorrigible Impenitency and Unbelief, not for growing up to Adult Age, *Rom.* 11. 20. 2. *The Jew Children Circumciſed* did not ceaſe to be Members by growing up, but continued in the Church, and were by virtue of their Memberſhip, received in Infancy, bound unto various duties, and in ſpecial unto thoſe ſolemn perſonal profeſſions that pertained to Adult Members, not, as then, entring into a *new Memberſhip*, but as making a progreſs in *Memberly Duties*, *Deut.* 26. 2, 10. and 16. 16, 17. with *Gal.* 5. 3. 3. Thoſe Relations of *Born Servants* and *Subjects*, which the Scripture makes uſe of to ſet forth the ſtate of Children in the Church by *Lev.* 25. 41, 42. *Ezek.* 37. 25. do not (as all Men know) ceaſe with Infancy, but continue in Adult Age. Whence alſo it follows, that one ſpecial end of Memberſhip received in Infancy, is to leave Perſons under Engagement to Service and Subjection to Chriſt in his Church, when grown up, when they are fitteſt for it, and have moſt need of it. 4. There is no ordinary way of Ceſſation of Memberſhip, but by Death, Diſmiſſion, Excommunication, or Diſſolution of the Society: None of which is the Caſe of the Perſons in queſtion. 5. Either they are, when Adult, Members or Non-Members: if Non-Members,

then a Perſon admitted a Member, and ſealed by Baptiſm, not caſt out, nor deſerving ſo to be, may (the Church whereof he was ſtill remaining) become a Non-Member and out of the Church, and of the Unclean World; which the Scripture acknowledgeth not. Now if the Parent ſtand Member of the Church, the Child is a Member alſo: For now the Root is Holy, therefore ſo are the Branches, *Rom.* 11. 16. 1 *Cor.* 7. 14. The Parent is in Covenant, therefore ſo is the Child, *Gen.* 17. 7. and if the Child be a Member of the Viſible Church, then he is a Subject of Baptiſm, according to *Propoſ.* 1.

Proposition VI.

Such Church-Members, who either by Death, or ſome other extraordinary Providence, have been inevitably hindred from publick acting as aforeſaid, yet have given the Church cauſe, in judgment of Charity, to look at them, as ſo qualified, and ſuch, as had they been called thereunto would have ſo acted, their Children are to be Baptiſed.

This manifeſt.

1. Becauſe the main Foundation of the right of the Child to privilege remains, *viz.* God's Inſtitution, and the Force of his Covenant carrying it to the Generations of ſuch as continue keepers of the Covenant, *i. e.* not viſibly breakers of it. By virtue of which *Inſtitution and Covenant* the Children in queſtion, are Members, and their Memberſhip being diſtinct from the Parents Memberſhip, ceaſeth not, but continues, notwithſtanding the Parent's Deceaſe or neceſſary Abſence: and, if Members, then Subjects of Baptiſm. 2. Becauſe the Parent's not doing what is required in the Fifth *Propoſition*, is through want of opportunity; which is not to be imputed as their guilt, ſo as to be a bar to the Child's Privilege. 3. God reckoneth that as done in his Service, to which there was a manifeſt Deſire and Endeavour, albeit the acting of it, were hindred; as in *David* to Build the Temple, 1 *King.* 8. 18. 19. In *Abraham* to Sacrifice his Son, *Heb.* 11. 17. according to that in 2 *Cor.* 8. 12. *Where there is a willing mind, it is accepted according to what a Man hath, and not according to what he hath not:* which is true of this Church Duty, as well as of that of Alms. It is a uſual Phraſe with the Ancients to ſtile ſuch and ſuch Martyrs *in Voto*, and Baptiſed *in Voto*, becauſe there was no want of deſire that way, though their deſire was not actually accompliſhed. 4. The terms of the Propoſition import that in Charity, that is here done *interperatively*, which is mentioned to be done in the Fifth Propoſition *expreſly*.

Proposition VII.

The Members of Orthodox Churches, being ſound in the Faith, and not ſcandalous in Life, and preſenting due Teſtimony thereof; theſe occaſionally coming from one Church to another, may have their Children Baptized in the Church, whither they come by virtue of Communion of Churches: but if they remove their Habitation, they ought orderly to Covenant and Subject themſelves to the Government of Chriſt in the Church, where they ſettle their abode, and ſo their Children to be Baptiſed It being the Churches duty to receive ſuch unto Communion, ſo far, as they are Regularly fit for the ſame.

1. Such *Members of other Churches, as are here deſcribed, occaſionally coming from one Church to another, their Children are to be Baptiſed in the Church whither they come, by virtue of Communion of Churches.*

1. Becauſe he that is regularly a Member of a true particular Church, is a ſubject of Baptiſm according to *Propoſ.* firſt and ſecond. But the Children of the Parents here deſcribed are ſuch, according to *Propoſ.* fifth and ſixth; Therefore they are meet and Lawful Subjects of Baptiſm, or have right to be Baptiſed. And *Communion of Churches*, infers ſuch Acts as this is, *viz.* To Baptize a fit Subject of Baptiſm, tho' a Member of another Church, when the ſame is orderly deſired. (ſee *Platform of Diſcipline*, Chap. 15. Sect. 4.) For look as every Church, hath a double Conſideration, *viz.* 1. Of it's own Conſtitution and Communion within it ſelf: 2. Of that Communion which it holds, and ought to maintain with other Churches. So the Officer (*the Paſtor or Teacher*) thereof, is there ſet. (1.) To Adminiſter to this Church *conſtantly*; (2.) To do Acts of Communion *occaſionally*, *viz.* Such as belong to his Office as *Baptiſing* doth, reſpecting the Members of other Churches, with whom this Church holds, or ought to hold Communion.

2. To refuſe Communion with a true Church *in Lawful and Pious Actions*, is unlawful, and juſtly accounted Schiſmatical. For, if the Church be true Chriſt holdeth ſome Communion with it; and therefore ſo muſt we: but if we will not have Communion with it in thoſe Acts that are Good and Pious, then in none at all. *Total ſeparation* from a true Church is unlawful: But to deny a Communion in good Actions is to make a Total ſeparation. Now to Baptize a fit ſubject, as is the Child in queſtion, is a *Lawful and a Pious Action*, and therefore *by virtue of Communion of Churches*, in the Caſe mentioned to be attended.

And if Baptiſm Lawfully Adminiſtred, may and ought to be received by us, for our Children, in another true Church, where Providence ſo

ſo caſts us, as that we cannot have it in our own, (as doubtleſs it may and ought to be) then alſo we may and ought in like caſe to diſpenſe Baptiſm, when deſired to a meet and Lawful Subject, being a Member of another Church. To deny or refuſe either of theſe, would be an unjuſtifiable refuſing of Communion of Churches, and tending to ſinful ſeparation.

2. *Such as remove their Habitation, ought orderly to Covenant and ſubject themſelves to the Government of Chriſt in the Church, where they ſettle their Abode, and ſo their Children to be Baptiſed.* 1. Becauſe the Regularly Baptiſed are Diſciples, and under the Diſcipline and Government of Chriſt: but they that are abſolutely removed from the Church, whereof they were, ſo as to be uncapable of being under Diſcipline there, ſhall be under it, no where, if not in the Church where they inhabit. They that would have *Church-privileges* ought to be *under Church-power:* but theſe will be under no Church power, but as Lambs in a large place, if not under it there, where their ſettled abode is. 2. Every Chriſtian ought to Covenant for himſelf and for his Children, or profeſſedly to give up himſelf, and his to the Lord, and that in the way of his Ordinances, *Deut.* 26. 17 and 12. 5. and Explicite Covenanting is a Duty, eſpecially where we are called to it, and have opportunity for it: nor can they well be ſaid to Covenant Implicitly, that do Explicitly refuſe a profeſſed Covenanting, when called thereunto. And eſpecially this Covenanting is a Duty, when we would partake of ſuch Church-priviledge, as Baptiſm for our Children is. But the Parents, in queſtion, will now be profeſſed Covenanters no where, if not in the Church, where their fixed Habitation is. Therefore they *ought orderly to Covenant, there, and ſo their Children to be baptiſed.* 3. To *refuſe* Covenanting and ſubjection to Chriſt's Government in the Church where they live, being ſo removed as to be utterly uncapable of it elſewhere, would be a *walking diſorderly,* and would too much favour of *Profaneſs and Separation*; and hence to Adminiſter Baptiſm to the Children of ſuch as *ſtand in that way,* would be to Adminiſter Chriſt's Ordinances to ſuch as are in *a way of Sin and Diſorder*; which ought not to be, 2 *Theſ.* 3. 6. 1 *Chron.* 15. 13. and would be contrary to that Rule, 1 *Cor.* 14. 40. *Let all things be done decently and in order.*

QUESTION II.

Whether according to the Word of God there ought to be a Conſociation of Churches, and what ſhould be the manner of it?

ANSWER.

THE Anſwer may be briefly given in the Propoſitions following.

1. *Every Church or particular Congregation of viſible Saints in Goſpel-Order, being furniſhed with a Presbytery, at leaſt with a Teaching Elder, and walking together in Truth and Peace, hath received from the Lord Jeſus full Power and Authority Eccleſiaſtical within it ſelf, regularly to Adminiſter all the Ordinances of Chriſt, and is not under any other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction whatſoever.* For to ſuch a Church Chriſt hath *given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, that what they bind or looſe on Earth, ſhall be bound or looſed in Heaven,* Mat. 16. 19. and 18. 17, 18. Elders are *ordained in every Church, Acts* 14. 23. *Tit.* 1. 5. and are therein Authoriſed Officially to Adminiſter in the Word, Prayer, Sacraments and Cenſures, *Mat.* 28. 19, 20. *Acts* 6. 4. 1 *Cor.* 4. 1. and 5. 4, 12. *Acts* 20. 28. 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. and 3. 5. The reproving of the Church of *Corinth,* and of the *Aſian* Churches ſeverally, imports they had Power each of them within themſelves to Reform the Abuſes that were amongſt them, 1 *Cor.* 5. *Rev.* 2. 14, 20. Hence it follows, that Conſociation of Churches is not to hinder the Exerciſe of this Power; but by Counſel from the Word of God to direct, and ſtrengthen the ſame upon all juſt occaſions.

2. *The Churches of Chriſt do ſtand in a Siſterly Relation each to other,* Cant. 8. 8. *being united in the ſame Faith and Order,* Eph. 4. 5. Col. 2. 5. *To walk by the ſame Rule,* Phil. 3. 16. *In the Exerciſe of the ſame Ordinances for the ſame end,* Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. 1 Cor 16. 1. *under one and the ſame political Head, the Lord Jeſus Chriſt,* Eph. 1. 22, 23. and 4. 5. Rev. 2. 1. which Union infers a Communion ſuitable thereunto.

3. 'Communion of Churches is the Faithful 'Improvement of the Gifts of Chriſt beſtowed 'upon them, for his Service and Glory, and 'their mutual Good and Edification, according 'to Capacity and Opportunity, 1 *Pet.* 4. 10, 11. '1 *Cor.* 12. 4, 7. and 10. 24. 1 *Cor.* 3. 21, 22. '*Cant.* 8. 9. *Rom.* 1. 15. *Gal.* 6. 10.

4. 'Acts of Communion of Churches are 'ſuch as theſe.

1. 'Hearty Care and Prayer one for another, 2 *Cor.* 11. 28. *Cant.* 8. 8. *Rom.* '1. 9. *Col.* 1. 9. *Eph.* 6. 18.
2. 'To afford Relief by Communication 'of their Gifts in Temporal or Spiritual 'Neceſſities, *Rom.* 15. 26, 27. *Acts* 11. '22, 29. 2 *Cor.* 8. 1, 4, 14.
3. 'To maintain Unity and Peace, by 'giving account one to another of their 'publick Actions, when it is orderly 'deſired, *Acts* 11. 2, 3, 4--- 18. *Joſh.* 22. '13, 21, 30. 1 *Cor.* 10. 32. and to 'ſtrengthen one another in their Regular Adminiſtrations; as in ſpecial by 'a Concurrent Teſtimony againſt Perſons juſtly Cenſured, *Acts* 5. 41. and '16. 4, 5. 2 *Tim.* 4. 15. 2 *Theſ.* 3. '14.

4. ‘To ſeek and accept help from, and ‘give help unto each other.

1. ‘In caſe of Diviſions and Contentions ‘whereby the Peace of any Church ‘is diſturbed, *Acts* 15. 2.

2. ‘In matters of more than ordinary ‘Importance, [*Prov.* 24. 6. and 15. ‘22.] as Ordination, Tranſlation and ‘Depoſition of Elders and ſuch like, ‘1 *Tim.* 5. 22.

3. ‘In Doubtful and Difficult Queſtions ‘and Controverſies, Doctrinal or ‘Practical that may ariſe, *Acts* 15. ‘2, 6.

4. ‘For the rectifying of Male-Admini‘ſtrations, and healing of Errors and ‘Scandals, that are unhealed among ‘themſelves, 3 *Joh. v.* 9, 10. 2 *Cor.* 2. 6, 11. 1 *Cor.* 15. *Rev.* 2. 14, 15, 16. 2 *Cor.* 12. 20, 21. and 13. 2. Churches now have need of help in like caſes, as well as Churches then; Chriſt's care is ſtill for whole Churches, as well as for particular Perſons; And Apoſtles being now ceaſed, there remains the Duty of Brotherly Love, and mutual Care, and Helpfulneſs incumbent upon Churches, eſpecially Elders for that end.

5. ‘In Love and Faithfulneſs to take ‘notice of the Troubles and Difficulties, ‘Errors and Scandals of another Church, ‘and to Adminiſter help, (when the caſe ‘neceſſarily calls for it) tho' they ſhould ‘ſo neglect their own Good and Duty, ‘as not to ſeek it, *Exod.* 23. 4, 5. *Prov.* ‘24. 11, 12.

6. ‘To Admoniſh one another, when there ‘is need and cauſe for it, and after due ‘means with Patience uſed, to withdraw ‘from a Church, or peccant party therein, ‘obſtinately perſiſting in Error or Scan‘dal; as in the Platform of Diſcipline ‘(*Cap.* 15. *Sect.* 2. *Partic.* 3.) is more ‘at large declared, *Gal.* 2. 11, 14. ‘2 *Theſ.* 3. 6. *Rom.* 16. 17.

5. Conſociation of Churches is their Mutual ‘and ſolemn Agreement to exerciſe Communion ‘in ſuch Acts, as aforeſaid, amongſt themſelves, ‘with ſpecial reference to thoſe Churches, which ‘by Providence are planted in a convenient vi‘cinity, though with Liberty reſerved without ‘Offence, to make uſe of others, as the Na‘ture of the Caſe, or the Advantage of Oppor‘tunity may lead thereunto.

6. ‘The Churches of Chriſt in this Country ‘having ſo good opportunity for it, it is meet ‘to be commended to them, as their Duty thus ‘to Conſociate. For 1. Communion of Churches being commanded, and Conſociation being but an Agreement to practiſe it, this muſt needs be a Duty alſo, *Pſal.* 119. 106. *Neh.* 28. 29. 2. *Paul* an Apoſtle ſought with much Labour the Conference, Concurrence, and Right Hand of Fellowſhip of other Apoſtles: and Ordinary Elders and Churches have not leſs need each of other, to prevent their Running in Vain, *Gal.* 2. 2, 6, 9. 3. Thoſe General Scripture Rules, touching the need and uſe of Counſel, and help in weighty Caſes, concern all Societies and Polities, Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil, *Prov.* 11. 14. and 15. 22. and 20. 18. and 24. 6. *Eccleſ.* 4. 9, 10, 14. 4. The Pattern in *Acts* 15. holds forth a Warrant for Councils, which may be greater or leſſer, as the matter ſhall require. 5. Concurrence and Communion of Churches in Goſpel times, is not obſcurely held forth in *Iſa.* 19. 23, 24, 25. *Zeph.* 3. 9. 1 *Cor.* 11. 16. and 14. 32, 36. 6. There has conſtantly been in theſe Churches a poſſeſſion of Communion, in giving the Right Hand of Fellowſhip in the gathering of Churches, and Ordination of Elders; which importeth a Conſociation, and obligeth to the practice thereof. Without which we ſhould alſo want an expedient, and ſufficient Cure for Emergent Church Difficulties and Differences: with the want whereof our way is charged, but unjuſtly, if this part of the Doctrine thereof were duly practiſed.

7. ‘The manner of the Church's Agreement ‘herein, or entring into this Conſociation, may ‘be by each Church's open conſenting unto ‘the Things, here, declared in Anſwer to the ‘ſecond Queſtion, as alſo to what is ſaid there‘about, in *Chap.* 15. and 16. of the Platform ‘of Diſcipline, with reference to other Churches ‘in this Colony and Countrey, as in *Propoſ.* 5. ‘is before expreſſed.

8. ‘The manner of Exerciſing and Practiſing ‘that Communion, which this Conſent or ‘Agreement ſpecially tendeth unto, may be, ‘by making uſe occaſionally of Elders or able ‘Bretheren of other Churches; or by the more ‘ſolemn Meetings of both Elders and Meſſen‘gers in Leſſer or Greater Councils, as the mat‘ter ſhall require.

REMARKS

UPON THE

Synodical Propoſitions.

§ 1. THE *Propoſitions* thus voted by the Major Part, more than Seven to One, in the *Synod*, were clog'd by the Diſſent of ſeveral Reverend and Judicious Perſons, in that Venerable Aſſembly; who were jealous leſt the Sacred Ordinance of *Baptiſm*, ſhould come to be applied unto ſuch unmeet Subjects, as would in a while put an End unto *New-England*'s Primitive and Peculiar Glory of *undefiled Adminiſtrations*. Tho' we cannot ſay, that in this our Synod, the Obſervation of *Thuanus* was verified, *Colloquia, quæ ut Theologicis controverſiis Finis imponatur, inſtituuntur, majorum excitandarum ſæpe initium exiſtunt*; yet the Reciprocations of Argument, which enſued on this Difference, quickly became ſenſible to Mankind, as by ſome other Common Effects of *Controverſie*, ſo eſpecially by the Diſquiſitions which were, on this Occaſion, publiſhed unto the World. Here, not concerning our ſelves with the *Antiſynodalia Americana*, compoſed by Mr. *Charles Chauncey*, the Preſident of the College, and anſwered by Mr. *John Allen*, Paſtor of *Dedham*, we ſhall only take Notice of the two *Twin-Diſcourſes*, which made moſt Figure in the Management of *This* Diſputation. Firſt, Mr. *John Davenport* in Oppoſition to the Synod, emitted a Treatiſe, under the Title of, *Another Eſſay for Inveſtigation of the Truth*: whereto there was by another Hand prefixed, *that* which the Elders of the Synod judged the diſtincteſt and exacteſt Thing, that has been written on that ſide, under the Title of, *An Apologetical Preface* for the Defence of the Synod. Mr. *Rich. Mather*, being thereunto appointed, wrote a full Anſwer to the *Eſſay*, and Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel* wrote a fuller Anſwer to the *Preface*; both of which quickly ſaw the Light.

§ 2. The true State of the Difference cannot be better given than by Epitomizing the *Poſitions* and *Arguments* in the cloſe of the *Apologetical Preface* on the one part, and the *Anſwers* to thoſe *Poſitions* and *Arguments*, on the other. And I am the more willing to give it, becauſe the Eccleſiaſtical Affairs of this Country have ſo much turned upon it.

On the one ſide, thus reaſoned the Learned Apologiſt.

I. The *Synod* did acknowledge, *that there ought to be true ſaving Faith in the Parent, according to the Judgment of rational Charity, or elſe the Child ought not to be baptized.* We entreated and urged again and again, that *this*, which they themſelves acknowledged was a *Principle of Truth*, might be *ſet down* for a *Concluſion*, and then we ſhould *all agree*. But thoſe reverend Perſons would not conſent to *this*.

On the other ſide, thus replied the Excellent Anſwerer.

We are to diſtinguiſh betweeen *Faith* in the hopeful *beginning* of it, the charitable Judgment whereof runs upon a great Latitude; and *Faith* in the ſpecial *exerciſe* of it, unto the viſible Diſcovery whereof, more experienced Operations are to be enquired after. The Words of Dr. *Ames* are, *Children are not to be admitted to partake of all Church Priviledges, till firſt increaſe of Faith do appear; but from thoſe which belong to the beginning of Faith, and entrance into the Church, they are not to be excluded.*

The Apoſtles conſtantly *baptiſed* Perſons upon the firſt *beginning* of their Chriſtianity, but the *Lord's Supper* followed after, as annexed unto ſome *Progreſs* in Chriſtianity. The ſame ſtrictneſs as to *outward Signs*, is not neceſſary unto a charitable Judgment of that *Initial Faith*, which entitles unto *Baptiſm*, as there is unto the like Judgment of that *exerciſed Faith*, which is requiſite unto the *Supper* of the Lord. We all own, that only *Viſible Believers*, are to have their Children *baptized*; and it is expreſſed ſo in the *Synod*'s Reſult; but the Queſtion is, *Who are Viſible Believers?* Our Brethren ſtrove ſo to ſcrue up the Expreſſions for *Baptiſm*, that all that have their Children *baptiſed* muſt unavoidably be brought unto the *Lord's Table*, and unto a Power of *voting* in the Churches. This we ſay, will prove a *Church-corrupting* Principle.

APO-

APOLOGY.

II. We have no warrant in all the Scripture to apply the Seal of *Baptiſm* unto thoſe Children, whoſe Parents are in a ſtate of Unfitneſs for the Lord's Supper. Thoſe *Acts* 2. 41. who were baptized, continued breaking Bread alſo, unleſs the Father were in a ſtate of fitneſs for the Paſſover, his Child might not be circumciſed. Neither do we read that in the primitive Times, Baptiſin was of a greater Latitude, as to the Subject thereof, than the Lord's Supper. *Catechumeni ad Baptiſterium nunquam admittendi ſunt. Concil Ara*, *Chap.* 19. In the Dawnings of Reformation in *England*, our *Juel* could plead againſt *Harding*, *That Baptiſm was as much to be reverenced, as the Body and Blood of Chriſt.* Nay, a grievous Error has therefore, been committed in former Ages, and other Churches, *to adminiſter the Lord's Supper unto Infants.*

ANSWER.

By a ſtate of Unfitneſs, muſt be meant either, Non-Memberſhip: But the Parents, in the Queſtion, are Members of the Church; and ſo to them do belong all Church Priviledges, according as they ſhall be capable thereof, and appear duly qualified for the ſame: They have a *Jus ad rem*, tho' not *Jus in re*; as a Child has a right unto his Fathers Eſtate, however he have not the actual Fruition of it, until he be qualified with ſuch and ſuch Abilities. Or elſe is meant, *a want of actual Qualifications fitting*, whereby a Perſon is either in himſelf ſhort of actual Fitneſs for the Lord's Table, or wanteth a Church-Approbation of his Fitneſs. Now we conceive there is a Warrant in Scripture for the applying of Baptiſm to Children, whoſe Parents do want actual Qualifications, fitting them for the Lord's Supper. The Parent might want actual Fitneſs for the Paſſover by manifold ceremonial Uncleanneſſes, and yet that hindered not the Circumciſion of the Child. He muſt be judged clean by the Prieſt of the Church whereof he was a Member, and ſo, free to partake of the Holy Things. Thus the Parents in the Queſtion muſt have their Fitneſs for the Lord's Table judged by thoſe, to whom the Judgment belongs. But what Fitneſs for the Lord's Supper, had thoſe that were baptized by *John Baptiſt*, and by Chriſt's Diſciples at his Appointment, in the beginning of his publick Miniſtry? What Fitneſs had the Jaylor, when himſelf and all his were baptized after an hours Inſtruction, wherein probably he had not ſo much as heard any thing of the Lord's Supper? The teaching of which, followed after diſcipling and baptizing, as is hinted by that Order in *Matth.* 28. 19, 20. and by the antient Practice of not teaching the Catechumeni any thing about the Lord's Supper, till after they were baptized, as is affirmed by *Hanmer* and *Baxter*, out of *Albaſpinæus*. We conſtantly read in the *Acts*, that Perſons were baptized, immediately upon their firſt entrance into Memberſhip; but we never do read, that they did immediately upon their firſt Memberſhip, receive the Lord's Supper. Yea, ſo far is Baptiſm from being inſeparable from immediate Admiſſion to the Lord's Supper, that we read of no one, (no, not of the Adult) in all the *New Teſtament*, that was admitted to the Lord's Supper, immediately upon his Baptiſm.

The only place that ſounds, as if it were quickly after, *viz. Acts* 2. 41, 42. is alledged by our Brethren. But it is here ſaid, they (after their being added and baptized) continued in (or gave ſedulous attendance to) the Apoſtles Doctrine [Firſt] and then breaking of Bread. There was a time of gaining further acquaintance with Chriſt, and with his Ways and Ordinances, by the Apoſtle's Inſtruction, between their baptizing and their Participation of the Lord's Supper. And the Churches of Chriſt in all, eſpecially in the beſt Ages, and the choiceſt Lights therein, both Antient and Modern, have concurred in this Principle, *That Baptiſm is of larger Extent than the Lord's Supper, and that many that are within the Viſible Church, may have Baptiſm for themſelves, at leaſt for their Children, who yet at preſent want actual Fitneſs for the Lord's Supper.* The Authors, that write of *Confirmation* do abundantly prove this Aſſertion. Here is not room to inſert the Evidences, that in the firſt Ages of the Church, there were many within the Church, who were debarred from the Lord's Supper, and yet had their Children Baptized. And ſince the Reformation, the reforming Divines have in their Doctrine unanimouſly taught, and in their Practice many of them endeavoured, a ſtrict Selection of thoſe that ſhould be admitted unto the Lord's Supper; when yet they have been more large in Point of Baptiſm. Plentiful Teſtimonies are cited, firſt from *Calvin*, from *Crotius*, from *Bucan*, from *Beza*, from *Polanus*, from *Urſin* and *Paræus*, and from the *Harmony of Confeſſions*; and then from *Ames*, from *Hooker*, and from *Hilderſham*, to this purpoſe.

APOLOGY.

III. The Parents of the Children in Queſtion, are not Members of any inſtituted Church, according to Goſpel-Rules; becauſe they were never under any explicit and perſonal Covenant. If this ſecond Generation do retain their Memberſhip by Virtue of their Parents Covenant, made for them in Minority; then in caſe all the Pro-Parents were dead, this ſecond Generation would be a true Church of Chriſt; without any further Act of Covenanting. But this they are not. For, then, they would have the Power to manage all Church-Affairs, as every true Church hath; which the Synod will not grant unto them.

ANSWER.

We doubt not to affirm with Dr. *Ames*, that Children are Members of an inſtituted Church, according to Goſpel-Rules; and that they are under perſonal Covenant, or, perſonally taken into Covenant by God, according to his Goſpel-Rules, tho' they have not performed the Act of Cove-

Covenanting in their own Perſons; yea, under the Explicit Covenant alſo; if the Parent's Covenanting was Explicit. Though we take it for a Principle granted by Congregational Men, with one Conſent, That an Implicit Covenant, preſerves the Being of a true Church, and ſo of true Church-Memberſhip. We alſo ſay, The ſecond Generation, continuing in a viſible Profeſſion of the Covenant, Faith and Religion of their Fathers, are a true Church of Chriſt, though they have not yet made any Explicit perſonal Expreſſion of their Engagement, as their Fathers did. Even, as the *Iſraelites*, that were Numbred in the Plains of *Moab*, were a true Church, and under the Covenant of God, made with them in *Horeb*, though their Parents, with whom it was firſt made, in *Horeb*, were all Dead; and that before the ſolemn Renewal of the Covenant with them in the Plains of *Moab*. Our denial of Liberty unto theſe to Vote in Church-Affairs, till they be Qualified for, and Admitted to the Lord's Supper, is no prejudice to our Grant of their being a true Church. For the caſe of a true Church may be ſuch, as that they may be, at preſent, unfit to Exerciſe a Power of acting in Church-Affairs, which yet may be Radically in them; even, till, by the uſe of needful means, They, or a ſelect Number among them, be brought up unto a better Capacity for it. We might alſo aſk whether it would prove *Women* to be no *Members* of an Inſtituted Church, becauſe if all the *Men* were Dead, they could not then be a Church? We may add; if Diſcipline, and other Ordinances be kept up, we may hope God will ſo bleſs his Ordinances, that a conſiderable number ſhall, from time to time, have ſuch Grace given them, as to be fit for full Communion, and carry on the things of his Houſe with competent Strength, Beauty and Edification.

APOLOGY.

IV. It is not mere Memberſhip, but qualified Memberſhip that gives Right unto Baptiſm. *John*'s Baptiſm, which was Chriſtian, might not be applied to ſome, who were Members of the Viſible Church, becauſe they were not qualified with Repentance, *Luke* 3.8. and 7.30. This ſeems to cut the Sinews of the ſtrongeſt Argument brought by the *Synod*, for the *Enlargement of Baptiſm*; which is the *Memberſhip of the Children* in Controverſie.

ANSWER.

Some Privileges in the Church belong to Perſons, merely becauſe they are Members of it: ſo doth Baptiſm and Church-watch. But other Privileges belong to them as cloathed with ſuch and ſuch Qualifications: thus the Lord's Supper now, as the Paſſover of Old. If Children in their Minority are Members, as our Bretheren acknowledge them to be, then there are Members that are not yet fit for Full-Communion. And for the Adult, when a Man is by Admonition debarred from the Lord's Table, and yet not Excommunicated; he continues a Member, yea, a Perſonal Member, in our Bretheren's Account, and yet is not in Full-Communion; It is clear then that Memberſhip and Full Communion, are ſeparable things. Beſides, 'tis a Memberſhip *de jure*, and not only *de facto*, whereof we ſpeak, when we ſpeak of mere Memberſhip. Now ſuch a Memberſhip implies a Qualification, that a Perſon being a Church Member, is not under ſuch Groſs and Incorrigible Ignorance, Hereſie, Scandal or Apoſtacy, as renders him an immediate ſubject of Excommunication. Hence mere Memberſhip is not ſo to be oppoſed unto qualified Memberſhip, as if it were deſtitute of all Qualifications. Underſtand *mere Memberſhip*, for [*merely this, that a Man is regularly a Member*, or, *that the Church acting regularly, may own him as accepted by Rule into Covenant*] and then the Aſſertion, *That it is not ſufficient to give a Perſon a Right unto Baptiſm, that he be regularly a Member of the Viſible Church, but he muſt have ſome further Qualification than ſo, or elſe he hath not a Right thereunto:* This is indeed an *Antiſynodalian Aſſertion*, and we doubt not to affirm, that it is *Antiſcriptural*.

The *Synod* builds upon *Covenant-Intereſt*, or *Federal-Holineſs*, or *Viſible Church-Memberſhip*, as that which gives *Right* unto Baptiſm: and accordingly in their *fifth* Propoſition, they have compriſed, both the *Right* to *Baptiſm*, and the *manner of Adminiſtration*; which *manner* is not therefore to be neglected, becauſe *Memberſhip* alone gives *Right*; for God hath made it *One* Commandment of *Four*, to provide for the *manner* of his Worſhip, that it be attended in a Solemn, Humble, Reverent and Profitable *manner*. Hence all *Reformed Churches* do in their *Directories* require *Profeſſions* and *Promiſes*, from thoſe who preſent the *Child* unto *Baptiſm*; tho' they unanimouſly grant the Child's Right unto Baptiſm, by its being *Born within the viſible Church*. Beſides, what have *Infants* more than *mere Memberſhip*, to give them Right unto *Baptiſm?* We know no ſtronger Argument for *Infant-Baptiſm*, than this, that *Church-Members, or* Fœderati *are to be Baptiſed*. At the Tranſition from *Old* to *New Teſtament* Church Memberſhip, ſomething more might well be required, than a *mere Memberſhip* in the *Jewiſh* Church, which was then alſo under an extream Degeneracy: It was neceſſary that the *Reformed Adminiſtration* ſhould penitently be embraced. And much of what was required by *John*, may be referred unto the *manner of Adminiſtration*, which the general Scandals then fallen into called for. Nor will he that Reads the Scriptures, think that the Perſons *Baptiſed* by *John*, did *excel* thoſe, who are deſcribed in the *Synods* Propoſitions. While the *Parent* that was Born in the Church, *regularly* continues in it without *Scandal*, he is *Eccleſiaſtically* accounted to have the *Being* of *Repentance*; and ſo to have the *thing* that *John* required. But if any ſtand Guilty of *open Scandals*, we know not why they ſhould not make a *particular Confeſſion* of their Sin therein.

A P-

APOLOGY.

V. That which will not make a Man capable of receiving Baptiſm himſelf, in caſe he were Unbaptiſed, doth not make him capable of Tranſmitting Right of Baptiſm unto his Child. But a Man may be an Unbeliever, and yet come up to all that the Synod hath ſaid in their fifth Propoſition. *Bucer* is accounted by *Parker*, juſtly to mention, *That none ought to be confirmed Members of the Church, beſides thoſe who do hold forth not only Verbal Profeſſion of Faith, but apparent ſigns of Regeneration.*

ANSWER.

'Tis true, that which doth not put a Man into a State of Right of Baptiſm for himſelf, (that is, into a State of *Church Memberſhip)* will not enable him to give Baptiſm Right unto his Child. But it is poſſible for an Adult Perſon in ſuch a State nevertheleſs to have ſomething fall in, which may hinder the Actual Application of Baptiſm to himſelf, or his Actual Fitneſs for Baptiſm, in caſe he were Unbaptiſed. And yet the ſame thing may not hinder a Perſon already Baptiſed, and ſtanding in a Covenant State, from Conveying Baptiſm right unto his Child. Beſides, the Synods Propoſition ſpeaks of Church Members. Yea, and he will have an hard task of it, who ſhall undertake to prove, *That Adult Perſons, underſtanding, believing and profeſſing publickly, the Doctrine of Faith, not ſcandalous in Life, and now ſolemnly entring into that Covenant, wherein they give up themſelves and theirs, to the Lord in his Church, and ſubject themſelves to the Government of the Lord therein, may be denied Baptiſm upon their deſire thereof.* 'Tis not eaſie to Believe, that Multitudes Baptiſed, in the Scriptures had more to render them Viſible Believers, than the Perſons deſcribed by the Synod. It is argued, a Man [*may be*] an Unbeliever, and yet come up to all this? *Simon Magus* and *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, not only *might be*, but *were* Unbelievers, and yet *Regularly Baptiſed*. But if it be ſaid, that a Man may come up to all that the *Synod* hath ſaid, and yet be *Eccleſiaſtically Judged an Unbeliever*, ſhew us any ground for ſuch a Judgment! As for *Bucer* and *Parker*, they plainly ſpeak of ſuch a *Confirmation*, or owning Men for *confirmed Members*, as imports their *Admiſſion to the Lord's Table*. But if the Judgment of *Bucer* and *Parker* may be taken in this Controverſie, it will ſoon be at an end, for it is evident enough [by Quotations too many for this place] that *Bucer* and *Parker* fully concur with the *Synod*, in the extent of *Baptiſm*.

APOLOGY.

VI. The Application of the Seal of Baptiſm unto thoſe, who are not true Believers (we mean, viſibly, for *De Occultis non Judicat Eccleſia*) is a *Profanation* thereof, and as Dreadful a Sin, as if a Man ſhould Adminiſter the *Lord's Supper* unto *Unworthy Receivers*; which is (as *Calvin* ſaith) as *Sacrilegious Impiety*, as if a Man ſhould take the *Blood* or *Body* of Chriſt, and proſtitute it unto *Dogs*. We marvel that any ſhould think, that the *Blood* of Chriſt, is not as much profaned and vilified by undue Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as by undue Adminiſtration of the *Lords's Supper*. Yea, that ſaying of *Auſtin's* is ſolemn and ſerious; *Qui Indignè accipit Baptiſma, Judicium accipit, non ſalutem*; and the ſame *Auſtin* in his Book, *De Fide & Operibus*, pleads for ſtrictneſs in the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, and ſo did *Tertullian* before him.

ANSWER.

We readily grant, that Baptiſm is not to be applied to any but Viſible Believers. We marvel, that any ſhould ſpeak, as if any of us did think that the Blood of Chriſt, is not profaned by the undue Adminiſtration of Baptiſm, as well as by undue Obſervation of the Lord's Supper: though we ſuppoſe the Degree of ſinful Profanation of the Lord's Name in any Ordinance, will be intended by the Degree of ſpecial *Communion* that we have with the Lord in that Ordinance; and by the Danger that ſuch Profanation infers unto the whole Church, and unto the particular partaker. But where is there any thing to ſhew that the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm extended by the Synod, is undue? The Rule concerning the two Sacraments, appoints Baptiſm to all Diſciples; but the Lord's Supper only for ſelf-examining Diſciples: hence the *one* may be extended further than the *other*, without undue Adminiſtration. Neither did *Calvin* conceive it a Profanation to extend Baptiſm further than the Lord's Supper. Nor did ever *Auſtin* or *Tertullian* plead for greater ſtrictneſs in Baptiſm than the Synod; except where *Tertullian* Erroneouſly plead for the delay of Baptiſm: whereas *Auſtin* requires not more of Adult Converts from Heatheniſm, than is in the Parents, who are deſcribed by the Synod.

APOLOGY.

VII. It hath in it a Natural Tendency, to the hardning of *Unregenerates* in their ſinful Condition, when Life is not only promiſed but ſealed unto them, by the precious Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. Baptiſm is a Seal of the whole Covenant of Grace, as well as the Lord's Supper; and therefore thoſe that are not Intereſted in this Covenant by Faith, ought not to have the Seal thereof applied unto them. We might add unto all this, that there is danger of great Corruption, and Pollution, creeping into the Churches by the Enlargement of the ſubject of Baptiſm.

ANSWER.

The Lord's Truth and Grace, however it may be abuſed, by the Corruption of Man's perverſe and ſinful Nature, hath not in its ſelf any natural Tendency to harden any, but the contrary. And how can our Doctrine have any ſuch natural Tendency, when as Men are told over and over, that only outward

outward Advantages are more abſolutely ſealed unto them in Baptiſm; but the ſaving Benefits of the Covenant, conditionally; ſo that if they fail of the Condition, which is effectual and unfeigned Faith, they miſs of Salvation, notwithſtanding their Baptiſm? The outward Priviledges muſt not be reſted in, but improved as Incouragements to the obtaining of internal and ſpecial Grace. On the other ſide, the Scriptures tell us, that Mens denying the Children of the Church to have *any part in the Lord*, hath a ſtrong Tendency in it to make them *ceaſe from fearing the Lord, and harden their Hearts from his Fear*. But the awful Obligations of Covenant Intereſt, have a great Tendency to ſoften the Heart, and break it, and draw it home to God. Hence when the Lord would powerfully win Men to Obedience, he often begins with this, that *he is their God*. The natural Tendencies of Man's corrupt Heart, are no Argument againſt any Ordinance of God. 'Tis true, Baptiſm is a Seal of the whole Covenant of Grace; but it is by way of Initiation. Hence it belongs to All that are within the Covenant, or have but a firſt entrance thereinto. And is there no danger of Corruption by *overſtraining the Subject of Baptiſm*? Certainly, it is a Corruption to take from the Rule, as well as add to it. *Moſes* found danger in not applying the initiating Seal, to ſuch for whom it was appointed. Is there no Danger of putting theſe out of the Viſible Church, whom our Lord would have kept in? Our Lord's own Diſciples may be in Danger of his Diſpleaſure by keeping poor little Ones away from him. To pluck up all the Tares, was a zealous Motion; but there was Danger in it. Beſides if the enlargment be beyond the Bounds of the Rule, it will bring in Corruption; elſe not. Our Work is therefore to keep cloſe unto the Rule, as the only true way unto the Churches Purity and Glory. The way of the *Anabaptiſts* to admit none unto Memberſhip and Baptiſm, but adult Profeſſors, is the ſtraiteſt way; one would think it ſhould be a way of great Purity; but Experience hath ſhew'd, that it has been an inlet unto great Corruption, and a troubleſome, dangerous underminer of Reformation. If we do not keep in the way of a converting, Grace-giving Covenant, and keep Perſons under thoſe Church-Diſpenſations, wherein Grace is given, the Church will die of a Lingring, though not violent, Death. The Lord hath not ſet up Churches only, that a few old Chriſtians, may keep one another warm while they live, and then carry away the Church into the cold Grave with them, when they die; no, but that they might with all care, and with all the Obligations and Advantages to that Care, that may be, nurſe up ſtill ſucceſſively another Generation of Subjects to our Lord, that may ſtand up in his Kingdom, when they are gone. *In Church Reformation, 'tis an obſervable Truth*, (ſaith *Paræus*) *that thoſe that are for too much ſtrictneſs, do more hurt than profit the Church.* Finally, there is apparently a greater Danger of Corruption to the Churches, by enlarging the Subjects of full Communion, and admitting unqualified, or meanly qualified Perſons, to the Lord's Table, and voting in the Church; whereby the Intereſt of the Power of Godlineſs, will ſoon be prejudiced, and Elections, Admiſſions, Cenſures, ſo carried, as will be hazardous thereunto. Now 'tis evident, that this will be the Temptation, even, *to overlarge full Communion*, if Baptiſm be limited unto the Children of ſuch as are admitted thereunto.

§ 3. Theſe were the *Summa Capita* of the Diſputation between thoſe two reverend Perſons; but the remarkable Event and Effect of this Diſputation is now to be related. Know then, that Mr. *Michael* partly by the Light of Truth fairly offered, and partly by the force of Prayer for the good Succeſs of the Offer, was too hard for the moſt learned *Apologiſt*; who after he had written ſo exactly on the *Antiſynodalian* ſide, that,

——— Si pergam Dextrâ
Defendi poterant, etiam hâc defenſa fuiſſent:

finding that Scripture, and Reaſon lay moſt on the other ſide, not only ſurrendred himſelf a glad Captive thereunto, but alſo obliged the Church of God, by publiſhing unto the World a couple of moſt nervous Treatiſes, in defence of the *Synodical Propoſitions*. The former of theſe Treatiſes, was entituled, *The firſt Principles of* New-England *concerning the Subject of Baptiſm, and Communion of Churches:* Wherein, becauſe the *Antiſynodiſts* commonly reproached the Doctrine of the Synod, as being no leſs new, than the Practice of it, he anſwers this popular Imputation of Innovation and Apoſtacy, by demonſtrating from the unqueſtionable Writings of the chief and firſt Fathers in our Churches, that the Doctrine of the Synod was then generally believed by them; albeit the Practice thereof had been buried in the Circumſtances of the *New Plantation*. Together with this Eſſay, he ſhews his inexpreſſible Value, for his excellent Opponent and Conqueror, not only by profeſſing a deep reſpect for that bleſſed Man, and uſing about him the Words of *Beza* about *Calvin, Now he is dead, Life is leſs ſweet, and Death will be leſs bitter to me*; but alſo by inſerting an elaborate Letter, which that worthy Man had written to him, wherein among other Paſſages there are theſe Words; *Pleaſe to conſider, which of theſe three Propoſitions you would deny.* 1. *The whole Viſible Church under the* New Teſtament *is to be baptized.* 2. *If a Man be once in the Church, nothing leſs than cenſurable Evil can put him out.* 3. *If the Parent be in the Viſible Church, his Infant Child is ſo too.* And he adds, *Whether they ſhould be baptized, as in a Catholick, or in a particular Church, is another Queſtion, and I confeſs my ſelf not altogether ſo peremptory in this latter, as I am in the thing its ſelf, that they ought to be baptized. Yet ſtill I think, that when all Stones are turned, it will come to this that all the baptized are,*

and ought to be under Diſcipline in particular Churches.

The other of theſe Treatiſes was intituled, *A Diſcourſe concerning the Subject of Baptiſm*; wherein having elaboratly proved, *That the Qualifications expreſſed in the fifth Propoſition of the Synod give right to Baptiſm*; and that Perſons, thus qualified are Church-Members, and Viſible Believers, and of old had a right unto Circumciſion, and have Church-Diſcipline belonging to them; and that the Apoſtles did baptize Perſons, who were no further qualified: He then diſtinguiſhes between a particular Church, as it is more ſtrictly taken for a *particular Company of Covenanting Believers entruſted by our Lord with the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, and as it is more largely taken for that *ſpecial part of our Lord's Viſible Church, which doth ſubſiſt in this or that particular Place:* And he ſhews that a Memberſhip of the Catholick Church, diſcovered by a relation to a particular Church, not in the former but in the latter Senſe, is the formal Reaſon of Baptiſm: Concluding with a full Anſwer to all Objections. Indeed the learned Author of the Book, was not the leaſt Argument in the Book. This alone might have paſſed as no inconſiderable Argument, for the Synodical Propoſitions, that beſides diverſe others who did the like, ſo conſiderate a Perſon as the Apologiſt after he had ſo openly and ſo ſolidly appeared againſt them, ſhould at laſt as publickly declare it, *That Study and Prayer and much Affliction had brought him to be of another Belief.* It was a notable obſervation of Mr. *Cotton*, once in his Letter to Mr. *Williams*, *That one might ſuſpect the way of the* **Rigid Separation** *to be not of God, becauſe theſe, who in tenderneſs of Conſcience had been drawn into the Error of that way, yet when they have grown in Grace, they have alſo grown to diſcern the Error of the* Separation. Thus it was obſerved, that ſeveral very excellent Men, who did according to their preſent light conſcientiouſly diſſent from the Synod, yet, as they grew in the manifold Grace of God, and in ripeneſs for Heaven, they came to ſee that the Rigidity of their former Principles, had been a failing in them. And if the Apologiſt were one, who ſo ſignalized, a modeſt Senſe of ſecond Thoughts unto the World, it can be reckoned no diſparagement unto him; until the Humility of *Auſtin* in his Retractations, or the ingenuity of *Bellarmine* in his Recognitions come to be accounted their Blemiſhes; or until *Bucer*'s, yea, and *Luther*'s, change of their Opinions about Conſubſtantiation, and the recovery of *Zinglius* from Inclinations to *Antipædobaptiſm*, ſhall be eſteemed the Diſgrace of thoſe renowned Men; or, until Mr. *Robinſon* ſhall be blamed for compoſing his weighty Arguments, againſt the Rigid Separation which once he had zealouſly defended. I ſhall to this Occaſion, but apply the Words of Dr. *Owen* unto Mr. *Cawdry*, to take off the charge of Inconſtancy laid upon him, for his appearing on behalf of the Congregational Church-Diſcipline, *He that can glory that in fourteen Years, he hath not altered nor improved his Conceptions of ſome Things, of no greater Importance than that mentioned, ſhall not have me for his Rival.*

§ 4. Very gradual was the Procedure of the Churches to exerciſe that Church-Care of their Children, which the Synodical Propoſitions had recommended: For, though the Paſtors were generally principled for it, yet in very many of the Churches, a number of Bretheren were ſo ſtiffly and fiercely ſet the other way, that the Paſtors did forbear to extend their Practice, unto the length of their Judgment, thro' the fear of uncomfortable Schiſms, which might thereupon enſue. And there fell out one ſingular Temptation which had a great Influence upon this Matter! that famous and faithful Society of Chriſtians, the firſt Church in *Boſton*, had, after much agitation, ſo far begun to attend the Diſcipline directed in the Doctrine of the Synod, that they proceeded eccleſiaſtically to Cenſure the adult Children of ſeveral Communicants for Scandals, whereinto they had fallen. But that Church, for a Supply of their Vacancy upon the Death of their former more Synodalial Miniſters, applying themſelves unto Mr. *John Davenport*, the greateſt of the *Antiſynodiſts*, all the Intereſts of the Synod came to be laid aſide, therein, on that Occaſion. Hereupon, thirty Bretheren of that eminent Church, offered ſeveral Reaſons of their Diſſent, from their call of that worthy Perſon; whereof one was in theſe Terms, 'We ſhould walk contrary to '*Rev.* 3. 3. not *holding faſt what we have received*; nor ſhould we, *as we have received Chriſt Jeſus the Lord, ſo walk in him.* [The Doctrine 'of the Synod] it having been a received and a 'profeſſed Truth, by the Body of the Church, 'who have voted it in the affirmative, and that 'after much Patience with, and Candor towards 'thoſe that were otherwiſe minded; diverſe 'Days having been ſpent about this great *Generation-Truth*, which ſince hath been confirmed by 'the Synod. Full Liberty hath alſo been granted, 'unto thoſe who ſcrupled, to propoſe their Que'ſtions; and they were anſwered, with ſuch pub'lick ſatisfaction, that thoſe Few, who remain'ed unſatisfied, promiſed to ſit down and leave 'the Body to act, excepting one or two. Ac'cordingly there was an entrance upon the 'Work; but the Lord lay it not to the Charge 'of thoſe that hindred Progreſs therein; which 'with great Bleſſing and Succeſs has been, and 'is practiſed in Neighbour Churches. But the Difference produced ſo much Diviſion, that the Major part of the Church, by far, proceeding to their Election of that great Man, this leſſer part nevertheleſs carefully and exactly following the Advice of Councils, fetched from other Churches in the Neighbourhood, ſet up another Church in the Town of *Boſton*, which hath ſince been one of the moſt conſiderable in the Country. Very uncomfortable were the *Paroxims*, which were the Conſequents of this Ferment;

Long

——*Longa eſt Injuria, Longa Ambages*————

and the whole People of God throughout the Colony, were too much diſtinguiſhed into ſuch as favoured the Old Church, and ſuch as favoured the New Church; whereof, the former, were againſt the Synod, and the latter were for it. Indeed, for a conſiderable while, tho' the good Men on both ſides really Loved, Reſpected and Honoured one another, yet thro' ſome unhappy miſunderſtandings in certain particular Perſons, the Communicants of theſe two particular Churches in *Boſton*, like the two diſtinguiſh'd Rivers, not mixing, tho' running between the ſame Banks, held not Communion with one another at the Table of the Lord: but in two ſevens of Years, that Breach was healed, and unto the general Joy of the Chriſtians in the Neighbourhood, both the Churches kept a ſolemn Day together, wherein, Lamenting the Infirmities that had attended their former Contentions, they gave Thanks to the Great Peace-Maker for effecting this Joyful Reconciliation. The Schiſm was not ſo long-lived, as that which happened at *Antioch*, about the Ordination of a Miniſter; whereof, *Theodoret* ſays, Πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα διέμεινεν ἔτη, it endured Fourſcore and Five Years. However, the two Churches continued ſtill their various Diſpoſitions to the Propoſitions of the Synod; and it is well known, that the Example of *Boſton*, has from the beginning, as the Prophets once intimated of *Jeruſalem*, had no ſmall Efficacy upon all the Land.

§ 5. But it is, at laſt, come to this; that tho' ſome of our Churches yet Baptiſe the Children of none but their Communicants, and extend their Church-watch to none but the Perſons of their Communicants, and tho' ſome of the Churches go a ſtep further, and extend their Church watch to the Children of their Communicants, but yet moſt unaccountably will not Baptiſe the Off-ſpring of theſe, till theſe Parents become themſelves Communicants; nevertheleſs, the moſt of the Miniſters in the Countrey, have obtained of their Churches, not only to forbear all expreſſions of Diſſatisfaction at the Baptiſm of ſuch as the Synod has declar'd the Subjects of it, but to concur with them, when their Votes are upon occaſion demanded for ſuch a Diſcipline, as the Synod has from the Eighteenth of *Matthew*, directed for the Baptiſed.

Very various, have been the Methods of the Paſtors, to bring their Churches into the deſired Order; many the Meetings, the Debates, the Prayers and the Faſts, with which this matter has been accompliſhed: and much more many the Difficulties, where the matter had been ſo long delayed, that the Retrieval was well nigh to be deſpaired. Yea, it was as late, as the Year 1692, that the laſt Church, which after a long Omiſſion thereof, did effectually ſet upon the Church-Care of the Diſciples formerly neglected, came to their Duty: and they did it with ſuch a further Explanation of their Principles, as diverſe great Oppoſers of the Synod, profeſſed themſelves, at laſt, able to comply withal. Now becauſe the particular *Hiſtory* of the Proceedings uſed, when things had run on thus far into an *inveterate neglect*, may be very ſubſervient unto one main Deſign of our *Church-Hiſtory*, which is to give an *experimental Direction*, for more arduous *Church-Caſes*, I ſhall, here, give it unto my Reader.

Know then, that the *Paſtor* of the Church, after ſolemn Supplications for the Direction of Heaven about it, having previouſly *preached* and *printed*, the *State of the Truth*, which he was now reducing into practice, and having privately with *perſonal Conferences*, endeavoured the ſatisfaction of ſuch *Diſſenters* as he counted more ſignificant, he then, avoiding all publick *Meetings* or *Debates*, drew up the following *Inſtrument*, which by the Hands of two or three choſen Perſons, he ſent about unto the *Bretheren*.

Perſuaſions and Propoſals, laid before the Church, in ---

I. It is my Perſuaſion, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath in the World, a Catholic Church, which is his Myſtical Body, and hath all his Elect-called People belonging thereunto.

II. It is my Perſuaſion, that the Catholick Church of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, becomes, in various Degrees, viſible unto us; and according to the Degrees of its Viſibility, it becomes capable of a viſible Communion, with its glorious Head.

III. It is my Perſuaſion, that when Men profeſs the Faith of the Goſpel, with Obedience unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, according to that Goſpel, and overthrow not that Profeſſion by a ſcandalous Converſation, they are to be looked upon as Members of the Viſible Catholick Church of our Lord; they are to be treated as Chriſtians; to call them, or count them Heathen, is to do them a grievous Injury.

IV. It is my Perſuaſion, that when ſuch Profeſſors, regularly combine into a Society, for the Evangelical Worſhip and Service of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and furniſh themſelves with *Officers* of his Appointment, they then become a part of the *Catholick Church*, ſo viſible, as to be a Body Politick, entruſted with the Adminiſtration of thoſe *Ordinances*, which are the *Priviledges* in that *Kingdom of Heaven*.

V. It is my *Perſuaſion*, that a *particular Church* thus betruſted with the Ordinances of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is to be concerned for the applying ſome of thoſe Ordinances, unto Subjects, that have not yet arrived ſo far in viſible Chriſtianity, as to be conſtituent parts of that Holy Society.

VI. It is my Perſuaſion, That *Baptiſm* is an Ordinance to be adminiſtred unto them, that are in the viſible Catholick Church, while thoſe Chriſtians have not yet joined themſelves unto a particular Church, but are only in a State of

Initiation and *Preparation* for it. In the Scripture we do not read of any that were baptized *after* their joining to full Communion in a particular Church of the New-Teſtament, but of many that were ſo *before*.

Under the Influence of theſe *Perſwaſions*, there are now theſe *Propoſals*, which I would make unto that *particular Church* of God, whereof I am an unworthy Overſeer in the Lord.

I. It is my *Propoſal*, that if any Perſon inſtructed and Orthodox in our Chriſtian Religion, do bring Teſtimonials of a ſober and blameleſs Converſation, and publickly ſubmit themſelves unto the Bonds of ſuch a Sacred Covenant, as now followeth:

'You now from your Heart profeſſing a ſerious Belief of the Chriſtian Religion, as it has been generally declared and embraced by the Faithful in this Place, do here give up your ſelf to God in Chriſt; promiſing with his Help to endeavour a Walk, according to the Rules of that Holy Religion, all your Days; Chooſing of God as your beſt Good, and your laſt End, and Chriſt as the Prophet, and Prieſt, and King of your Soul for ever. You do therefore ſubmit unto the Laws of his Kingdom, as they are adminiſtred in this Church of his; and you will alſo carefully and ſincerely labour after thoſe more poſitive and increaſed Evidences of Regeneration, which may further encourage you to ſeek an Admiſſion unto the Table of the Lord.

I ſay, I propound, That I may without Offence *baptize* this Perſon and his Houſe, and that ſuch Perſons may be watched over, if not as Brethren, yet as Diſciples, in the Porch of the Lord's Temple; of whom we have Cauſe to hope, that they will ſhortly expreſs their Deſires after the Lord's Supper, with ſuch Tokens of Growth in Grace upon them, as that we may chearfully receive them thereunto.

II. It is my *Propoſal*, that as for the Children thus baptized in their Minority, the Elders of the Church may be inquiſitive and induſtrious about their being brought up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord. But that when they come to be adult, the Elders of the Church may, to confirm them in their Church-ſtate, put them upon the open Renewal of their Baptiſmal Covenant, with a Subjection of themſelves, unto the Watch of the Church; and if any of them do upon Examination appear to have more ſenſible and plenary Symptoms of Converſion unto God, they may be exhorted immediately to make regular Approaches unto the Table of the Lord; and that if any of them contumaciouſly deſpiſe and refuſe their Duty of Renewing their Covenant, and owning the Government of the Lord over them, they may after proper Admonitions be debarred from that ſtanding among the People of God, which otherwiſe they might lay claim unto.

I, therefore, propound, that the Church may ſeaſonably look after a full ſupply of *Officers*, whereby this work may be fully proſecuted. In the mean time, I am willing to attend as much of this Work, as God ſhall enable me unto: Asking of you, That *none* of you would object about my giving of Meat in due Seaſon, to any part of my Bleſſed Maſter's Family, which he hath made me a Steward of; but that all of you would help me with your daily Prayers, and whatever other Aſſiſtances may be uſeful unto,

Your ſolicitous Paſtor and Servant.

This Inſtrument was within a few Days brought back unto the Paſtor, with ſuch a Return at the Cloſe of it.

'We, the Brethren of the —— Church in —— conſidering how fully thoſe Reverend Perſons that have the Rule over us, and watch for our Souls, have declared what they judge to be the Mind of God, about the Subject of Baptiſm, and apprehending, that we may have lain too long, in an Omiſſion of Duty thereabouts; do now ſignifie, that we are not unwilling to have the Perſwaſions and Propoſals, which our Paſtor hath here laid before us, carefully put into Practice; and that we would have no Obſtruction given to any Holy Endeavours, which may be uſed this Way, to advance the Intereſt of Religion in the midſt of us.

Hereunto the Generality of the Brethren, perhaps twenty to one, had ſubſcribed their Names. And thoſe Few that were not yet ſo wholly reſcued from their *Antiſynodalian Scruples*, yet verbally ſignified their Chriſtian and Peaceable Aſſurances, that it ſhould give no Uneaſineſs unto their Minds, to ſee the Deſires of their Paſtor accompliſhed; which was done accordingly.

But thus much concerning the Proceedings in a Synod of *New-England* Churches, for the *Church-Care of their Poſterity*. We'll conclude all, with an agreeable Speech of the Great *Ramus* (in *Comment. de Relig. l.* 4. *c.*6.) *Liberi Fidelium Baptizantur, ut participes ſint, & Hæredes Divinorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiæ Promiſſorum, utq; ætate provecti parentum Religionem & pietatem, profiteantur.*

The

The Fourth PART.

THE Reforming Synod OF NEW-ENGLAND, WITH Subſequent ESSAYS of Reformation in the CHURCHES.

O vera pœnitentia, quid de te Novi referam! Omnia ligata tu ſolvis, omnia clauſa tu reſeras, omnia adverſa tu mitigas, omnia contrita tu ſanas, omnia confuſa tu lucidas, omnia deſperata tu animas. Cyprian.

§ 1. THE ſettlement of the *New-Engliſh* Churches, with a long *ſeries* of preſerving and proſperous Smiles from Heaven upon them, is doubtleſs to be reckoned amongſt the more *wonderful Works of God*, in this Age; the true Glories of the young Plantation had not upon the Face of God's Earth a Parallel, *our Adverſaries themſelves being Judges*. But when People began more notoriouſly to forget the *Errand into the Wilderneſs*, and when the Enchantments of *this World* cauſed the riſing Generation more ſenſibly to neglect the Primitive Deſigns and Intereſts of *Religion* propounded by their Fathers; *a change* in the Tenour of the Divine Diſpenſations towards this Country, was quickly the matter of every Body's Obſervation. By *Land*, ſome of the principal *Grains*, eſpecially our *Wheat* and our *Peaſe*, fell under an unaccountable *Blaſt*, from which we are not, even unto this Day delivered; and beſides that conſtant Frown of Heaven upon our *Husbandry*, recurring every Year, few Years have paſſed, wherein either *Worms* or *Droughts*, or ſome conſuming Diſaſters have not befallen the *Labour of the Husbandman*. By *Sea*, we were viſited with multiplied *Shipwrecks*, Enemies prey'd on our *Veſſels* and our *Sailors*, and the Affairs of the *Merchant* were clogged with *Loſſes* abroad; or *Fires*, breaking forth in the chief Seats of Trade at home, waſted their Subſtance with yet more coſtly Deſolations. Nor did the *Land* and the *Sea*, more proclaim the *Controverſie* of our God againſt us, than that other Element of the *Air*, by the contagious Vapours whereof ſeveral *Peſtilential* Sickneſſes did ſometimes become *epidemical* among us. Yea, the Judgments of God having done firſt the part of the *Moth* upon us, proceeded then to do the part of a *Lion*, in lamentable *Wars*, wherein the barbarous *Indians* cruelly butchered many hundreds of our Inhabitants, and ſcattered whole Towns with miſerable Ruins. When diſmal Calamities befel the Primitive *Chriſtians*, as acknowledged by the great *Cyprian*,

prian, That the cauſe thereof was, becauſe they were *Patrimonio & Lucro ſtudentes*, too much minding to get Eſtates and Riches; *Superbiam Sectantes*, too Proud; *æmulationi & diſſentioni vacantes*, given to Contention; *ſimplicitatis Fidei negligentes*, negligent of the plain Faith of the Goſpel; *Sæculo verbis ſolis, & non factis, renunciantes*, worldly; *unuſquiſque ſibi placentes & omnibus diſplicentes*, pleaſing themſelves and vexing others. Theſe were the *Sins*, which, he ſaid, brought them into *Sufferings*; for theſe, he ſaid, *Vapulamus itaque ut merentur*. Truly, if *New-England* had not abounded with the like *Offences*, it may be ſuppoſed, ſuch Calamities had not befallen it. It intimated a more than ordinary Diſpleaſure of God for ſome *Offences*, when he proceeded ſo far, as to put over his poor People into the Hands of tawny and bloody *Salvages*: And the whole Army had cauſe to enquire into their own *Rebellions*, when they ſaw the *Lord of Hoſts*, with a dreadful *Decimation*, taking off ſo many of our Brethren by the worſt of Executioners. The Cry of the laſt of the *Britiſh* Kings, then was the Cry of the *New-Engliſh* Chriſtians, *Væ nobis peccatoribus ob immania ſcelera noſtra!*

§ 2. The ſerious People throughout the Country, were awakened by theſe Intimations of Divine Diſpleaſure, to *enquire* into the Cauſes and Matters of the *Controverſie*. And beſides the *Self-reforming* Effects of theſe Calamities on the Hearts and Lives of many *particular Chriſtians*, who were hereby brought unto an exacter Walk with God, *particular Churches* exerted their Power of *Self-reformation*, eſpecially in the time of the *Indian* War; wherein with much ſolemn *Faſting* and *Prayer*, they renewed their *Covenants* with God and one another. Moreover, the *General Courts* enacted what Laws were judged proper for the extinction of thoſe *provoking Evils*, which might expoſe the Land unto the Anger of Heaven: and the Miniſters in their ſeveral Congregations, by their Miniſtry, ſet themſelves to teſtifie againſt thoſe *Evils*. Nor is it a thing unworthy of a great Remark, That great *Succeſſes* againſt the Enemy accompanied ſome notable Tranſactions both in *Church* and in *Court*, for the Reformation of our *provoking Evils*. Indeed, the People of God in this Land were not gone ſo far in *Degeneracy*, but that there were further degrees of Diſorder and Corruption to be found, I muſt freely ſpeak it, in other, yea, in *all* other Places, where the *Proteſtant Religion* is profeſſed: And the moſt impartial Obſervers muſt have acknowledged, that there was proportionably ſtill more of *true Religion*, and a *larger* Number of the *ſtricteſt* Saints in this Country, than in any other on the Face of the Earth. But it was to be confeſſed, that the *degeneracy* of *New-England*, in any meaſure, into the Spirit of the *World*, was a thing extreamly aggravated, by the greatneſs of our *Obligations* to the contrary, and even ſinful *Omiſſions* in this, were no leſs Criminal, than the moſt odious *Commiſſions*, in ſome other Countries.

§ 3. After *Peace* was reſtored unto the Country, the evil Spirit of *Apoſtacy* from the *Power of Godlineſs*, and the various Diſcoveries and Conſequences of ſuch an *Apoſtaſie*, became ſtill more ſenſible to them, that *feared God*. Wherefore, that there might be made a more exact *ſcrutiny* into the *Cauſes* of the Divine Diſpleaſure againſt the Land, and into the *Methods* of removing and preventing the Matter of Lamentation, and that the *Eſſays* of *Reformation*, might be as well more *extenſive* as more *effectual*, than they had been hitherto, the *General Court* of the *Maſſachuſet Colony* were prevailed withal, to call upon the Churches, that they would ſend their *Elders* and other *Meſſengers*, to meet in a *Synod*, for the ſolemn Diſcuſſion of thoſe two Queſtions, *What are the provoking Evils of* New-England? and, *What is to be done, that ſo thoſe Evils may be reformed?* It is very certain, That the *Controverſie* which the God of Heaven had, (and ſtill *hath!*) with *New-England*, was a Matter, about which, many *did not enquire wiſely*. As of old, ſeveral of our Ancients complained, That the *Pagans* looked upon the *Chriſtians* (in their way of Worſhip) as the Cauſes of all the Plagues on the *Roman Empire*: Whatever Miſchief came, forthwith, *Chriſtianos ad Leones*: Thus, among the People of *New-England*, many aſſigned the Plagues upon the Country, unto very ſtrange Cauſes, as their ſeveral Intereſts and Affections led them. A *Synod* was convened therefore, to enquire more wiſely of that Matter: It would aſtoniſh one, to be told, That an Aſſembly of *Lutherans* coming together to enquire after the cauſe of the *Judgments*, which God had brought upon their Churches, moſt unhappily determined, *That their not paying Reſpect enough unto Images in their Churches, was one Cauſe of the Lord's Controverſie with them.* Unhappy Enquirers! Inſtead of their Dream, that they had not ſinned enough againſt the *Second Commandment*, they ſhould have thought, whether they had not ſinned too much againſt the *Fourth*. But we hear not a word of their bewailing their univerſal Prophanations of the *Lord's-Day* to this Day. Our *New-Engliſh* Aſſembly did enquire to better purpoſe. The Churches, having firſt kept a general *Faſt*, that the gracious Preſence and Spirit of God might be obtained, for the Direction of the approaching *Synod*, the *Synod* convened at *Boſton*, *Sept.* 10. *1679.* chuſing Mr. *John Shermon*, and Mr. *Urian Oakes*, for Joint Moderators, during the biggeſt part of the Seſſion. There was at firſt, ſome Agitation in this Reverend Aſſembly, about *the Matter of a regular Synod*, raiſed upon this Occaſion, that ſome of the Churches, notwithſtanding the Deſires of their *Elders* to be accompanied with other *Meſſengers*, would ſend no *Meſſengers*, but their *Elders* to the Aſſembly. Upon the Debate, it was reſolved, That not only *Elders*, but other *Meſſengers* alſo, were to be delegated by Churches, and have their Suffrage in a *Synod*, repreſenting thoſe Churches; the Primitive Pattern of a *Synod* in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts*, and the Primitive Practice

of

of the Churches in the Ages next following the Apoſtles; and the Arguments of ſuch eminent Writers as *Jael*, *Whitaker*, *Parker*, and others, againſt thoſe, who mention that *Laicks* are no fit Matter for ſuch Aſſemblies; being judiciouſly conſidered, as countenancing of this Aſſertion. The Aſſembly kept a Day of *Prayer* with *Faſting* before the Lord, and ſpent ſeveral Days in diſcourſing upon the two *Grand Queſtions* laid before them, with utmoſt Liberty granted unto every Perſon, to expreſs his Thoughts thereupon. A Committee was appointed, then to draw up the Mind of the Aſſembly; which being done, it was read over once and again, and each *Paragraph* diſtinctly weighed, and then upon a mature Deliberation, the whole was *unanimouſly voted*, as to the *Subſtance*, *End* and *Scope* thereof. So, 'twas preſented unto the *General Court*, who by an Act of *October* 15. *1679.* "Commended "it unto the ſerious Conſideration of all the "Churches and People in the Juriſdiction, en- "joining and requiring all Perſons in their re- "ſpective Capacities to a careful and diligent "Reformation, of all thoſe provoking Evils "mentioned therein, according to the true In- "tent thereof, that ſo the Anger and Diſplea- "ſure of God many ways manifeſted, might "be averted, and his Favour and Bleſſing ob- "tained.

§. 4. When the puniſhment of *ſcourging* was uſed upon a Criminal in *Iſrael*, it was the Order and Uſage, that while the Executioner was laying on his Blows, with an Inſtrument, every ſtroke whereof, gave *three Laſhes* to the Delinquent, there were ſtill preſent *three Judges*; whereof, while one did *number* the *Blows*, and another kept crying out, *Smite him*; a *Third* read *three Scriptures*, during the Time of the *Scourging*, and the *Scourging* ended with the reading of them. The firſt Scripture was that in *Deut.* 28. 58. *If thou wilt not obſerve to do all the words of this Law, then the Lord will make thy Plagues wonderful.* The ſecond Scripture was that in *Deut.* 29. 9. *Keep therefore the words of this Covenant, that ye may proſper in all that ye do.* The third Scripture was that in *Pſalm* 78. 38. *But he, being full of compaſſion, forgave their Iniquity and deſtroyed them not.* This was done partly for the Admonition, partly for the Conſolation, of the Criminal. Truly, when the Scourges of Heaven were imploy'd upon the Churches of *New-England* for their Miſcarriages, and they were ſorely laſhed with one Blow after another, not only particular Miniſters, but a whole Synod of them, took upon themſelves the Office of Reading to the whole Country, thoſe Words of God which were judged agreeable to the Condition of ſuch a ſcourged People.

Nothing ſhall detain my Reader from the Admonitions of this *Reforming Synod*, when I have recited the ſolemn Words in the *Preface* to thoſe Admonitions. "The Things inſiſted on (*ſay they*) "have, at leaſt many of them, been often men- "tioned and inculcated by thoſe, whom the "Lord hath ſet as Watchmen to the Houſe of "*Iſrael*; tho' alas! not with that Succeſs, which "their Souls have deſired. It is not a ſmall Mat- "ter, nor ought it to ſeem little in our Eyes, "that the Churches have in this way confeſſed "and declared the Truth, which coming from a "*SYNOD*, as their Joint Concurring Teſtimony "will carry more Authority with it, than if "one Man only, or many in their ſingle Capa- "cities ſhould ſpeak the ſame things. And un- "doubtedly the Iſſue of this Undertaking, will "be moſt Signal, either as to Mercy or Miſery. "If *New-England* remember whence ſhe is fal- "len, and do the Firſt-works, there's Reaſon "to hope, that it ſhall be better with us than "at our Beginnings. But if this, after all other "Means in and by which the Lord hath been "ſtriving to reclaim us, ſhall be deſpiſed, or be- "come ineffectual, we may dread what is like "to follow. 'Tis a ſolemn Thought that the "Jewiſh Church had, as the Churches in *New-* "*England* have this Day, an opportunity to re- "form, if they would in *Joſiah*'s Time; but be- "cauſe they had no Heart unto it, the Lord quick- "ly removed them out of his ſight. What God "out of his Sovereignty may do for us, no Man "can ſay; but according to his wonted Diſpen- "ſations, we are a periſhing People, if now we "reform not.

And now therefore hear the *SYNOD*.

THE

THE
Neceſſity of Reformation,
WITH
The Expedients ſubſervient thereunto, aſſerted, in Anſwer to Two Queſtions.

QUESTION I.

What are the Evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his Judgments on New-England ?

ANSWER.

THat ſometimes God hath had; and pleaded a Controverſie with his People, is clear from the Scripture, *Hoſ.* 4. 1. & 12. 2. *Mich.* 6. 1, 2. Where God doth plainly, and fully propoſe, ſtate and plead his Controverſie in all the Parts and Cauſes of it, wherein he doth juſtifie himſelf by the Declaration of his own infinite Mercy, Grace, Goodneſs, Juſtice, Righteouſneſs, Truth and Faithfulneſs in all his Proceedings with them; and judge his People, charging them with all thoſe provoking Evils, which had been the Cauſes of that Controverſie, and that with the moſt high and heavy Aggravation of their Sins, and exaggeration of the Guilt and Puniſhment, whence he ſhould have been moſt juſt, in pleading out his Controverſie with them unto the utmoſt Extremity of Juſtice and Judgment.

That God hath a Controverſie with his *New-England* People is undeniable, the Lord having written his Diſpleaſure in diſmal Characters againſt us. Though perſonal Afflictions, do oftentimes come only or chiefly for Probation, yet as to publick Judgments, it is not wont to be ſo; eſpecially when by a continued Series of Providence, the Lord doth appear and plead againſt his People, 2 *Sam.* 21. 1. As with us it hath been from Year to Year. Would the Lord have whetted his glittering Sword, and his Hand have taken hold on Judgment? Would he have ſent ſuch a mortal Contagion, like a Beſom of deſtruction in the midſt of us? Would he have ſaid, Sword! Go through the Land, and cut off Man and Beaſt. Or would he have kindled ſuch devouring Fires, and made ſuch fearful Deſolations in the Earth, if he had not been angry? It is not for nothing that the Merciful God, who doth not willingly afflict nor grieve the Children of Men, hath done all thoſe Things unto us; yea, and ſometimes with a Cloud hath covered himſelf, that our Prayer ſhould not paſs thorough. And although 'tis poſſible that the Lord may contend with us partly on the Account of ſecret unobſerved Sins, *Joſh.* 7. 11, 12. 2 *Kings* 17. 9. *Pſalm* 90. 8. In which reſpect, a deep and moſt ſerious enquiry into the Cauſes of his Controverſie ought to be attended: Nevertheleſs it is ſadly evident, that there are viſible, manifeſt Evils, which without doubt the Lord is provoked by. For,

I. There is a great and viſible decay of the Power of Godlineſs amongſt many Profeſſors in theſe Churches. It may be feared that there is in too many Spiritual, and Heart Apoſtacy from God, whence Communion with him in the ways of his Worſhip, eſpecially in ſecret is much neglected, and whereby Men ceaſe to know and fear, and love, and truſt in him; but take up their Contentment and Satisfaction in ſomething elſe: This was the ground and bottom of the Lord's Controverſie with his People of Old, *Pſalm* 78. 8. 37. & 81.11. *Jer.* 2. 5, 11, 13. and with his People under the *New-Teſtament* alſo, *Rev.* 2. 4, 5.

II. The Pride that doth abound in *New England* teſtifies againſt us, *Hoſ.* 5. 5. *Ezek.* 7. 10. both ſpiritual Pride, *Zeph.* 3. 11. Whence two great Evils and Provocations have proceeded, and prevailed among us.

1. A refuſing to be ſubject to Order, according to Divine Appointment, *Numb.* 16. 3. 1 *Pet.* 5. 5.

2. Contention. *Prov.* 13. 10. An Evil that is, moſt eminently againſt the ſolemn Charge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Joſh.* 13. 34, 35. And that for which God hath by ſevere Judgments puniſhed his People, both in former and latter Ages. This Malady hath been very general in the Country; we have, therefore, cauſe to fear, that the Wolves, which God in his holy Providence hath let looſe upon us, have been ſent to chaſtiſe his Sheep for Dividings and Strayings one from another; and that the Wars and Fightings, which have proceeded from the luſt of Pride in ſpecial, have been puniſhed with the Sword, *Jam.* 4. 1. *Job* 19. 29.

Yea, and Pride in reſpect of Apparel hath greatly abounded; Servants and the poorer ſort of People are notoriouſly guilty in this matter, who

who (too generally) go above their Eſtates and Degrees, thereby tranſgreſſing the Laws both of God and Man, *Matth.* 11. 8. Yea, it is a Sin that even the Light of Nature and Laws of Civil Nations have condemned, 1 *Cor.* 11. 14. Alſo, many, not of the meaner ſort have offended God by ſtrange Apparel, not becoming ſerious Chriſtians, eſpecially in theſe Days of Affliction and Miſery, wherein the Lord calls upon Men to put off their Ornaments, *Exod.* 33. 5. *Jer.* 4. 30. A Sin which brings Wrath upon the greateſt that ſhall be found guilty of it, *Zeph.* 1. 8. with *Jer.* 52. 13. Particularly the Lord hath threatned to viſit with Sword and Sickneſs, and with loathſome Diſeaſes for this very Sin, *Iſa.* 3. 16.

III. Inaſmuch as it was in a more peculiar manner with reſpect to the ſecond Commandment, that our Fathers did follow the Lord into this Wilderneſs, whilſt it was a Land not ſown, we may fear that the Breaches of that Commandment are ſome part of the Lord's Controverſie with *New-England.* Church-Fellowſhip and other Divine Inſtitutions are greatly neglected. Many of the riſing Generation are not mindful of that, which their Baptiſm doth engage them unto, *viz.* to uſe utmoſt Endeavours that they may be fit for, and ſo partake in all the Holy Ordinances of the Lord Jeſus, *Matth.* 28. 20. There are too many that with profane *Eſau* ſlight ſpiritual Priviledges. Nor is there ſo much of Diſcipline extended towards the Children of the Covenant, as we are generally agreed ought to be done. On the other hand humane Inventions, and will-worſhip have been ſet up even in *Jeruſalem.* Men have ſet up their Threſholds by God's Threſhold, and their Poſts by his Poſt. *Quakers* are falſe Worſhippers; and ſuch *Anabaptiſts* as have riſen up among us, in oppoſition to the Churches of the Lord Jeſus, receiving into their Society thoſe, that have been for Scandal delivered unto Satan; yea, and improving thoſe as Adminiſtrators of Holy Things, who have been (as doth appear) juſtly, under Church-Cenſures, do no better than ſet up an Altar againſt the Lord's Altar. Wherefore it muſt needs be provoking to God if theſe Things be not duly and fully teſtified againſt, by every one in their ſeveral Capacities reſpectively, *Joſ.* 22. 19. 2 *Ki.* 23. 13. *Eze.* 43. 8. *Pſ.* 99. 8. *Hoſ.* 11. 6.

IV. The holy and glorious name of God hath been polluted and profaned amongſt us, more eſpecially.

1. By Oaths and Imprecations in ordinary Diſcourſe; yea, and it is too common a thing for Men in a more ſolemn way to ſwear unneceſſary Oaths; when as it is a Breach of the third Commandment, ſo to uſe the bleſſed Name of God. And many (if not the moſt) of thoſe that ſwear, conſider not the Rule of an Oath, *Jer.* 4. 2. So that we may juſtly fear that becauſe of ſwearing the Land mourns, *Jer.* 23. 10.

2. There is great Prophaneneſs in reſpect of irreverent Behaviour in the ſolemn Worſhip of God. It is a frequent thing for Men (though not neceſſitated thereunto by any Infirmity) to ſit in Prayer time, and ſome with their Heads almoſt covered, and to give way to their own Sloth and Sleepineſs, when they ſhould be ſerving God with Attention and Intention, under the ſolemn Diſpenſation of his Ordinances. We read but of one Man in Scripture, that ſlept at a Sermon, and that Sin had like to have coſt him his Life, *Acts* 20. 9.

V. There is much Sabbath-breaking; ſince there are Multitudes that do profanely abſent themſelves or theirs from the publick Worſhip of God, on his Holy Day, eſpecially in the moſt populous Places of the Land; and many under pretence of differing Apprehenſions about the beginning of the Sabbath, do not keep a ſeventh part of time holy unto the Lord, as the fourth Commandment requireth, walking abroad, and travelling (not meerly on the Account of worſhipping God in the ſolemn Aſſemblies of his People, or to attend Works of Neceſſity or Mercy) being a common practice on the Sabbath Day, which is contrary unto that Reſt enjoyned by the Commandment. Yea, ſome that attend their particular ſervile Callings and Employments after the Sabbath is begun, or before it is ended. Wordly, unſuitable Diſcourſes are very common upon the Lord's Day, contrary to the Scripture, which requireth that Men ſhould not on holy Times find their own Pleaſure, nor ſpeak their own Words, *Iſa.* 58. 13. Many that do not take care ſo to diſpatch their wordly Buſineſſes, that they may be free and fit for the Duties of the Sabbath, and that do (if not wholly neglect) after a careleſs, heartleſs manner, perform the Duties that concern the Sanctification of the Sabbath. This brings Wrath, Fires and other Judgments upon a profeſſing People, *Neh.* 3. 17, 18. *Jer.* 17. 27.

VI. As to what concerns Families and Government thereof, there is much amiſs. There are many Families that do not pray to God conſtantly Morning and Evening, and many more, wherein the Scriptures are not daily read, that ſo the Word of Chriſt might dwell richly with them. Some, and too many Houſes, that are full of Ignorance and Profaneneſs, and theſe not duly inſpected, for which cauſe Wrath may come upon others round about them, as well as upon themſelves, *Joſ.* 22. 20. *Jerem.* 5. 7. & 10. 25. And many Houſholders who profeſs Religion, do not cauſe all that are within their Gates to become Subjects unto good Order as ought to be, *Exod.* 20. 10. Nay, Children and Servants, that are not kept in due Subjection, their Maſters and Parents eſpecially being ſinfully indulgent towards them. This is a Sin which brings great Judgments, as we ſee in *Eli's*, and *David's* Family. In this reſpect Chriſtians in this Land, have become too like unto the *Indians*, and then we need not wonder, if the Lord hath afflicted us by them. Sometimes a Sin is diſcerned by the Inſtrument that Providence doth puniſh with. Moſt of the Evils that abound amongſt us, proceed from Defects as to Family-Government.

VII. Inordinate Paſſions. Sinful Heats and Hatreds, and that among Church-Members themſelves, who abound with evil Surmiſings, uncharitable and unrighteous Cenſures, Back-bitings, hearing and telling Tales, few that remember and duly obſerve the Rule, with an angry Countenance to drive away the Tale-Bearer: Reproachful and Reviling Expreſſions, ſometimes to or of one another. Hence Law-Suites are frequent, Brother going to Law with Brother, and provoking and abuſing one another in publick Courts of Judicature, to the ſcandal of their holy Profeſſion, *Iſa.* 58. 4. 1. *Cor.* 6. 6, 7. And in managing the Diſcipline of Chriſt, ſome (and too many) are acted by their Paſſions, and Prejudices, more than by a Spirit of Love and Faithfulneſs towards their Brother's Soul, which things are, as againſt the Law of Chriſt, ſo dreadful Violations of the Church-Covenant, made in the preſence of God.

VIII. There is much Intemperance. That Heatheniſh and Idolatrous practice of Health-drinking is too frequent. That ſhameful Iniquity of ſinful Drinking is become too general a Provocation. Days of Training, and other publick Solemnities, have been abuſed in this reſpect: And not only Engliſh, but *Indians* have been debauched by thoſe that call themſelves Chriſtians, who have put their Bottles to them and made them drunk alſo. This is a crying Sin, and the more aggravated in that the firſt Planters of this Colony did (as is in the Patent expreſſed) come into this Land with a Deſign to convert the Heathen unto Chriſt, but if inſtead of that they be taught Wickedneſs, which before they were never guilty of, the Lord may well puniſh us by them. Moreover the Sword, Sickneſs, Poverty, and almoſt all the Judgments which have been upon *New-England* are mentioned in the Scripture, as the woful Fruit of *that Sin*, *Jer.* 5. 11, 12. & 28. 1, 2. & 56. 9, 12. *Prov.* 23. 21, 29, 30, & 21. 17. *Hoſ.* 7. 5. & 28, 9. There are more Temptations and Occaſions unto *that Sin*, publickly allowed of, than any Neceſſity doth require; the proper end of Taverns, &c. being for the Entertainment of Strangers, which if they were improved to that end only, a far leſs number would ſuffice: But it is a common practice for Town-Dwellers, yea, and Church-Members to frequent publick Houſes, and there to miſpend precious Time, unto the diſhonour of the Goſpel, and the ſcandalizing of others, who are by ſuch Examples induced to ſin againſt God. In which reſpect for Church-Members to be unneceſſarily in ſuch Houſes, is ſinful, ſcandalous and provoking to God, 1 *Cor.* 8. 9, 10. *Rom.* 14. 21. *Matth.* 17. 27. & 18. 7.

And there are other hainous Breaches of the ſeventh Commandment. Temptations thereunto are become too common, *viz.* ſuch as immodeſt Apparel, *Prov.* 7. 10. laying out of Hair, Borders, naked Necks, and Arms, or which is more abominable naked Breaſts, and mixed Dancings, light Behaviour, and Expreſſions, ſinful Company-keeping with light and vain Perſons. unlawful Gaming, an abundance of Idleneſs, which brought ruinating Judgment upon *Sodom*, and much more upon *Jeruſalem*, *Ezek.* 16. 49, and doth ſorely threaten *New England*, unleſs effectual Remedies be thoroughly and timouſly applied.

IX. There is much want of Truth amongſt Men. Promiſe-breaking is a common Sin, for which *New-England* doth hear Ill abroad in the World. And the Lord hath threatned for that Tranſgreſſion to give his People into the Hands of their Enemies, and that their Dead Bodies ſhould be for Meat unto the Fowls of Heaven, and to the Beaſts of the Earth, which Judgments have been verified upon us, *Jer.* 34. 18, 20. And falſe Reports have been too common, yea, walking with Reproaches and Slanders, and that ſometimes againſt the moſt Faithful and Eminent Servants of God. The Lord is not wont to ſuffer ſuch Iniquity to paſs unpuniſhed, *Jer.* 9. 4, 5. *Numb.* 16. 41.

X. Inordinate Affection unto the World. Idolatry is a God-provoking, Judgment-procuring Sin. And Covetouſneſs is Idolatry, *Eph.* 5. 5. There hath been in many Profeſſors an Inſatiable deſire after Land, and Worldly Accommodations; yea, ſo as to forſake Churches and Ordinances, and to live like Heathen, only that ſo they might have Elbow-room enough in the World. Farms and Merchandiſings have been preferred before the things of God. In this reſpect the Intereſt of *New-England* ſeemeth to be changed. We differ from other out-goings of our Nation, in that it was not any Worldly Conſiderations that brought our Fathers into this Wilderneſs, but Religion, even that ſo they might build a Sanctuary unto the Lord's Name; whereas now Religion is made ſubſervient unto Worldly Intereſts. Such Iniquity cauſeth War to be in the Gates, and Cities to be burnt up, *Judg.* 8. 5. *Mat.* 22. 5, 7. Wherefore, we cannot but ſolemnly bear witneſs againſt that Practice of ſettling Plantations without any Miniſtry amongſt them, which is to prefer the World before the Goſpel: When *Lot* did forſake the Land of *Canaan*, and the Church, which was in *Abraham*'s Family, that ſo he might have better Worldly Accommodations in *Sodom*, God fired him out of all, and he was conſtrained to leave his goodly Paſtures, which his Heart (though otherwiſe a good Man) was too much ſet upon. Moreover that many are under the prevailing Power of the Sin of Worldlineſs is evident.

1. From that oppreſſion which the Land groaneth under. There are ſome Traders, who ſell their Goods at exceſſive Rates, Day-Labourers and Mechanicks are unreaſonable in their Demands; yea, there have been thoſe that have dealt Deceitfully and oppreſſively towards the Heathen, among whom we live, whereby they have been ſcandalized and prejudiced againſt the Name of Chriſt. The Scripture doth frequently threaten Judgments for the Sin of Oppreſſion, and in ſpecial the Oppreſſing Sword cometh as a puniſhment of that Evil, *Ezek.* 7. 11. and 22. 15. *Prov.* 28. 8. *Iſ.* 5. 7.

2. It

2. It is alſo evident, that Men are under the prevailing Power of a Worldly Spirit, by their Strait-handedneſs, as to Publick Concernments. God by a continued Series of Providence, for many Years, one after another, hath been blaſting the Fruits of the Earth in a great meaſure; and this Year more abundantly: Now, if we ſearch the Scriptures, we ſhall find that when the Lord hath been provoked to deſtroy the Fruits of the Earth, either by noxious Creatures, or by his own immediate Hand in Blaſtings, or Droughts, or Exceſſive Rains (all which Judgments we have Experience of) it hath been moſtly for this Sin of Strait-handedneſs with Reference unto publick and Pious Concerns, *Hag.* 1. 9. *Mal.* 3. 8, 9, 11. As when Peoples Hearts and Hands are enlarged upon theſe Accounts, God hath promiſed (and is wont in his Faithful Providence to do accordingly) to Bleſs with outward Plenty and Proſperity, *Prov.* 3. 9, 10. *Mal.* 3. 10. 1 *Cor.* 9. 6, 8, 10. 2 *Chron.* 31. 10. ſo on the other Hand, when Men withold more than is meet, the Lord ſends impoveriſhing Judgments upon them, *Prov.* 11. 24.

XI. There hath been oppoſition to the work of Reformation. Although the Lord hath been calling upon us, not only by the Voice of his Servants, but by awful Judgments, that we ſhould return unto him, who hath been ſmiting of us, and notwithſtanding all the good Laws, that are eſtabliſhed for the ſuppreſſion of growing Evils, yet Men will not return every one from his Evil way. There hath been great Incorrigibleneſs under leſſer Judgments; Sin and Sinners have many Advocates. They that have been Zealous in bearing witneſs againſt the Sins of the Times, have been reproached, and other ways Diſcouraged; which argueth an Heart unwilling to Reform. Hence the Lord's Controverſie is not yet done, but his Hand is ſtretched out ſtill, *Lev.* 26. 23, 24. *Iſa.* 12. 13.

XII. A publick Spirit is greatly wanting in the moſt of Men. Few that are of *Nehemiah's* Spirit, *Neh.* 5. 15. all ſeek their own, not the things that are Jeſus Chriſt's; ſerving themſelves upon Chriſt and his Holy Ordinances. Matters appertaining to the Kingdom of God, are either not at all regarded, or not in the firſt place. Hence Schools of Learning and other publick concerns are in a languiſhing ſtate. Hence alſo are unreaſonable Complaints and Murmurings becauſe of publick Charges, which is a great Sin; and a private ſelf-ſeeking Spirit, is one of thoſe Evils that renders the laſt times perilous, 2 *Tim.* 3. 1.

XIII. There are Sins againſt the Goſpel, whereby the Lord has been provoked. Chriſt is not priſed and embraced in all his Offices and Ordinances as ought to be. Manna hath been loathed, the pleaſant Land deſpiſed, *Pſal.* 106. 24. Though the Goſpel and Covenant of Grace call upon Men to Repent, yet there are Multitudes that refuſe to Repent, when the Lord doth vouchſafe them time and means. No Sins provoke the Lord more than Impenitency and Unbelief, *Jer.* 8. 6. *Zech.* 7. 11, 12, 13. *Heb.* 3. 17, 18. *Rev.* 2. 21, 22. There is great Unfruitfulneſs under the means of Grace, and that brings the moſt deſolating Judgments, *Iſa.* 5. 4, 5. *Mat.* 3. 10. and 21. 43.

Finally; there are ſeveral Conſiderations, which ſeem to Evidence, that the Evils mentioned are the matters of the Lord's Controverſie.

1. In that (though not as to all) as to moſt of them, they are Sins which many are guilty of.

2. Sins which have been acknowledged before the Lord on Days of Humiliation appointed by Authority, and yet not reformed.

3. Many of them not puniſhed (and ſome of them not puniſhable) by Men, therefore the Lord himſelf doth puniſh for them.

QUESTION II.

What is to be done, that ſo theſe Evils may be reformed?

ANSWER.

I. IT would tend much to promote the Intereſt of Reformation, if all that are, in place, above others, do as to themſelves and Families, become every way Exemplary. *Moſes* being to Reform others, began with what concerned himſelf and his. People are apt to follow the Example of thoſe, that are above them, 2 *Chron.* 12. 1. *Gal.* 2. 14. If then, there be a divided Heart, or any other of the Sins of the Times, found in any Degree among thoſe (or any of them) that are Leaders, either as to Civil or Eccleſiaſtical Order, Reformation there would have a great and happy Influence upon many.

II. In as much as the preſent ſtanding Generation (both as to Leaders and People) is for the greater part another Generation, than what was in *New-England* Forty Years ago, for us to declare our adherence to the Faith and Order of the Goſpel, according to what is in the Scripture expreſſed in the Platform of Diſcipline, may be likewiſe a good means both to recover thoſe that have erred from the Truth, and to prevent Apoſtacy for the future.

III. It is requiſite that Perſons be not admitted unto Communion in the Lord's Supper without making a perſonal and publick Profeſſion of their Faith and Repentance, either Orally, or in ſome other way, ſo as ſhall be to the juſt ſatisfaction of the Church; and that therefore both Elders and Churches be duly watchful and circumſpect in this matter, 1 *Cor.* 11. 28, 29. *Acts* 2. 41, 42. *Ezek.* 44. 7, 8, 9.

IV. In order to Reformation, it is neceſſary that the Diſcipline of Chriſt in the Power of it ſhould be upheld in the Churches. It is evident from Chriſt's Epiſtles to the Churches in the leſſer *Aſia*, that the Evils and Degeneracies then prevailing among Chriſtians, proceeded chiefly from

from the neglect of Diſcipline. It is a known and true Obſervation, that Remiſſneſs in the Exerciſe of Diſcipline, was attended with Corruption of Manners, and that did provoke the Lord to give Men up to ſtrong Deluſions in matters of Faith. Diſcipline is Chriſt's Ordinance, both for the prevention of Apoſtacy in Churches, and to recover them, when collapſed. And theſe *New-Engliſh* Churches are under peculiar Engagements to be Faithful unto Chriſt, and unto his Truth in this matter, by virtue of the Church Covenant, as alſo that the management of Diſcipline according to the Scripture, was the ſpecial Deſign of our Fathers in coming into this Wilderneſs. The Degeneracy of the Riſing Generation (ſo much complained of) is in a great meaſure to be attributed unto neglects of this nature. If all Church Diſcipline, in theſe reſpects, were Faithfully and Diligently attended, not only towards Parents, but alſo towards the Children of the Church, according to the Rules of Chriſt, we may hope that the ſunk and dying Intereſt of Religion will be revived, and a world of Sin prevented for the future; and that Diſputes reſpecting the Subjects of Baptiſm, would be comfortably iſſued.

V. It is requiſite that utmoſt endeavours ſhould be uſed, in order unto a full ſupply of Officers in the Churches, according to Chriſt's Inſtitution. The defect of theſe Churches, on this account, is very lamentable, there being in moſt of the Churches only one teaching Officer, for the Burden of the whole Congregation to lye upon. The Lord Chriſt would not have inſtituted Paſtors, Teachers, Ruling-Elders (nor the Apoſtles have ordained Elders in every Church, *Acts* 14. 23. *Titus* 1. 5.) if he had not ſeen there was need of them for the good of his People; and therefore for Men to think, they can do well enough without them, is both to break the ſecond Commandment, and to reflect upon the Wiſdom of Chriſt, as if he did appoint unneceſſary Officers in his Church. Experience hath evinced, that perſonal Inſtruction and Diſcipline, hath been an happy means to reform degenerated Congregations; yea, and owned by the Lord for the Converſion of many Souls: but where there are great Congregations, it is impoſſible for one Man, beſides his Labours in publick fully to attend theſe other things of great Importance, and neceſſary to be done in order to an effectual Reformation of Families and Congregations.

VI. It is incumbent on the Magiſtrate to take care that theſe Officers have due encouragement and maintenance afforded to them. It is high Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, yea a Sin, that cries in the Lord's Ears for Judgment, when Wages are witheld from Faithful and Diligent Labours, *Jam.* 5. 4. And if it be ſo to thoſe that labour about carnal things, much more as to thoſe who labour Day and Night, about the ſpiritual, and eternal welfare of Souls, 1 *Cor.* 9. 11, 13, 14. And the Scripture is expreſs, that not only the Members of Churches, but all that are taught in the Word are bound to Communicate to him that Teacheth in all good things, *Gal.* 6. 6. *Luke* 10. 7. 1 *Tim.* 5. 17, 18. If therefore People be unwilling, to do what Juſtice and Reaſon calls for, the Magiſtrate is to ſee them do their Duty in this matter. Wherefore, Magiſtrates, and that in Scriptures referring to the Days of the New-Teſtament, are ſaid to be the Churches Nurſing Fathers, *Iſ.* 49. 23. For that it concerns them to take care, that the Churches be fed with the Bread and Water of Life. The Magiſtrate is to be a keeper of both Tables, which as a Magiſtrate he cannot be, if he do not promote the Intereſt of Religion, by all thoſe means, which are of the Lord's appointment. And we find in Scripture, that when the Lord's Miniſters have been forced to neglect the Houſe of God, and go every one into the Field (as too much of that hath been amongſt us) becauſe the People did not allow them that maintenance, which was neceſſary, the Magiſtrate did look upon himſelf as concerned to effect a Reformation, *Neh.* 13. 10.

VII. Due Care and Faithfulneſs with reſpect unto the Eſtabliſhment and Execution of wholſome Laws, would very much promote the Intereſt of Reformation. If there be no Laws eſtabliſhed in the Common-wealth, but what there is Scripture warrant for, and thoſe Laws ſo worded, as that they may not become a Snare unto any that are bound to animadvert upon the violaters of them, and that then they be impartially executed; Profaneſs, Hereſie, Schiſm, Diſorders in Families, Towns, Churches would be happily prevented and reformed. In ſpecial it is neceſſary that thoſe Laws for Reformation of provoking Evils enacted and emitted by the general Court, in the Day of our Calamity ſhould be duly conſidered, leſt we become guilty of diſſembling and dallying with the Almighty, and thereby Sin and Wrath be augmented upon us: In particular thoſe Laws, which reſpect the Regulation of Houſes for publick Entertainment, that the number of ſuch Houſes do not exceed what is neceſſary, nor any ſo entruſted but Perſons of known approved Piety and Fidelity, and that Inhabitants be prohibited Drinking in ſuch Houſes, and thoſe that ſhall without Licenſe from Authority ſell any ſort of Strong Drink, be exemplarily puniſhed. And if withal Inferior Officers, Conſtables and Tithing Men, be choſen conſtantly of the Ableſt and moſt Prudent in the place, Authorized and Sworn to a faithful Diſcharge of their Reſpective Truſts, and duly encouraged in their juſt Informations againſt any, that ſhall Tranſgreſs the Laws ſo eſtabliſhed, we may hope that much of that Profaneneſs which doth threaten the Ruine of the upriſing Generation will be prevented.

VIII. Solemn and explicit Renewal of Covenant is a Scripture expedient for Reformation. We ſeldom read of any ſolemn Reformation, but it was accompliſhed in this way, as the Scripture doth abundantly Declare and Teſtifie. And as the Judgments which befel the Lord's People of Old are Recorded for our Admonition, 1 *Cor.* 10. 11.

So

So the Courſe, which they did (according to God) obſerve, in order to Reformation, and averting thoſe Judgments, is Recorded for our Imitation, and this was an Explicit Renovation of Covenant. And that the Lord doth call us to this Work, theſe Conſiderations ſeem to Evince. 1. If Implicit Renewal of Covenant be an Expedient for Reformation, and to divert Impending Wrath and Judgment, then much more an explicit Renewal is ſo; but the firſt of theſe is indubitable. In Prayer, and more eſpecially, on Days of ſolemn Humiliation before the Lord, there is an Implicit Renewal of Covenant, and yet the very dictates of Natural Conſcience put Men upon ſuch Duties, when they are apprehenſive of a Day of Wrath Approaching. If we may not renew our Covenants with God, for fear leſt Men ſhould not be True and Faithful in Doing what they Promiſe, then we muſt not obſerve Days of Faſting and Prayer; which none will ſay. 2. When the Church was over-run with Idolatry and Superſtition, thoſe whom the Lord raiſed up as Reformers, put them upon ſolemn Renewal of Covenant. So *Aſa*, *Jehoſaphat*, *Hezekiah*, *Joſiah*. By a Parity of Reaſon, when Churches are over-grown with Worldlineſs, (which is Spiritual Idolatry) and other Corruptions, the ſame Courſe may and ſhould be obſerved in order to Reformation, Nay, 3. We find in Scripture, that when Corruption in Manners (though not in Worſhip) hath prevailed in the Church, Renovation of Covenant hath been the Expedient, whereby Reformation hath been attempted, and in ſome meaſure attained.

The *Jews* have dreaded the Sin of Idolatry, ever ſince the *Babylonian* Captivity, *John* 8. 41. But in *Ezra*'s and *Nehemiah*'s Time, too much Senſuality and Sabbath-breaking, Oppreſſion, Strait-handedneſs reſpecting the publick Worſhip of God (the very ſame Sins that are found with us) were common prevailing Iniquities. Therefore did thoſe Reformers put them upon renewing their Covenant, and ſolemnly to promiſe God that they would endeavour not to offend by thoſe Evils, as formerly, *Ezr.* 10. 3. *Neh.* 5. 12, 13. and 10. *per totum*, and 13. 15. 4. The things which are mentioned in the Scripture, as grounds of renewing Covenant, are applicable unto us, *e. g.* The averting of Divine Wrath is expreſſed, as a ſufficient Reaſon for attendance unto this Duty, 2 *Chron.* 29. 10. *Ezra* 10. 14. Again being circumſtanced with Difficulties and Diſtreſſes is mentioned as the Ground of Explicit Renovation of Covenant, *Neh.* 9. 38. Hence the Lord's Servants, when ſo circumſtanced have been wont to make ſolemn Vows (and that is an expreſs Covenanting) *Gen.* 28. 20, 21. *Judg.* 11. 30. *Numb.* 21. 1, 2. Now that Clouds of Wrath are hanging over theſe Churches every one ſeeth; and that we are circumſtanced with ſome diſtreſſing difficulties is ſufficiently known. This conſideration alone might be enough to put us upon more ſolemn Engagements unto the Lord our God. 5. Men are hereby brought under a ſtronger Obligation unto better Obedience. There is an awe of God upon the Conſciences of Men, when ſo obliged. As it is in reſpect of Oaths, they that have any Conſcience in them, when under ſuch Bonds are afraid to violate them. Some that are but Legaliſts and Hypocrites, yet ſolemn Covenants with God have ſuch an awe upon Conſcience, as to enforce them unto an outward Reformation, and that doth divert temporal Judgments. And they that are ſincere, will thereby be engaged unto a more cloſe and Holy walking before the Lord, and ſo become more eminently Bleſſings unto the Societies, and places, whereto they do belong. 6. This way is to prevent (and therefore alſo to recover out of) Apoſtacy. In this reſpect, although there were no viſible Degeneracy amongſt us, yet this Renovation of Covenant might be of ſingular Advantage. There was no publick Idolatry (or other Tranſgreſſion) allowed of in the Days of *Joſhua*, *Judg.* 2. 7. *Joſh.* 23. 8. yet did *Joſhua* perſwade the Children of *Iſrael* to renew their Covenant; doubtleſs that ſo he might thereby reſtrain them from future Idolatry and Apoſtacy, *Joſh.* 24. 25.

Laſtly, The Churches, which have lately and ſolemnly attended this Scripture Expedient for Reformation, have experienced the Preſence of God with them, ſignally owning them therein; how much more might a Bleſſing be expected, ſhould there be a general Concurrence in this matter?

IX. In Renewing of Covenant, it is needful that the Sins of the Times ſhould be engaged againſt, and Reformation thereof (in the Name and by the help of Chriſt) promiſed before the Lord, *Ezra* 10. 3. *Neh.* 5. 12, 13. and *Chap.* 10.

X. It ſeems to be moſt Conducive unto Edification and Reformation, that in Renewing Covenant ſuch things as are clear and indiſputable be expreſſed, that ſo all the Churches may agree in Covenanting to promote the Intereſt of Holineſs, and cloſe walking with God.

XI. As an Expedient for Reformation, it is good, that effectual care ſhould be taken, reſpecting Schools of Learning. The Intereſt of Religion and good Literature have been wont to Riſe and Fall together. We read in Scripture of Maſters and Scholars, and of Schools and Colleges, 1 *Chron.* 25. 8. *Mal.* 2. 12. *Acts* 19. 9. and 22. 3. And the moſt Eminent Reformers amongſt the Lord's People of old, thought it their concern to erect and uphold them. Was not *Samuel* (that great Reformer) Preſident of the College, at *Nayoth*, 1 *Sam.* 19. 18, 19. and is thought to be one of the Firſt Founders of Colleges. Did not *Elijah* and *Eliſha*, reſtore the Schools Erected in the Land of *Iſrael*? And *Joſiah* (another great Reformer) ſhewed reſpect to the College at *Jeruſalem*, 2 *Kings* 22. 14. Eccleſiaſtical Story informs that great care was taken by the Apoſtles, and their immediate Succeſſors, for the ſettling of Schools in all places, where the Goſpel had been preached, that ſo the Intereſt of Religion might be preſerved, and the

Trtuh

Truth propagated to ſucceeding Generations. It is mentioned as one of the greateſt Mercies, that ever God beſtowed upon his People *Iſrael*, that he raiſed up their Sons for Prophets, *Amos* 2. 11. which hath reſpect to their Education in Schools of Learning. And we have all cauſe to Bleſs God, that put it into the Hearts of our Fathers to take care concerning this matter. For theſe Churches had been in a ſtate moſt deplorable, if the Lord had not bleſſed the College, ſo as from thence to ſupply moſt of the Churches, as at this Day. When *New-England* was poor, and we were but few in Number Comparatively, there was a Spirit to encourage Learning, and the College was full of Students, whom God hath made Bleſſings, not only in this, but in other Lands; but it is deeply to be lamented that now when we are become many, and more able than at our Beginnings, that Society, and other Inferior Schools are in ſuch a Low and Languiſhing ſtate. Wherefore, as we deſire that Reformation and Religion ſhould flouriſh, it concerns us to endeavour that both the College, and all other Schools of Learning in every place, be duly inſpected and encouraged.

XII. In as much as a thorough and hearty Reformation is neceſſary, in order to obtaining Peace with God, *Jer.* 3. 10. and all outward means will be ineffectual unto that end, except the Lord pour down his Spirit from on High; it doth, therefore, concern us to cry mightily unto God, both in ordinary and extraordinary manner, that he would be pleaſed to Rain down Righteouſneſs upon us, *Iſa.* 32. 15. *Hoſ.* 10. 12. *Ezek.* 39. 29. *Luke* 11. 13. Amen!

RE-

REMARKS

UPON THE

Reforming Synod.

§ 1. THat a *Reforming Synod* could not accompliſh an Univerſal **Reformation** of *Provoking Evils* in the Country, has been acknowledged as a Matter of moſt ſenſible Obſervation; and the increaſed Frowns of Heaven upon the Country, ſince that Synod, have been but agreeable to ſuch an increaſe of Provocation. Alas! how many Inſtances have we ſeen, upon which our God might ſay unto us, *When I would have healed* New-England, *then it's Iniquities were but the more diſcovered!* Nevertheleſs, it muſt be mentioned unto the Glory of God, that the Admonitions of the Synod, were not without very deſirable Effects, upon many of his People. Faithful Miniſters were thereby ſtrengthened in Lifting up their Voices like Trumpets to ſhew us *our Tranſgreſſions and our Sins*, and private Chriſtians were awakned unto an exacter Walk with God. But of all the Effects that followed upon the Synod, there was none more comprehenſive and ſignificant than the *Renewal of Covenant*, which was attended by many of our Churches, in purſuance of the largeſt Article of the *Reforming Expedients*, which had been recommended. In this *Renewal of Covenant*, there were ſome Churches, who, from I know not what Objections, of *there being no expreſs warrant for it in the New-Teſtament*, and, *their doing it, implicitly in every act of Divine Worſhip*, and, *the imaginary danger of Innovations*, would not comply with the Advice of the *Synod:* But all the *Virgins* were not ſo *ſleepy*, and very remarkable was the Bleſſing of God upon the Churches, which did not ſo *ſleep*, not only by a great *Advancement* of *Holineſs* in the People, who in their leſſer *Societies* for the Exerciſes of Religion, as well as in their *Privacies* and *Retirements* often peruſed the Copies of their *Covenants*; but alſo by a great *Addition* of Converts, unto their *holy Fellowſhip*. In ſhort, many of the Churches, under the Conduct of their holy Paſtors, having on previous Days of *faſting* and *Prayer* ſet apart for that purpoſe, conſidered the expectations of God concerning them, they were willing anew, to declare their moſt *explicit Conſent* unto the *Covenant of Grace*, and moſt explicitly to engage a growing *watchfulneſs* in ſuch Duties of the Covenant, as were more peculiarly accommodated unto their preſent Circumſtances. When their preparatory Church-Meetings, had produced a Concurrence in this Reſolution, they publickly devoted another Day to Faſting and Prayer, whereat a vaſt Confluence of other Neighbours were uſually preſent; and on this Day the Miniſter of the Place having in the Forenoon pray'd and preach'd ſuitably to the Occaſion, he proceeded then to read the Covenant; whereunto the Aſſent of the Churches was then expreſſed, by the Brethren lifting up their Hands, and by the Women only ſtanding up; and tho' in ſome Churches none but the *Communicants*, yet in others thoſe alſo, which we call *the Children of the Church*, were actively concerned in theſe Tranſactions. But ordinarily in the Afternoon, ſome other Miniſter prayed and preached and inculcated the *Covenant Obligations:* And many thouſands of Spectators will teſtifie, that they never ſaw the *ſpecial Preſence* of the *Great God our Saviour*, more notably diſcovered, than in the *Solemnities* of theſe Opportunities.

§ 2. The Forms uſed by the ſeveral Churches in the *Renewal of Covenant*, were not in all Points the ſame, nor did our Churches at all find that this *Vari formity* was an Inconvenience; but that it gave them a *Liberty* and *Advantage* to conſult their own Edification, by adapting their *Forms* unto their own ſpecial Circumſtances. However the *Form* which, with little Variation, was moſt uſed ſhall be now recited.

'*We, who thro' the exceeding Riches of the* '*Grace and Patience of God, do continue to be a* '*Church of Chriſt, being now aſſembled in the holy* '*Preſence of God, in the Name of the Lord Jeſus* '*Chriſt, after humble Confeſſion of our manifold* '*Breaches of the Covenant, before the Lord our* '*God, and earneſt Supplication of Pardoning* '*Mercy thro' the Blood of Chriſt, and deep ac-*'*knowledgement of our great Unworthineſs to be* '*own'd to be the Lord's Covenant-People; alſo* '*acknowledging our own Inability to keep Cove-*'*nant with God or to perform any ſpiritual Duty* '*unleſs the Lord Jeſus do enable us thereto by* '*his Spirit dwelling in us; And being awfully* '*ſenſible, that it is a dreadful Thing for ſinful* '*Duſt and Aſhes perſonally to tranſact with the* '*infinitely glorious Majeſty of Heaven and Earth;* '*We do in humble Confidence of his gracious Aſ-*'*ſiſtance and Acceptance thro' Chriſt, each one of* '*us, for our ſelves, and jointly as a Church of the* '*living God, and one with another, in manner* '*following*, i. e.

'We

'We do give up our ſelves to that *God*, whoſe 'Name alone is *Jehovah*, Father, Son, and Holy 'Ghoſt, the One only True and Living God, and to 'our Bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as our only 'Bleſſed Saviour, Prophet, Prieſt and King, 'over our Souls, and only Mediator of the Co-'venant of Grace, promiſing (by the help of 'his Spirit and Grace) to cleave unto God, as 'our chief Good, and to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 'by Faith, and Goſpel-Obedience, as becometh 'his Covenant-People for ever. We do alſo 'give up our *Off ſpring* unto God in Jeſus Chriſt, 'avouching the Lord to be *our God*, and the *God 'of our Children*, and our ſelves with our Chil-'dren to be *his People*; humbly Adoring the 'Grace of God, that we and our Off-ſpring 'with us may be looked upon to be *the Lords*.

'We do, alſo, give up our ſelves *one to ano-'ther* in the Lord, and according to the Will of 'God; freely Covenanting and Binding our ſelves 'to walk together as a right ordered *Congrega-'tion* and *Church* of Chriſt, in all the ways of 'his Worſhip, according to the Holy Rules of 'the Word of God; promiſing in *Brotherly Love* 'to Watch over one anothers Souls Faithfully, 'and to ſubmit our ſelves unto the *Diſcipline* 'and *Government* of Chriſt in his Church, and 'duly to attend all thoſe Ordinances, which 'Chriſt hath Inſtituted in his Church, and com-'manded to be attended by his People, accord-'ing to the Order of the Goſpel, and Degrees 'of Communion, unto which we have attained; 'not reſting in meaſures attained, but preſſing 'after all. And whereas the *Meſſengers* of theſe 'Churches, who have met together in the Name 'of Chriſt, to enquire into the Reaſon of God's '*Controverſie* with his People, have taken notice 'of many *provoking Evils*, as the procuring 'Cauſes of the Judgments of God upon *New-'England*; ſo far as we or any of us have been 'Guilty of *Provoking* God by any Sin therein diſ-'covered to us, We deſire from our Hearts to be-'wail it before the Lord, and humbly to entreat 'for pardoning Mercy, for the ſake of the *Blood 'of the Everlaſting Covenant*. And as an *Expe-'dient* to the *Reformation* of thoſe Evils, or what-'ſoever elſe, have provoked the Eyes of God's 'Glory amongſt us, We do freely Engage and 'Promiſe, as in the Preſence of God;

'Firſt, That we will (Chriſt helping) endea-'vour every one of us to *Reform* our Heart and 'Life, by ſeeking to mortifie all our Sins, and 'labouring to walk more cloſely with God, than 'ever yet we have done; and will continue to 'worſhip God in Publick, Private, Secret; and this 'without Formality or Hypocriſie: and more 'fully and faithfully than heretofore, to diſ-'charge all Covenant Duties, one to another in '*Church Communion*.

'Secondly, To walk before God *in our Houſes, 'with a perfect Heart*, and that we will uphold 'the Worſhip of God therein continually, ac-'cording as he in his Word doth require; both 'in reſpect of *Prayer* and *Reading* the Scriptures, 'that ſo the Word of God may dwell richly in 'us: And we will do what in us lies, to bring 'up our *Children* for Chriſt, that they may be 'ſuch as have the Lord's Name put upon them 'by a ſolemn Dedication to God in Chriſt, 'ought to be. And will therefore (as need ſhall 'be) *Catechiſe*, Exhort, and Charge them to the 'Fear of the Lord; and endeavour to ſet an 'Holy *Example* before them, and be much in 'Prayer for their Converſion and Salvation.

'Thirdly, To endeavour to be pure from the '*Sins of the Times*, eſpecially thoſe Sins, which 'have been by the late *Synod* ſolemnly Declared 'and Evidenced to be the Evils, that have brought 'the Judgments of God upon *New-England*; 'and in our places to endeavour the ſuppreſſion 'thereof, and be careful ſo to walk, as that we 'may not give occaſion to others to Sin, or ſpeak 'Evil of our Holy Profeſſion.

'Now that we may obſerve and keep this ſa-'cred Covenant and all the Branches of it invio-'lable for ever, We deſire to deny our ſelves 'and to depend wholly upon the *Power* of the 'Eternal *Spirit of Grace*, and on the free Mercy 'of God, and Merit of Chriſt Jeſus: And where 'we ſhall fail, there to wait upon the Lord Jeſus 'for Pardon, Acceptance, and Healing for his 'Name's ſake.

§ 3. The *Maſſachuſett* Colony was not alone, in ſuch Eſſays of *Reformation*: but the Colonies of *Plymouth* and *Connecticut* ſhewed themſelves in like manner concerned; that they might avert the *Tokens* of the Divine Diſpleaſure, *whereat they who dwelt in theſe uttermoſt parts were afraid*. The Rulers, both in *Church* and *State*, had their ſerious Deliberations with one another, and they together *enquired of the Lord*, at the Oracle of his Written Word, what might be the grounds of the Divine Controverſie. The *Miniſters* drew up the Reſults of their Deliberations, which the *Magiſtrates* recommended unto the Conſideration of the Inhabitants in the ſeveral Juriſdictions. The *Paſtors* of the Churches, hence took occaſion, in their lively *Sermons*, to proſecute the ends of theſe *Admonitions*; and ſome of them, reduced their Inſtructions into a *Catechetical Method*, that ſo the Young People in their Congregations, might *Echo* back, upon fit Queſtions, thoſe things which were needful to be *known*, and to be *done*, relating to the *Reformation* of the Land. Thus particulary, did that moſt worthy Man, Mr. *James Fitch*, at *Norwich*; who has obliged more than his whole Colony, by ſuffering to be publiſhed (as well as another Elaborate *Catechiſm*, containing, *a Body of Divinity*) in form of a *Catechiſm*, *an Explanation of the ſolemn Advice, recommended by the Council of the Colony to the Inhabitants, reſpecting the Reformation of thoſe Evils, which have been the procuring cauſe of the late Judgments upon* New-England.

§ 4. Our manifold Indiſpoſitions to recover the dying *Power of Godlineſs*, were puniſhed with ſucceſſive Calamities; under all of which our *Apoſtacies* from that Godlineſs have rather proceeded than abated. Although there hath been

been a Glorious *profeſſion* of Religion made by the Body of this People unto this Day; yea, and although there be Thouſands which by *keeping their Hearts with all diligence*, and by *ordering their Converſations aright*, juſtifie their Profeſſion, yet the Number of them that ſo ſtrictly *walk with God*, has been wofully decaying. The *Old Spirit* of *New-England* hath been ſenſibly going out of the World, as the *old Saints* in whom it was, have gone; and inſtead thereof the *Spirit of the World* with a lamentable neglect of *ſtrict Piety*, has crept in upon the riſing Generation. At laſt, the Country by ſome *Changes* paſſing over it, was thrown into a Condition, in which not only the *Paſtors*, without whom no *Reformation* is to be hoped, were miſerably cripled as to the doing of any *notable thing* in *Reforming*, but alſo the *Churches* were many ways uncapable of doing any *general thing* to retrieve our growing *Defections*. However, when the compaſſion of God by ſtrange Providences, fetched the Country out of that Condition, the *General Court*, returning to the Exerciſe of their former Authority, were willing to ſhew their Senſe of the preſent Circumſtances, by publiſhing the following Inſtrument.

By the Governour and General Court of the Colony of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay *in* New-England.

IT having been a thing too ſenſible and obvious, to eſcape the obſervation of all, who are not wholly ſtrangers in our *Iſrael*; that this poor Land hath laboured under a long *Series* of Afflictions, and Calamities, whereby we have ſuffered ſucceſſively in all our *precious and pleaſant things*, and have ſeen the Anger of the Righteous God againſt us, expreſſed in Characters, which ought to be as *terrible*, as they muſt needs be *viſible* unto us; it having alſo both by the *Teſtimonies* of thoſe that after the moſt humble and exact enquiries into the Mind of God, have diſcovered the ſame unto us, and by their own general and repeated Confeſſions, become undeniable; that a *Corruption of Manners*, attended with inexcuſable *Degeneracies* and *Apoſtacies*, found in too many of this People, is the cauſe of that *Controverſie*, which the God of our Fathers has, for many Years been maintaining with us: It being likewiſe at this Day, ſuch a *Probation-time* with all *New-England* as this Country has never before ſeen from the firſt foundation of it, and the Judgments of that Holy God, who hath beheld, how Incorrigible we have hitherto been, under all his Diſpenſations, now arriving to ſuch an Extremity, that the *Ax is laid to the Root of the Trees*, and we are in eminent Danger of periſhing, if a ſpeedy **Reformation** of our *Provoking Evils* prevent it not: This **Court** have therefore thought it needful to Preface their other Endeavours for the publick welfare, with a very ſolemn *Admonition* unto this whole People, that they every where give Demonſtrations of a thorough *Repentance*, without which we have little Reaſon to hope for any Good ſucceſs in our Affairs.

Wherefore, it is ordered that the *Laws* of this Colony againſt *Vice*, and all ſorts of *Debauchery* and *Profaneneſs* (which *Laws* have too much loſt their Edge by the late Interruption of the Government) be now Faithfully and vigorouſly put in Execution; particularly the **Laws** againſt *Blaſphemy*, *Curſing*, *Prophane-Swearing*, *Lying*, *Unlawful-Gaming*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Idleneſs*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Uncleanneſs*, and all the Enticements and Nurſeries of ſuch *Impieties*: Together with all other the wholſome *Laws* and *Orders* agreeable to the preſent Circumſtances of the Country; by the Execution whereof we may approve our ſelves, *a peculiar People*, *zealous of good Works*.

And as all Perſons are hereby warned to avoid thoſe *Vices*, which theſe *Laws* are deſigned for the Prevention and Chaſtiſement of, (the *Lovers* of and *Pleaders* for ſuch Iniquities, being among the Principal *Troublers* of their Country:) ſo all Inferiour *Officers* are enjoined to perform their Duty in finding and bringing out Offenders againſt the aforeſaid *Laws*, and withal to give notice to ſuch Offenders, that they muſt expect the Juſtice of an *Exemplary Puniſhment*.

And that no attempt towards *Reformation* may want that Aſſiſtance which all good Men will be willing to give thereunto, 'tis hoped that the Miniſters of God will, to the *publick Reading* of this *Proclamation*, adjoin their own fervent Labours, not only for the rebuking and ſuppreſſing of thoſe *provoking Evils*, which are marked for *Common hatred*: but alſo to Witneſs againſt more *Spiritual Sins*, which fall not ſo much under the Cognizance of Humane *Laws*, namely, ſuch as *Unbelief*, *Worldlineſs*, *Hereſie*, *Pride*, *Wrath*, *Strife*, *Envy*, and neglect of Communion with God in both Natural and Inſtituted *Worſhip*, and the *Contempt* of the *Everlaſting Goſpel*, with a ſhameful want of due *Family-Inſtruction*, which are the *Roots of Bitterneſs* in the midſt of us.

Moreover, after the Example of *Pious Rulers* commended in ſacred Writ, the *Churches* are every where hereby adviſed to give utmoſt Encouragement unto the Faithful, and Watchful *Paſtors* of their Souls; to ſeek (where they lack) a full ſettlement and enjoyment of ſuch *Officers*, as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath appointed for their edification; to reflect ſeriouſly and frequently on their *Covenants*; to ſharpen their *Diſcipline* againſt thoſe that *walk Diſorderly*; and immediately to compoſe their *Differences* and *Contentions* (if *ſuch* there be) whereby any of them may be diſtempered and enfeebled, that ſo they may become *Terrible as an Army with Banners*.

Furthermore, it is expected that the ſeveral *Towns* within this Juriſdiction, do ſpeedily furniſh themſelves with the means for the good *Education of Youth*, and take ſpecial care to avoid *Factions* and *Quarrels* in their other *Town-Affairs*; and all Plantations are ſtrictly forbidden to continue without the Advantages of having the

the *Word* of God conſtantly preached unto them, or without a ſincere and active Induſtry, to obtain the Preſence of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in all his Bleſſed *Ordinances*.

And Finally, this whole People are hereby advertiſed, that if theſe *Eſſays* for an Univerſal *Reformation* ſhall be obſtructed (as thoſe in the Days of the Reforming *Joſiah* were) by Mens being *ſettled on their Lees, and hating to be reformed*; they can reaſonably look for no other Iſſue than this, That the Jealous God *will puniſh them yet ſeven times more for their Iniquities*: But if the God of Heaven ſhall grant unto them the Grace to *Remember whence they are fallen, and Repent, and do the firſt Works*, it will give a greater Proſpect of *Proſperity*, than can ariſe from the beſt *Counſels* and biggeſt *Armies*.

The Work of *Reformation*, thus *endeavoured*, is now *recommended* unto the Bleſſing of the Almighty, with whom alone it is to recover a backſliding People; perſuading our ſelves, that the event thereof would be *Salvation nigh unto us, and Glory dwelling in our Lord*.

March 13. 168$\frac{9}{90}$. Iſaac Addington, *Secr.*

§ 5. The lamentable Diſaſters, wherewith our God preſently after puniſhed us for our not being *Reformed by all theſe things*, rendred this Inſtrument worthy to be *called a Propheſie*, rather than a *Proclamation*. A *War* made againſt the Country by both *Pagan* and *Popiſh* Adverſaries in the *Eaſt*; and an almoſt univerſal Miſcariage of our Affairs both by *Sea* and *Land*, and eſpecially of the moſt important Expedition ever made by this People, even that againſt *Canada*; together with *Epidemical Diſeaſes* which ſwept away near a Thouſand Perſons within a few Months, in *one Town*; theſe Teſtimonies from Heaven againſt the Land, kept alive the ſollicitous enquiries of good Men, *how all that was amiſs might be amended?* Many things this way were propounded and attended by good Men in all Orders; but among other things, there was eſpecially *one* voted by an Aſſembly of *Miniſters*, met at *Cambridge*, in ſuch Terms as theſe.

'Whereas the moſt heavy and waſting *Judgments* of Heaven upon our diſtreſſed Land, 'loudly call upon us, no longer to delay the 'taking of ſome hitherto-untaken ſteps towards 'the *Reformation* of our *provoking Evils*, and 'the *Recovery* of *Practical Religion* in our Hearts, 'and Lives;

'Among other Expedients in order hereunto, 'We cannot but recommend it, as very adviſeable, that the ſeveral Churches, having in an '*Inſtrument* proper for that purpoſe, made a '*Catalogue* of ſuch things, as can Indiſputably 'be found amiſs among them, do with all ſeriouſneſs and ſolemnity paſs their *Votes*, that 'they count ſuch things to be very *Offenſive* '*Evils*, and that renouncing all dependance upon their own ſtrength, to avoid ſuch Evils, they 'humbly aſk the help of the Divine Grace to 'aſſiſt them, in *watching* againſt the ſaid Evils 'both in themſelves, and in one another. And 'that the *Communicants* do often reflect upon 'thoſe their *Acknowledgments* and *Proteſtations*, 'as perpetual *Monitors* unto them, to prevent 'the Miſcarriages, wherewith too many Profeſſors, are ſo eaſily overtaken.

Copies of this *Vote*; were communicated unto many parts of the Country; in purſuance whereof, there were ſeveral Churches which did in the Year 1692, ſolemnly make the recommended *Recognitions* of Duty: Hoping, that God would accept ſuch *Acknowledgments* of Duty, their Declarations for him, whereupon he would alſo declare for them; and thinking that ſuch humble *Acknowledgments* were the *New-Covenant-way* for the obtaining of help from Heaven, for the doing of Duty. Particulary, to avoid the length of *tedious varieties*; There was *one Church*, amongſt the reſt, that voted, That they did accept of the following *Inſtrument*, as containing the ſerious *Acknowledgments* and *Proteſtations* of their Souls; whereupon they would often Reflect, for the diſcovering of what may be amiſs in their Hearts and Lives; as alſo, for the directing of the *Prayers*, and ſtrengthening of the *Cares*, which they would uſe in their more *watchful walk* with God. And a Printed *Copy* thereof, was accordingly put into the Hands of the *Communicants*.

Acknowledgments *and* Proteſtations *voted, as explaining the* Obligations *laid upon us by our moſt* Holy Covenant.

WE, that through the Goodneſs of God have been combined, and are ſtill continued, a *Church* of his; having heretofore conſented unto the **Covenant** of **Grace**, according to the gracious Terms whereof, we have made choice of the Lord *Jehovah*, Father, Son and Spirit, as our *God*, and of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, as the glorious *Mediator*, upon whoſe *Fulneſs* of Merit and Power we rely, as well to be *ſtrengthened* for the *Duties*, as to be *inveſted* with the *Bleſſings*, of that *well-ordered Covenant*; and have, therefore, according to his Will, incorporated our ſelves into that Evangelical *Church-ſtate*, wherein our Deſires after the *ſure Mercies of that Covenant*, are to be expreſſed, maintained and anſwered: Being herewithal ſenſible, that our *Juſtification*, only by *Faith* in the *Righteouſneſs* of him, who is a *Saviour* and a *Surety* for us, does very ſtrongly oblige us to cloſe with all the *Commandments* of God, as *Holy*, and *Juſt*, and *Good*; and as thoſe *Rules*, in Conformity to which alone our *Peace* can be lengthened out: And, being alſo awakened by the moſt heavy *Judgments* of Heaven, under which the *Country* hath been weltring and waſting for many later Years, to ſuſpect, leſt in the Hearts, and Lives of **Us** in particular, there may be found ſome of thoſe *accurſed Things*, which have brought upon the Land, ſuch a long Variety of ſore Calamity.

Do therefore acknowledge, That *we* are under peculiar Bonds to *walk circumſpectly*, not only by avoiding the *groſſer Miſcarriages* of Ungodlineſs, but alſo by guarding againſt, whatever *Corruptions* do ſometimes more eaſily obtain among the profeſſing People of God; behaving our ſelves, *not as Fools but as Wiſe*, and *redeeming the time, becauſe the days are evil.*

And in ſpecial manner, to revive the Senſe of the *Tyes*, which are laid upon us by the *Covenant* of God, that has not only been *accepted*, but alſo *renewed* amongſt us.

I. We acknowledge, It would be a great Evil in us, if our Love to the *World* ſhould make us omit our *Communion* with God, and abate of that *Zeal* and *Watch*, which we ſhould always keep alive in our Souls; or hinder us from the moſt affectionate reading of his *Word*, and ſeeking of his *Face*, every Day in our *Houſes*, or from the daily uſe of *Meditation* and *Supplication* in our *Cloſets*.

II. It would be a great Evil in us, If, while on the one hand we *proteſt* againſt any thing in *Divine Worſhip*, for which we have not a *Divine Warrant*, and againſt the Uſage of all Papal and Pagan *Superſtitions:* On the other ſide, we ſhould not, according to the beſt of our Capacities, *attend* and *ſupport* the *Inſtitutions* of God, in the midſt of us, with Endeavours that there may be nothing wanting thereunto.

III. It would be a great Evil in us, If when we draw near to God in his *Ordinances*, we ſhould allow our ſelves to be *Formal*, *Carnal*, *or Sleepy* in what we do; eſpecially, if we ſhould ordinarily come to the *Table* of the Lord, without ſerious *Examinations* and *Humiliations* preparatory thereunto; or, if in managing of *Church-Diſcipline*, we ſhould vent our own *Paſſions*, and ſerve our own *Humours*, inſtead of acting entirely for the Lord.

IV. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould abuſe the *good Creatures* of God by Senſualities in *Eating*, *Drinking* and *Recreation*; or, by Extravagancies in our *Apparel:* And, if whenever we uſe the *Titles*, and the *Scriptures* of our God, it ſhould not be with much *Reverence* in our Souls.

V. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould not keep a ſtrict Guard both on our own *Thoughts* as well as *Words* and *Works* on the *Lord's-Day*, and alſo on all that are under our Influence, to reſtrain them from the violations of that *Sacred Reſt*.

VI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould not make it our careful ſtudy to have our *Families* well inſtructed, and well governed, and in ſuch a Condition as is agreeable to the *Fear* of God.

VII. It would be a great Evil in us, If by the prevalency of a *private Spirit*, we ſhould be backward unto any *publick Service*, wherein God ſhall call us, with our *Perſons* or *Eſtates* to *ſerve our Generation*; or, if we ſhould with unjuſt *Neglect* and *Cenſure*, ill requite ſuch as have been ſerviceable; more eſpecially ſuch as in *Government* are the *Miniſters of God unto us for our Good*.

VIII. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould put off a *Patient*, *Peaceable*, *Forgiving* Temper towards our Neighbours; or, not with *Meekneſs of Wiſdom* decline and ſmother all Cauſes of *Contention*.

IX. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould ſpend our Days in *Idleneſs*, and not be Diligent in ſuch *Employments*, as may *adorn the Doctrine of God*, by rendering us uſeful unto thoſe that are round about us.

X. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould in any of our *Carriage*, or ſo much as in our *Diſcourſe*, admit any thing that may ſavour of a *Laſcivious* or a *Licentious* Diſpoſition in our Souls.

XI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould uſe any *Diſhoneſty* in our Dealings, and either by

by *Fraud* or *Force*, exact unreaſonably upon thoſe with whom we are concerned.

XII. It would be a great Evil in us, maliciouſly to *make*, or injuriouſly to *ſpread* any **falſe Reports**, or too eaſily to *receive Slanders* againſt the Innocent, or to Countenance the Broachers of them.

XIII. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould not conſcientiouſly obſerve and fulfil what *Promiſes* we have lawfully given one unto another.

XIV. It would be a great Evil in us, To be diſcontented either at the *Proſperity* which God would have others enjoy, or at the *Adverſity* wherein the Providence of God has at any time confined our ſelves.

XV. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould not be ready Charitably and Liberally to relieve the Neceſſities of the *Poor* that call for our Bounties.

XVI. It would be a great Evil in us, If we ſhould not with a moſt Brotherly Affection either *give* or *take Reproofs*, when there is a cauſe for them; or, if we ſhould with-hold any due *Teſtimony* againſt whatever may fall out among us, diſpleaſing unto God.

Wherefore by a ſolemn **Vote**, we *Declare* againſt all theſe Evils, as *abominable Things*; and, utterly *deſpairing* of any *ſtrength* in our ſelves to keep clear thereof, we do moſt humbly ask the All-ſufficient *Grace* of God in Chriſt, that neither theſe, nor any ſuch Iniquities may have *Dominion over us*; but that we *watch* againſt them all, both in *our ſelves*, and in *one another*.

§ *6*. Many and various are the *Deliberations* continued by good Men, unto this Day, concerning the Methods of preventing our *Apoſtaſies*. But I ſhall ſuperſede the mention of them all, with a Copy of certain *Expedients*, and *Propoſals* about *Reformation* lately agreed by an Aſſembly of Miniſters at *Cambridge*.

I. There is a large number of People in this Country, which not lying within the reach of our *Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline*, do from thence encourage themſelves in the Liberty, which they take to do the things, for which the Wrath of God comes upon the Land. It would very much promote the Deſign of Reformation among us, if all due means were uſed, for the bringing of more than there are, and as many as may be, to ſubmit unto the *Church-watch*; 'twere highly deſirable that the Body of this profeſſing People ſhould thus be brought into the way of *Reformation*. It hath been by an happy Experience found, that God has given a ſingular Succeſs unto the *Admonitions* of our *Churches*, applied unto ſuch as have by their Miſcarriages thereto expoſed themſelves; many have been thereby ſavingly brought home to God.

II. The *Expedients* for the *Reformation* of our Land, offered by the *Synod* in the Year *1679*, ought not to be forgotten; but the Remembrance and Conſideration thereof ſhould be revived.

III. The Concurrence of ſuch as do ſuſtain Place in the *Civil Government*, is of great importance in the Proſecution of our deſired *Reformation*: And that we may enjoy this, it muſt be endeavoured, that there ſhould be no miſunderſtanding between any in the *Government* and the *Miniſtry*. This being obſerved, a *general Conſultation* upon the Methods of *Reformation* is to be asked for.

IV. For the *Paſtors* of our Churches in *viſiting* of their Flocks, to inform themſelves, about the *Morals* of their People in every Quarter, and thereupon both publickly and privately, ſet themſelves to Cure what ſhall be found amiſs, would ſignifie very much in a Glorious *Reformation*.

V. *Particular Churches* have a *Power of Self-Reformation*; and they would contribute more than a little to an *univerſal one*, if they would be *Exemplary* unto one another in Deliberations upon their own Circumſtances, and in renewing, explaining and enforcing of their *Covenants*.

VI. It would be well, if the *Miniſters* in this (as well as any other) Aſſociation, would ſingle out the more *obſervable Iniquities* in the Country, and ſucceſſively at fit Seaſons publiſh brief, but full, *Teſtimonies* againſt thoſe Iniquities. A manifold Advantage might accrue to the Attempts of *Reformation* by thoſe *Teſtimonies*.

VII. Solemn *Days* of *Prayer* with *Faſting* celebrated in our Churches, to implore the *Grace* of God for the riſing Generation, would probably be of bleſſed Conſequence, for the turning of our young People unto the God of our Fathers. The more there is this way aſcribed unto *Grace*, the more is the Grace of God like to be communicated; and there is in this way a *natural* and *plentiful* Tendency to *awaken* our unconverted Youth unto a Senſe of their everlaſting Intereſts. Which, were it generally accompliſhed, a marvellous *Reformation* were therein effected.

FINIS.

THAUMATURGUS:

VEL

ספר דכרניא i. e. *Liber Memorabilium.*

The SIXTH Book

OF THE

NEW-ENGLISH Hiſtory;

WHEREIN

Very many Illuſtrious

DISCOVERIES and DEMONSTRATIONS

OF THE

Divine PROVIDENCE

IN

REMARKABLE

MERCIES and JUDGMENTS

ON

Many Particular Perſons among the People

OF

NEW-ENGLAND,

ARE

OBSERV'D, COLLECTED and RELATED:

By COTTON MATHER.

PSAL. 107. 43.
Whoſo is wiſe--- will obſerve theſe Things.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1702.

The SIXTH BOOK.

REMARKABLES OF THE Divine Providence Among the People of *NEW-ENGLAND*.

§. 1. TO *Regard* the illuſtrious Diſplays of that PROVIDENCE, wherewith our Lord CHRIST governs the World, is a Work, than which there is none more *Needful*, or *Uſeful*, for a *Chriſtian*: To *Record* them is a Work, than which, none more proper for a *Miniſter*: And perhaps the Great Governour of the World will ordinarily do the moſt *Notable* Things for thoſe who are moſt ready to take a wiſe Notice of what He does. Unaccountable therefore and inexcuſable, is the *Sleepineſs*, even upon the moſt of Good Men throughout the World, which indiſpoſes them to *obſerve*, and much more to *preſerve* the *Remarkable Diſpenſations* of Divine *Providence*, towards themſelves or others. Neverthelеſs there have been raiſed up now and then thoſe Perſons who have rendred themſelves worthy of *Everlaſting Remembrance*, by their *Wakeful Zeal* to have the *Memorable Providences* of God remembred through all Generations. Among thoſe Worthy Men, a moſt *Embalmed Memory* is particulary due unto the Reverend *MATTHEW POOL*, who about the Year 1658, ſet a-foot a *Glorious Deſign* among ſome Divines of no little Figure throughout *England* and *Ireland*, for the faithful Regiſtring of *Remarkable Providences.* But alas, it came to nothing that was *Remarkable.* The like *Holy Deſign* was, by the Reverend *INCREASE MATHER*, propoſed among the Divines of *New-England*, in the Year 1681, at a General Meeting of them; who thereupon deſired him to begin, and publiſh an Eſſay; which he did in a little while; but therewithal declared, *That he did it only as a* Specimen *of a larger Volume, in hopes that this Work being ſo ſet on foot, Poſterity would go on with it.*

§ 2. But as the National *Synods* in *France* could not, by their frequent Admonitions unto the Churches to procure a good *Regiſter* of *Remarkable Providences*, effectually rouze their Good Men out of their Stupidity: So the Paſtors in the Churches of *New-England* have moſtly been too much under the Power of a like Indiſpoſition, to *Regard the Works of the Lord, and the Operation of his Hands.* That this Indiſpoſition might, if it were poſſible, be ſhaken off, there were Propoſals again made and ſent thro' the Country: Whereof I will here annex the Copy; and yet I muſt complain of it, that unto this Hour there have not half *Ten* Conſiderable *Hiſtories* been tranſmitted unto us in anſwer unto theſe *Propoſals.*

Certain Propoſals made by the Preſident *and* Fellows *of* Harvard College, *to the Reverend Miniſters of the* Goſpel *in the ſeveral Churches of* New-England.

I.

'TO Obſerve and Record the more Illuſtrious Diſcoveries of the Divine *Providence*, 'in the Government of the World, is a Deſign ſo 'Holy, ſo Uſeful, ſo Juſtly approved, that the 'too general Neglect of it in the Churches of 'God, is as Juſtly to be lamented.

II.

'For the Redreſs of that Neglect, although all '*Chriſtians* have a Duty incumbent on them, yet 'it is in a peculiar manner to be recommended 'unto the *Miniſters* of the *Goſpel*, to improve the 'ſpecial Advantages which are in their Hands, 'to Obtain and Preſerve the Knowledge of ſuch 'notable Occurrents, as are *ſought out by all 'that have Pleaſure in the Great Works of the 'Lord.*

III.

'The Things to be eſteemed *Memorable*, are 'eſpecially all *Unuſual Accidents*, in the *Heaven*

‘ or *Earth*, or *Water*: All wonderful *Deliverances* of the Diſtreſſed: *Mercies* to the Godly: ‘ *Judgments* on the Wicked; and more Glorious ‘ Fulfilments of either the *Promiſes* or the *Threatnings*, in the *Scriptures of Truth*; with *Apparitions*, *Poſſeſſions*, *Inchantments*, and all Extraordinary Things wherein the Exiſtence and Agency of the *Inviſible World*, is more ſenſibly demonſtrated.

IV.

‘ It is therefore propoſed, That the *Miniſters* ‘ throughout this Land would manifeſt their Pious Regards *unto the Works of the Lord, and the* ‘ *Operation of his Hands*, by reviving their Cares ‘ to take Written Accounts of ſuch *Remarkables*; ‘ but ſtill well atteſted with Credible and Sufficient *Witneſſes*.

V.

‘ It is deſired, that the Accounts thus taken of ‘ theſe *Remarkables*, may be ſent in, unto the ‘ PRESIDENT, or the FELLOWS of the College; by whom they ſhall be carefully reſerved ‘ for ſuch an Uſe to be made of them, as may by ‘ ſome fit Aſſembly of *Miniſters*, be judged moſt ‘ conducing to the Glory of GOD, and the Service of his People.

VI.

‘ Tho’ we doubt not, that, *Love to the Name of* ‘ *GOD*, will be motive enough unto all Good ‘ Men, to contribute what Aſſiſtance they can, ‘ unto this Undertaking; yet for further Encouragement, ſome Singular *Marks of Reſpect*, ſhall ‘ be ſtudied for ſuch Good Men as will actually ‘ aſſiſt it by taking Pains to communicate any ‘ important Paſſages proper to be inſerted in this ‘ Collection.

Increaſe Mather, President
James Allen
Charles Morton
Samuel Willard
Cotton Mather } Fellows.
John Leverett
William Brattle
Nehem. Walter

Cambridge
March 5,
169$\frac{3}{4}$.

§. 3. Tho’ we have been too ſlack in doing what hath been deſired and directed in theſe Propoſals; yet our *Church Hiſtory* is become able to entertain the World with a Collection of *Remarkable Providences* that have occurr’d among the Inhabitants of *New-England*. Beſides a conſiderable Number of *Memorables*, which lie ſcatter’d here and there in every part of our *Church-Hiſtory*, there is a Number of them enough to make an intire Book by themſelves; whereof having received ſufficient Atteſtations, I ſhall now invite the Reader to conſider them.

A certain Critick ſo admired thoſe Verſes of the Poet *Claudian*,

Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit ſententia Mentem,
Curarent ſuperi terras, an ullus ineſſet
Rector, an incerto fluerent mortalia curſu,

that he ſaid, whoever would be a Poet, muſt perfectly ſettle them in his Memory. This *Critick* might perhaps be ſomething of a *Deiſt*. But, Reader, if any Doubts like theſe of *Claudian’s*, about the *Exiſtence* and *Providence* of God begin to poiſon thy Soul, there are ſix or ſeven Chapters of *Hiſtory* now before thee, that may be thy *Antidote*.

It is obſerv’d that the Name τυχὴ, (or *Fortune*) is not once uſed in all the Works of *Homer*. We will now write a Book of rare *Occurrences*, wherein a blind *Fortune* ſhall not be once acknowledged. *Auſtin* in his *Retractations* complains of himſelf, that he had uſed the Word *Fortune* too much; but the Uſe of it ſhall be confuted as well as avoided, in the Book now before us, wherein all the *Rare Occurrences* will be the evident Operations of the Almighty God, *whoſe Kingdom ruleth over all*.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Chriſtus ſuper Aquas: Relating wonderful Sea-Deliverances.

Vela damus, vaſtumque cavâ trabe currimus æquor.

THey that go down to the Sea in Ships, theſe do ſee the Works of the Lord, and his Wonders in the Deep. And what if our Collection of *Remarkable Providences* do begin with a Relation of the *Wonderful Works* which have been done for them that *go down to the Sea in Ships*, by that Great Lord *whoſe is the Sea, for he made it?* I will carry my Reader abroad upon the huge *Atlantic*, and without ſo much as the Danger of being made *Sea-ſick*, he ſhall ſee *Wonders in the Deep*.

I. *A Pious Anchorite.*

Let *Mandelſloe* tell of his poor *Fleming*, who lived an *Inſulary Anchorite* upon a deſolate Iſland many Months together; I have a Story that ſhall in moſt things Equal it, and in ſome Exceed it.

On *Aug.* 25. 1676. Mr. *Ephraim How* with his two Sons, did ſet Sail from *New-Haven* for *Boſton*, in a ſmall Ketch of about ſeventeen Tun; and returning from *Boſton* for *New Haven, Sept.* 10. contrary Winds detain'd him for ſome time, and then Ilneſs and Sickneſs till a Month expired. He then renewed his Voyage as far as *Cape-Cod*; but ſuddenly the Weather became ſo tempeſtuous, that it forced them off to Sea, where the outragious Winds and Seas did often almoſt overwhelm them; and here in about eleven Days his Elder Son died, and in a few Days more his Younger. It is noted in 1 *Chron.* 7. 22. that when the *Sons of* Ephraim *were dead*, Ephraim *their Father mourned many days, and his Brethren came to comfort him.* This our mourning *Ephraim* could not have any Comfort from his Friends on ſhoar, when his Two *Sons* were thus dead; but they died after ſo Holy and Hopeful a manner, that their *Father* was not without his Conſolations. However, their *Straits* and *Fears* were now increaſed, as their *Hands* were diminiſhed; and another of the Company ſoon after died like the former. Half the Company was now gone; and Mr. *How*, tho' in a very weak State of Health, now ſtands at the Helm twenty four Hours, and thirty ſix Hours at a time, with the Rude Waves flying over the Veſſel at ſuch a rate, that if he had not been laſh'd faſt, he muſt have been waſh'd over-board. In this Extremity he was at a loſs whether he ſhould perſiſt in ſtriving for the *New England* Shore, or bear away to the *Southern Iſlands*; and propoſing the Matter to one Mr. *Augur* (who, with a Boy, was all that were left for his Help,) they firſt ſought unto God by earneſt Prayer in this difficult Caſe, and then determined the Difficulty by caſting a Lot. The Lot fell for *New England*, and 'ere a Month was expired, they loſt the *Rudder* of their Veſſel, with which they loſt all Hope of being ſaved. In this deplorable Condition they continued a Fortnight: And thus for ſix Weeks together, Mr. *Howe*, tho' labouring under much Infirmity, was hardly ever dry: Nor had they in all this while the Benefit of warm Food, more than thrice, or thereabouts. When the ſeventh Week dawned upon them, the Veſſel was driven on the Tailings of a Ledge of *Rocks*, where the Sea broke with no little Violence; and looking out, they ſpied a diſmal doleful *Rocky Iſland* unto the Lee-ward; upon which, if the Providence of God had not by the Breakers given 'em timely Notice, they had been daſh'd in pieces. This *Extremity* was Heavens Opportunity! They immediately let go an Anchor, and got out the Boat, and *God made that Storm a Calm; ſo that the Waves were ſtill.* Being under the Aſtoniſhments of the Circumſtances now upon them, they took little out of the Veſſel; but when they came a ſhoar, they found themſelves on a deſolate Iſland (near Cape *Sables*) which had not either Man or Beaſt upon it; and a Proſpect of being therefore ſtarved quickly to death, now ſtared upon them. While they were under this deadly Proſpect, a Storm aroſe that ſtaved their Veſſel to pieces, from whence a Caſk of Powder was brought a-ſhoar, a Barrel of Wine, and half a Barrel of *Molloſſa's*, together with ſeveral other Things which aſſiſted them in making a ſort of a Tent, for their Preſervation from the terrible *Cold*. However, new and ſore Diſtreſſes now attended them: for tho' they had *Powder*, with other Neceſſaries for *Fowling*, there were ſeldom any *Fowls* to be ſeen upon this forlorn Iſland, except a few *Gulls, Crows* and *Ravens*; and theſe were ſo few, that there could be rarely more than One ſhot at a time. Oftentimes half a one of theſe Fowls, with the Liquor, made a Meal for *Three:* Once they lived five Days without any Suſtenance at all; during all which Space, they did not feel themſelves pinch'd with Hunger as at other times, which they eſteemed a ſpecial Favour of Heaven unto them. When they had been twelve Weeks in this loneſome Condition, Mr. *Howe's* dear Friend Mr. *Augur*, died; and the Lad alſo died in the *April* following: So that his *Loneſomeneſs* was now become as much as any *Hermit* could have wiſhed for. For a long and a ſad Quarter of a Year together now, he ſaw Fiſhing Veſſels ever now and then ſailing by; but tho' he uſed all poſſible Means to acquaint them with his Diſtreſſes, either they *ſaw* him not, or they *feared* leſt ſome of the *Indians* then in Hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*, might be quartered there.

The good Man, while thus deſerted, kept many Days in *Prayer*, with *Faſting*, wherein he confeſſed and bewailed the many Sins which had rendred him worthy of theſe Calamities, and cried unto God for his Deliverance. But at laſt it came into

into his Mind, that he ought very ſolemnly to *give Thanks* unto God for the marvellous Preſervations which he had hitherto experienc'd; and accordingly he ſet a-part a Day for ſolemn *Thankſgiving* unto God his gracious Preſerver, for the Divine Favours which had been intermixed with all his Troubles. IMMEDIATELY after *this*, a Veſſel belonging to *Salem*, did paſs by that Iſland; and ſeeing this poor Servant of God there, they took him in. So he arriv'd at *Salem July* 18. 1677. and returned unto his Family at *Newhaven*.

II. *A Man ſtrangely preſerv'd on the* Keel *of a* Boat *at Sea.*

A Ship's *Long-boat* having Five *Men* in her, was by a violent Guſt of Wind over-ſet. The Men all got upon the *Keel*, upon which being driven to Sea, they were *four Days* floating there. In this time three of them drop'd off, and periſhed in the Deep: On the *Fifth Day* the *Fourth Man* being ſorely pain'd with Hunger, and ſadly bruiſed with the boiſterous and furious Waves, wilfully fell off into the Sea, and was drown'd after the reſt of his Companions. Quickly after this the Wind coming up at *South Eaſt*, carried the Boat with the *Fifth* Man into *Long-Iſland*, where being ſcarce able to creep a-ſhoar, the *Indians* found him, cheriſh'd him, and preſerv'd him. With *Faſting*, and *Watching* and *Cold*, he muſt, according to Reaſon in this time have periſhed; but he conſtantly affirmed, *That he ſaw certain Perſons come and put Meat into his Mouth when he was ready to periſh for want of Suſtenance.*

III. *The Wonderful Story of Major* Gibbons.

Among Remarkable *Sea-Deliverances*, no leſs than three ſeveral Writers have publiſh'd that, wherein Major *Edward Gibbons* of *Boſton* in *New-England*, was concern'd. A Veſſel bound from *Boſton* to ſome other Parts of *America*, was thro' the Continuance of contrary Winds, kept ſo long at Sea, that the People aboard, were in extream Straits for want of Proviſion; and ſeeing that nothing here below could afford them any Relief, they look'd upwards unto Heaven in humble and fervent Supplications. The Winds continuing ſtill as they were, one of the Company made a ſorrowful Motion, that they ſhould by a *Lot* ſingle out *One* to die, and by Death to ſatisfie the Ravenous Hunger of the reſt. After many a doleful and fearful Debate upon this Motion, they come to a Reſult, that *it muſt be done!* The *Lot* is caſt; one of the Company is taken; but where is the Executioner that ſhall do the terrible Office upon a poor Innocent? It is a Death now to think who ſhall act this bloody Part in the Tragedy: But before they fall upon this involuntary and unnatural Execution, they once more went unto their zealous *Prayers*; and behold, while they were calling upon God, he anſwer'd them: For there leap'd a mighty *Fiſh* into their Boat, which, to their double Joy, not only quieted their Outragious Hunger, but alſo gave them ſome Token of a further Deliverance. However, the *Fiſh* is quickly eaten; the horrible *Famine* returns, the horrible *Diſtreſs* is renew'd; a black Deſpair again ſeizes their Spirits: For another *Morſel* they come to a ſecond *Lot*, which fell upon another Perſon; but ſtill they cannot find an Executioner: They once again fall to their importunate *Prayers*; and behold, a ſecond Anſwer from above! A great *Bird* lights and fixes it ſelf upon the Maſt: One of the Men ſpies it; and there it ſtands until he took it by the Wing with his Hand. This was a ſecond *Life from the Dead*. This Fowl with the Omen of a further Deliverance in it, was a ſweet Feaſt unto them. Still their Diſappointments follow them; they can ſee no Land, they know not where they are: Irreſiſtible Hunger once more pinches them; they have no Hope to be ſaved, but by a *Third Miracle*: they return to another *Lot*; but before they go to the Heart-breaking Task of ſlaying the Perſon under *Deſignation*, they repeat their Addreſſes unto the God of Heaven, their former *Friend in Adverſity*. And now they look, and look again, but there is nothing: Their *Devotions* are concluded, and nothing appears: Yet they hoped, yet they ſtayed, yet they lingred. At laſt one of 'em ſpies a Ship, which put a new Hope and Life into 'em all. They bear up with their Ship, they Man their Long-Boat, they beg to board the Veſſel, and are admitted. It proves a *French Pirate*. Major *Gibbons* petitions for a little Bread, and offers all for it; but the Commander was one who had formerly receiv'd conſiderable Kindneſſes of Major *Gibbons* at *Boſton*, and now replied chearfully, *Major* Gibbons, *Not an Hair of You or your Company ſhall periſh, if it lies in my Power to preſerve you.* Accordingly he ſupplied their Neceſſities, and they made a comfortable End of their Voyage.

IV. Twelve *Men living* Five *Weeks for* Five *hundred Leagues in a little Boat.*

A ſmall Veſſel, whoſe Maſter's Name was *Philip Hungare*, coming upon the Coaſt of *New England*, ſuddenly ſprang a Leak and founder'd. Eighteen Perſons were in the Veſſel, whereof Twelve got into the *Long-Boat*, into which they threw ſome little matter of Proviſion; but of that neceſſary thing *Fire*, they were wholly unprovided. Theſe twelve Men went five hundred Leagues in this poor *Long-Boat*, and were therein miraculouſly preſerved five Weeks together; for the God of Heaven ſent them a ſtrange Relief, by cauſing ſome flying Fiſh to fly and fall among them, which being eaten raw, were a pleaſant Food unto them: and once, when they muſt otherwiſe have periſh'd for Thirſt, they caught a *Shark*, whoſe Blood being ſuck'd by them, was as *Cool Waters to their thirſty Souls*; but that which was more ſo, was their ſafe Arrival then at the *Weſt Indies*.

V. Some

V. *Some* Shipwrack'd Folks *happily reſcued.*

Mr. *John Grafton* being bound from *New-England* for the *Weſt-Indies* in a Ketch call'd the *Providence*, the Veſſel ſuddenly ſtruck upon a Rock, in a dark, rainy, ſtormy Night; and the Force of the Wind and the Sea broke the Veſſel immediately to Pieces. *Six* of the *Ten* Men, whereof the Company did conſiſt, were drown'd; but the Maſter and the Mate were left upon the Rock, where the Sea came up unto their Waſte, and there they embrac'd each other, looking for Death every Moment; which, if the Sea had riſen higher, muſt have been unavoidable. By the Rock was one of the Seamen grievouſly wounded, and groaning: But in the Morning they ſaw an Iſland about half a mile from them. The Rocks were ſo cragged, that theſe Perſons, who were bare-footed, were not able to tread thereupon; but they found a Piece of Tarpoling which they wrapp'd and faſtned about their Feet with *Rope-Yarns*; and ſo getting each of them a Stick, they ſometimes *walk'd*, and ſometimes they *crept*, until at laſt they came unto the Iſland, where they found another of their Crew, carried a-ſhore by a piece of the Veſſel. *Eight Days* they continu'd on the Iſland, and *Four* of them without any Fire. Salt-Fiſh was their Food, and Rain-Water found in the Holes of the Rocks their Drink. They then found a piece of Touchwood which had been in the Mate's Cheſt; and a Flint, with a Knife, being in like manner brought 'em, they ſtruck Fire; and a Barrel of their Flower being alſo caſt aſhore, they made Cakes thereof. But there muſt be no long Stay made upon this deſolate Iſland. Wherefore finding a piece of the *Main-Sail*, and ſome Hoops of a *Cask*, and a Fragment of a *Board*, with ſome Nails, and a Box wherein was a *Bolt-rope Needle* and a *Tarr-Barrel*, with which they Tarr'd their *Canvas*. Out of theſe wretched Materials they patch'd up a pitiful, unlikely, dangerous Tool, which they call'd a *Boat*; and meeting with ſome thin Boards which came out of the Cabin, of theſe they made their *Paddles*. In this odd *Vehicle* they made a Voyage of ten Leagues, even until they came to *Anguilla*, where the People entertain'd them with *Courteſie* and *Wonderment*.

VI. *Sore* Calamities *at Sea ſurvived.*

A ſmall Veſſel ſet ſail from *Briſtol* to *New-England*, Sept. 22. 1681. with the *Maſter*, whoſe Name was *William Dutten*; there were ſeven *Men* a board, having Proviſions for three *Months*; but by contrary Winds, they were twenty Weeks before they could make any Land; and by other Diſaſters and Diſtreſſes, it was rendred very unlikely that ever they ſhould make any Land at all. The fierce Winds upon the Coaſts of *New-England*, made them conclude on *Dec.* 12. that they would bear away for *Barbadoes*; but before this they loſt One Barrel of their *Beer*, by the Head being broken out; and having but ſeven Barrels of *Water*, three of them leak'd away. When their *Victuals* fail'd them, the *merciful God whoſe is the Sea, for he made it*, ſent them a Supply, by cauſing *Dolphins* ever now and then to come ſo near their Veſſel as to be *catch'd*; yet it was obſervable, that they could never catch any, but in an extream Neceſſity; nor any more than would ſerve their *preſent Neceſſity*. But their Miſery, thro' the Want of *Water*, was very ſore upon them: For tho' they tried much to take the *Rain Water*, when any fell, the Winds were uſually ſo furious, that they could ſave little, if any of it. However, when they came near the Latitude of *Bermudaz*, they did, unto their great Joy, ſave two Barrels of *Rain Water*; but then, the *Rats* unexpectedly eating Holes in the Barrels, all that Water was loſt again. Once when a Shower of Rain fell, they ſav'd a Pint; which, tho' it were made very *bitter* by the *Tar*, yet it was a *ſweet Water unto their Thirſty Souls*; and they divided it among ſeven, drinking a Thimble-full at a time, which went five times about. On *Jan.* 27. a good Shower of *Rain* fell; and that they might preſerve it, they laid their Linnens open to the *Rain*; and wringing them dry, they obtain'd ſeven Gallons of Water, which being Bottl'd up, was a great and a long Refreſhment unto them. New Straits then came upon them. They catch'd, with much ado, three or four of the *Rats*, that had cheated them of their Drink, and made of 'em a *Meat*, which to their famiſh'd Souls did ſeem very delicate. But the Torment of their *Drought* grew inſupportable; for ſometimes they had not a Drop of any freſh Water for a whole Week together. When they killed a *Dolphin*, they would ſuck his Blood for the Relief of their *Thirſt*, yea, their *Thirſt* cauſed them to drink large Quantities of *Salt Water*, which yet they found allay'd it not. They would go over board with a Rope faſtned about them, that by drenching themſelves a while in the Sea, they might eaſe the internal Heat which parched them; and when they ſtood any of them to ſteer the Veſſel, they would have their Feet in a Pail of *Sea Water* to refrigerate 'em. In this Calamity ſome of the Seamen penitently confeſſed, *how juſt it was with God thus to puniſh them, who had intemperately abuſed themſelves with Drink, ſo often in their former Converſation*. But at length on *Febr.* 7. they met with a *Guinea-Man*, who ſupplied 'em with Neceſſaries, and ſo they got ſafe in unto *Barbados*, from whence they afterwards made their Voyage to *New-England*.

VII. *Seaſonable Succours.*

A Ship of *Dublin*, whereof *Andrew Bennet* was Maſter, being bound from thence unto *Virginia*, and got as far as the Latitude of 39, about an hundred and fifty Leagues from *Cape Cod* in *New-England* (on *April* 18. 1681.) in a very ſtormy time, ſuddenly there ſprang a Plank in the fore-part of the Ship. Whereupon the Sea broke in ſo faſt, that they could not by all their Endeavours keep the Ship from ſinking above *half an Hour*. Wherefore, when the Ship was juſt *ſinking*

ing, ſome of the Company reſolved that they would launch out the *Boat*, which was a very ſmall one; and in this Action the *Maſter*, the *Mate*, the *Boatſwain*, the *Cook*, two *Fore maſt Men* and a *Boy*, kept ſuch hold of it, when a Caſt of the Sea ſuddenly help'd them off with it, that they got into it. The Heaving of the Sea now ſuddenly thruſt them from the Ship, in which there were left *Nineteen* Perſons, namely, *Sixteen Men* and *Three Women*, who all periſh'd in the Deep, while they were trying to make Rafters, by cutting down the Maſts for the Preſervation of their Lives as long as they could. The *Seven* in the *Boat* apprehended themſelves to be in a Condition little better than that of them in the Ship; for they had neither *Sails*, nor *Oars*, nor *Bread*, nor *Water*, nor any ſort of Inſtrument, except a *Knife* and a Piece of a *Deal-Board*, with which they made Sticks, and ſet them up in the Sides of the Boat, covering them with ſome of their own Garments to keep off the Spray of the Sea. In this Condition they drove with an hard Wind and an high Sea all this Day, with the Night following: but the next Morning their diſmal Diſtreſs met with an happy Relief; when they ſaw a Ketch (whereof *Edmund Henfield* of *Salem* in *New England*, was Maſter) under Sail; which Ketch coming right with them, took 'em up, and brought 'em ſafe to *New-England*. Now none of the leaſt remarkable Circumſtances in this matter, was, that when the Ship founder'd, the *Ketch* was many Leagues to the *Weſtward* of her; but a contrary Wind cauſed her to ſtand back again unto the *Eaſtward*, where theſe poor Men were met and ſaved.

VIII. *Diſtreſſed People at Sea, happily meeting, and helping one another.*

A Ship whereof *William Laiton* was Maſter, bound from *Piſcataqua* in *New-England*, to *Barbadoes*, being two hundred and fifty Leagues off the Coaſt, ſprang a Leak; which, notwithſtanding their conſtant plying of the Pump for fourteen Hours together, ſo fill'd the Veſſel with Water, that all the Eight Perſons aboard betook themſelves to their Boat, with a good Supply of *Bread* for them there to live upon. The *Maſter* would utter a ſtrange Perſwaſion, that they ſhould meet with a Ship at Sea, whereby they ſhould be reliev'd: But before they did ſo, they had ſo far ſpent their ſmall Supply of Water, that they were come to the Allowance of each *Man* a Spoonful a Day. In this Boat they continu'd upon the *Atlantick Ocean* for *Nineteen Days* together; after *Twelve* of which they met with a Storm which did much endanger their Lives; but God preſerv'd them. At the End of *Eighteen Days* a *Flying Fiſh* fell into their Boat; and having with them an Hook and Line, they made uſe of that *Fiſh* for *Bait*, whereby they caught a couple of *Dolphins*. A Ship then at Sea, whereof *Mr. Samuel Scarlet* was Commander, apprehending a Storm to be near, they ſuffer'd their Veſſel to drive before the Wind, while they were fitting of the Rigging to entertain that approaching Storm; and by this means they met with a Boat full of their diſtreſs'd Brethren. Captain *Scarlet*'s Veſſel was then deſtitute of *Proviſions*; only they had Water enough, and to ſpare: For which cauſe the Mariners deſir'd him that he would not go to take the Men in, leſt they ſhould all die by Famine. But the Captain was a Man of too generous a Charity to follow the *Selfiſh Propoſals*, thus made unto him. He reply'd, *It may be, theſe diſtreſs'd Creatures are our own Countrey men: Or, however, they are diſtreſs'd Creatures. I am reſolved I will take them in; and I'll truſt in God, who is able to deliver us all.* Nor was he a Loſer by this Charitable Reſolution; for Captain *Scarlet* had the *Water* which *Laiton* wanted, and Mr. *Laiton* had the *Bread* and *Fiſh* that *Scarlet* wanted: So they refreſh'd one another, and in a few Days arriv'd ſafe to *New-England*. But it was remark'd, That the chief of the *Mariners* who urg'd Captain *Scarlet* againſt his *taking in* theſe diſtreſs'd People, did afterwards in his Diſtreſs at Sea, periſh without any to take him in. In another Voyage he periſh'd at Sea, and was never heard of.

IX. *Wonderful* Diſtreſſes, *and more wonderful* Deliverances.

A Number of Mariners, in a ſmall Pink, belonging to *Boſton* (call'd *The Bleſſing*) were taken by an Half-Galley of Cruel *Spaniards*, on *April* 1. 1683, who put them all immediately into their Hold, except the *Maſter* and *Mate*, the latter of which they tormented by twiſting a Piece of Sea-Net about his Head, until his Eyes were ready to ſtart out: And then hanging him up by the two Thumbs to make him confeſs what Money they had aboard; but when they ſaw he would confeſs nothing, they made faſt a Rope about his Neck, and ask'd their Commander whether they ſhould hoiſe him up or not: They conſulted alſo whether they ſhould not hang all the Men; but not agreeing on that Point, they concluded on ſomewhat no leſs truculent and barbarous. They kept one of the Men on board, on whom they afterwards exercis'd bloody Cruelties; and the other Six belonging to the Veſſel, they thus diſpoſed of. They carry'd the poor Men among the *Mangrove Trees*, that grew upon an adjacent Iſland, and ſtripping them ſtark-naked, they caus'd each of 'em to turn their Backs unto the Branch of a Tree, and ſpread their Arms abroad; in which Poſture they bound the Arms of each Man to the Branches two by two, about a quarter of a Miles diſtance between the ſeveral Couples, thus leaving them to periſh without any Pity. They ſtood up to the mid-Leg in Water, their Feet contiguous, and their Faces turn'd ſo, that they might behold each others Miſeries. But about three Hours after, one of theſe Men eſpy'd a Stick with a Crook at one End, not far from him; whereupon he ſaid unto his Companion, *If it pleaſe God that we might get that Stick into our Hands, it might be a Means to work our Deliverance*, and thereupon trying to bring the Stick towards them with their Feet, in a little time

time they happily effected it, and ſo bore it up with their Feet, that at laſt the *Man* got hold of it with his Hand; and herewith by degrees they looſ'd the Knot that was upon the Bowing of their Arms; and ſhifting it into their Fingers, did by little and little get ſo far in looſing it, that they quite undid it, ſetting themſelves at liberty. Now returning their Thanks to the God of Heaven for helping them thus far, they haſtned unto the Help of their deſpairing Friends. But their next Care was how to keep themſelves out of the Sight of thoſe barbarous Wretches, from whom they had receiv'd this Uſage: Yet they had not gone above a *Mile*, before they ſpy'd ſome of 'em got upon an high Tree to diſcover Ships that paſs'd that way. Upon this they were ſo affrighted, that they ran among the Thickets and loſt one another, and met not again till the Third Night after; in all which time they found no Water, but lick'd the Dew from the Leaves of the Plants thereabout: At which Buſineſs, while they were imploy'd, an *Alligator* ſuddenly got the Arm of the *Maſter* into his *Mouth*; but he with the reſt, crying out, the *Alligator* let go his Hold, therewithal tearing away a great piece of the Fleſh. After this, they got upon an High Tree, and ſate there till it was Day; but within a Day or two they kill'd a wild Coney, which they flay'd with the Help of a ſharp Stone; and applying the Inſide of it unto the *Maſter*'s Arm, they eat the Fleſh raw with no little Satisfaction. The Night following they got upon an *High Rock*, thinking there to be ſecure from the *Alligators*; yet even there, one of thoſe terrible Creatures came upon 'em, and hall'd one of the *Men* off the Rock; at which they all crying out, the *Monſter* let go his Hold, and the *Man* was recover'd. However, this made 'em retire into the Trees for Safety. Their Drink all this while was the Rain Water, found in Holes among the Rocks. At length alſo they rais'd a little Wall Two Yards high, to keep off the numerous *Alligators*: And *Whilks* and *Crabs* were their beſt Food, whilſt they had much ado to preſerve *Themſelves* from being Food to thoſe Devourers. But anon they found a Well with a Barrel in it, where they reſolv'd they would wait for Help or Death. On *Apr.* 13. the *Mate* (namely *Charles Cretchet*) with two more (namely *Robert Pierce* and *Peter Clement*) of theſe diſtreſs'd People, made a Raft with ſuch Wood as they found on the Iſland, and put to Sea. The *Maſter* (whoſe Name was *David Eaſt*) with two more (whoſe Names were *John Bath* and *Peter Rowland*) being left behind, were extreamly hungry and feeble, and had not the leaſt Garment to cover them from the Sun, while they were at the ſame time ſo grievouſly infeſted with *Moſcheto's*, that they could not go to the Rocks for *Whilks*, but muſt content themſelves with gnawing ſuch dry Bones of Turtles as had been half a Year lying there. In this Extremity Heaven ſent them ſome Supply; for they found a dead Eel, which they ſuppos'd had been dropt by an *Hern*: This they took, they ſkinn'd, they divided, and it ſeem'd an incomparable Feaſt unto them. On *Apr.* 19. the *Maſter* and the Two left with him, follow'd the Example of the *Mate*, and his Two, in making a Raft for a Voyage to Sea: But as they were going to put off, they eſpy'd a couple of Sails; upon which they betook themſelves unto the Water, that they might get unto theſe Veſſels, which at length took them up. Theſe two Veſſels were a couple of *Canoo's*, having three Men apiece, who kept 'em thirty two Days, and then carry'd 'em into *Havana*; where the Governour, notwithſtanding they fairly related unto him their Circumſtances, kept 'em in Priſon Eighteen Days, without allowing 'em any Food. So that if they had not receiv'd ſome Suſtenance from a few poor *Engliſh* Priſoners who had been there before 'em, they had been perfectly ſtarved. At laſt they underſtood that their Ship was in that Harbour, and the Perſons who took her: Whereupon they petition'd the Governour that they might have their Ship again; inaſmuch as they could make no legal Prize of her; for ſhe had no *Spaniſh* Goods aboard. Their Petition was granted; and their Ship (tho' empty'd of every thing but her Ballaſt) was reſtor'd unto 'em: Nor could they by a new *Petition* obtain any thing but her Sails, and ſome ſmall part of her Lading that had not been diſpos'd of.

On *June* 10. the Hunters having taken up *Robert Pierce* and *Peter Clement*, and brought 'em into *Havana*, the Governour examin'd 'em what was become of their Mates; and they told him, That they were five Days at Sea upon the Raft, and had only two *Crabs* all this while to ſubſiſt upon; and then by the Wind they were driven upon the ſame Iſland which they had left, where they wander'd up and down for a Month together; and in their Travels loſt their Mate, who was, thro' Weakneſs unable to travel. Hereupon the Governour ſent 'em aboard alſo; and the Night before they ſail'd, the Hunters informed the Governour, That they had likewiſe taken up the Mate alive. But the Governour hurry'd 'em away in ſuch haſte, that they could not know the *Certainty* thereof; and ſo they proſecuted their Voyage for *Boſton*, whither they came, well nigh ſtarv'd with Cold, not having any more Clothes than a Canvas Frock for each Man, which the *Turtlers* had beſtow'd upon them.

X. *A Notable Story of one ſav'd from the Hands of the* Turks.

A *Decad* of Remarkable *Sea Deliverances* may be ſufficient for the preſent Entertainment.

One of my honeſt Neighbours, whoſe Name is *Chriſtopher Monk*, brought me this Account of what had befallen himſelf.

'In a Ship of *Bermudas*, call'd *The John's Adventure*, whereof I was Maſter, *July* 28. 1681. 'we departed from *Torbay* in the Weſt of *England*. Eight Days after this we ſaw a Ship about 8 h. A.M. that gave us Chaſe: And tho' 'we made what Sail we could to run from it, by '2 h *P. M.* it came up with us. It prov'd to be the

'the *Half Moon* of *Algier*, who ſent their Lanch on board of us, and carry'd us all on board the *Turks* Ship, except One, whom they left, to help 'em in ſailing of ours. The Captain having examin'd us of divers things, and robb'd us of what Silver or Gold we had about us, ſent us forward among the other *Chriſtians*, that were there before us, who entertain'd us with ſorrowful Lamentations.

'I have ſince reflected on it, that tho' formerly I us'd *Morning* and *Evening* Prayers with my Company; yet in the time of our Chaſe, my Fears and Cares made me have no Heart for the Duty. But our Application of our ſelves unto *Outward Reliefs* and *Second Cauſes*, prov'd all in vain.

'However now, being in *Turkiſh* and cruel Hands, I thought it fit to pray with them that were formerly of my Family, that is to ſay, my Company; and I was enabl'd to do it in the *Preſence* of my *Enemies*, without receiving Diſturbance from 'em. *I incourag'd my ſelf in the Lord my God, when I heard 'em rejoicing with Shouts at the Prey taken by them.*

'One of the *Moors* took away my *Bible*, which I thought was a ſore Judgment on me, becauſe of my neglecting to read it while I had it. But, thro' the Mercy of God, I had ſoon after an old Bible, which the *Turks* reckon'd of little value, given to me. This was my ſweeteſt Companion and my greateſt Conſolation in my Diſtreſs. I alſo met with Two other Books, one entitul'd *The Godly Man's Ark*, the other *The Hiſtory of the Sufferings of* Jeſus Chriſt; which were very beneficial to me. From the Sufferings of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I was incourag'd to ſubmit my Will unto the Will of God in all things; knowing that Jeſus Chriſt had ſuffer'd more than I was able to undergo, and had ſweeten'd all to thoſe who are His. I was likewiſe made willing to undergo Slavery from thoſe Conſiderations in *Lam.* 3.22,39. *It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not conſum'd: Wherefore doth a Living Man complain, a Man for the Puniſhment of his Sin?* being convinc'd that my Sins had deſerv'd far more than could be inflicted upon me in this Life. I thought with my ſelf, that if I met with a good Maſter, my *Life* would be the more *comfortable*; but that, if I met with a Bad Maſter, the Time which I had here to live, was but ſhort, compar'd with *Eternity*: And if I could but ſecure my *Eternal* Happineſs, it would make amends for all; and why could not I endure Slavery as well as the *Negroes* in my own Nation? I uſually read thoſe Places, which at my opening of the Bible firſt offer'd themſelves unto me; and often they would happen to be exceedingly pertinent unto my preſent Condition; eſpecially many Paſſages in the 37th *Pſalm* very much affected me. Once coming upon the Deck in the *Morning*, and finding moſt of all the *Turks* and *Moors* aſleep, I thought, that if I had been Owner of a ſharp Knife, I could have cut the *Throats* of a great many, without making any Noiſe, and withal, communicated the Notion to ſome of the *Engliſh* aboard, how eaſily we might conquer our Adverſaries, and maſter the Ship. Some conſented, and preſcrib'd a Way; but one more fearful than the reſt, bid me have a care what I ſaid; for ſome among us, he affirmed, would willingly betray our Deſign, unto the loſs of our own Lives. Hereupon I ſpoke no more of it, but went down between Decks to adviſe with my Bible; and this was the Scripture which then occurr'd unto me: *Ceaſe from Anger, and forſake Wrath; fret not thy ſelf in any wiſe to do Evil; for Evil-doers ſhall be cut off; but they that wait on the Lord, ſhall inherit the Earth; for yet a little while, and the wicked ſhall not be.* Upon this I wholly deſiſted from my evil Intent; and reſolving to take the Advice of the *Pſalm*, I alſo apply'd unto my ſelf that Scripture in *Lam.* 3. 26. *It is good that a Man ſhould both hope and quietly wait for the Salvation of the Lord.* And that in *Iſa.* 49. 24,25. and that in *Iſa.* 53. 3, 4.

'One Morning as I ſlept upon ſome old Sails between Decks, I *dream'd*, That I was upon an *Hill*, where was a little ſort of a *Log-houſe*, like ſome Houſes that I have ſeen in *Virginia*; That ſome who were with me had young *Eagles* in their Hands, bruiſing and ſqueezing 'em in their Hands till they made 'em cry; That there appear'd at length Two great White *Eagles* upon the Top of another Hill coming towards us, at the Cry of the *Young Ones*, to releaſe 'em: That for fear, leſt the *Old Eagles* might kill us, I with ſeveral others, were put into the little Houſe to ſecure us: And, that hereupon the *Young Ones* were ſet at liberty; and ſomebody ſaid unto me, *For the Crying of the Poor, for the Sighing of the Needy, now will I ariſe, ſaith the Lord; and I will ſet him at liberty from him that puffeth at him.* I thought alſo that I heard ſomebody cry out, *A Sail, a Sail!* And I thought my ſelf upon the Upper Deck: imagining that there I ſaw a Ship or Two. With this, I awoke, and went upon the Deck; but ſeeing no other Ship, I conſider'd a little upon my Dream, telling it unto my *Mate*, and adding *That I expected a ſpeedy* Redemption.

'I continu'd thus with the *Turks* until the 9th of *September*; all which time they never offer'd me any Abuſe, tho' they did beat other *Chriſtians* very much. On that Day, about 8 in the Morning, a Chriſtian at the Fore top-maſt Head, ſaw Three Ships; one of which was a *Frenchman*, which had been in our Company the Night before; and now told the other two Ships that they had ſeen a *Turk* the preceding Evening. The two Ships were two ſmall *Engliſh* Frigats, the *James-Galley*, and the *Seaface*. The *Seaface* having a Man at the Top maſt-head, eſpy'd us, and made Sail towards us, and ſo did the *James-Galley*. We lay ſtill until I ſaw their Sails above the Water, like my two White *Eagles*, as white as Snow, thro' the Sun ſhining on them. The *Turks* made Sail to run from 'em; yet at Night the *James Galley* came up with us; whereupon I, with the reſt of the Chriſtians, was chain'd down in the Hold.

After

'After a little Diſcourſe, they fired on our *Turks* 'a Volley of Small Shot, and a Broad ſide. The '*Sea Face* ſeeing that, boarded us: but in leſs 'than an Hours time ſhe loſt her Fore-maſt, and 'Boltſprit, and Head, and about five and twenty 'Men, and fell a-ſtern. Yet the other, which 'was leſs than ſhe, ſhot all her Maſt away by 2 'in the Morning; and when it was Day, the '*Turks* yielded their Ship. Then they that were 'leading us Captive, were them ſelves carry'd 'into Captivity, *Sept.* 10. 1681.

Chriſtopher Monk.

MANTISSA.

Over and above the Number of *Sea Deliverances* intended for this Chapter, we will add One more, which is a late and a freſh Inſtance, and atteſted beyond all Contradiction.

On the 16th of *October*, in this preſent Year 1697. there arriv'd at *New Haven* a Sloop of about 50 Tuns, whereof Mr. *William Trowbridge* was Maſter: The Veſſel belong'd unto *New-Haven*, the Perſons on board were Seven; and 17 long Weeks had they now ſpent, ſince they came from their Port, which was *Fayal*. By ſo unuſually tedious a Paſſage a Terrible Famine unavoidably came upon them; and for the five laſt Weeks of their Voyage they were ſo deſtitute of all Food, that thro' Faintneſs they would have choſen Death rather than Life. But they were a praying and a pious Company: And when *theſe poor Men cry'd unto the Lord, he heard and ſav'd them.* God ſent His Dolphins to attend 'em; and of theſe they caught ſtill One every Day, which was enough to ſerve 'em: only on *Saturdays* they ſtill catch'd a Couple; and on the *Lord's Days* they could catch none at all. With all poſſible Skill and Care they could not ſupply themſelves with the Fiſh in any other Number or Order; And indeed with an Holy *Bluſh* at laſt they left off trying to do any thing on the *Lord's Days*, when they were ſo well ſupply'd on the *Saturdays*. Thus the Lord kept feeding a Company that put their Truſt in Him, as He did His *Iſrael* with his *Manna*: And this they continu'd until the *Dolphins* came to that Change of Water, where they us'd to leave the Veſſels. Then they ſo ſtrangely ſurrendred themſelves, that the Company took Twenty ſeven of 'em; which not only ſuffic'd them until they came aſhore, but alſo ſome of 'em were brought aſhore dry'd, as a Monument of the *Divine* Benignity.

CHAP. II. *Hoſæa.*

Relating Remarkable Salvations experienced by others beſides the Sea-faring.

Pars mihi ſemper erit, ſervari velle ſalutis
Maxima——

THE Good People of *New-England* may tune their Praiſes to a Conſort, with thoſe of the good Pſalmiſt, *He that is our God, is the God of Salvation, and unto God the Lord belong the Iſſues from Death.* How many *Extraordinary Salvations*, have been granted unto particular Perſons, among that good People, a ſmall Volume could not enumerate.

Remarkable Anſwers of Prayer have been receiv'd by the moſt of thoſe who have experimentally known the Meaning of Wreſtlings in Prayer among us. How many Thouſands have upon very notable Experiments been able to ſay, *This Poor Man cried, and the Lord heard and ſav'd him!* One very ſurprizing Inſtance hath been ſeen ſeveral times in this Land, when infinite *Swarms* of *Caterpillars* have devour'd our Fields, and carry'd whole Fields before them: Some very pious and praying Husbandmen in the extream Exigency, when the Devourers have juſt been entring on their Fields, have poured out their fervent Prayers unto the God of Heaven for their Deliverance; immediately hereupon *Flocks of Birds* have arriv'd that have devoured the Devourers, and preſerv'd thoſe particular Fields, when others have been horribly waſted. Moreover, when any Neighbours have labour'd under deſperate Maladies; or been tempted, or diſtracted, or poſſeſs'd, it hath been a common thing for a Knot of Godly People to meet, and faſt, and pray, and ſee the *Afflicted* glorioſly deliver'd. Furthermore, when any *Droughts*, or *Floods* have threatned the Ruins of our Harveſts, theſe and thoſe Congregations moſtly concern'd, have pray'd with Faſting on thoſe Occaſions; and God hath wondrouſly deliver'd them, with a Diſtinction from others that have not ſo call'd upon him. The very Pagans in this Wilderneſs have been ſometimes amazed at what they have ſeen of this nature among us, and cried out, *That the* Engliſhman's *God was a Great and a Good God!* It may be added, Some of our Churches have once in a conſiderable while kept a Day of Prayer for the Succeſs of the Word of *CHRIST*, upon the Souls of their Children in riſing Generation among them: And the Succeſs hath been ſuch, that all the Churches in the Land have took notice of it.

Again, Remarkable Reſcues from *Death* have been receiv'd by ſo many Thouſands among us, that there hath been ſcarce one *Devout Family* which hath not been able to bring in ſomething unto the *Heap* of theſe Experiences. *Fallen Perſons* that have had *Carts* and *Ploughs* juſt running over them, the Beaſts which drew them have ſuddenly ſtop'd, unto the Surprize of the Spectators. Perſons on the very Point of mortal *Bruiſing* or *Drowning*, have been ſnatch'd out of the Jaws of *Deſtruction* in Ways that are not accountable: Even *Ejaculatory Prayers* have had Aſtoniſhing Anſwers. For Inſtance,

An honeſt Carpenter being at work upon an Houſe, when Eight Children were ſitting in a Ring at ſome childiſh Play on the Floor below; he let fall accidentally from an upper Story, a bulky Piece of Timber juſt over theſe little Children. The Good Man, with inexpreſſible Agony, cry'd out, *O Lord direct it*, and the Lord did ſo direct it, that it fell on End in the Midſt of the little Children, and then canted along on the Floor between two of the Children, without ever touching one of them all. But the Inſtances of ſuch Things would be numberleſs. And if I ſhould with a moſt Religious Veracity, relate what *Wounds* many Perſons have ſurviv'd, I ſhould puzzle *Philoſophy* and make her have ſome Recourſe unto *Divinity*.

One *Abigail Eliot* had an Iron ſtruck into her Head, which drew out part of her Brains with it: A Silver Plate ſhe afterwards wore on her Skull where the Orifice remain'd as big as an *Half Crown*. The Brains left in the Child's Head would ſwell and ſwage, according to the *Tides*; Her Intellectuals were not hurt, by this *Diſaſter*, and ſhe liv'd to be a Mother of ſeveral Children.

One *John Symonds* about the Age of Ten Years, had ſome affrighted Oxen with a Plough, running over him; the Share took hold of his Ribs a little below the left Pap, and rent an Hole in his Breaſt, ſo large, that a Man might have put in his four Fingers: His very Heart became viſible; his Lungs would fly out ſundry Inches, as often as the Place was dreſt. In ſeven or eight Weeks he recover'd and became an healthy Man. But an *Hiſtory* of Rare Cures in this Countrey would fill more Pages than may here be allow'd. Yet let me take the Leave to enquire what ſhall be thought of the Caſe of one *Sarah Wilkinſon*, who dy'd of a *Dropſie*. For a long while before her *Death* ſhe had no Evacuation except only by a frequent and forc'd Vomit of Water in huge Quantities, with which her *Diſſolv'd Bowels* came up in ſucceſſive Potions of them. When ſhe was open'd, there were no Bowels to be found in her, except her Heart, which was exceeding ſmall, and as it were perboil'd; and her *Milt*, or *Spleen*, one End whereof ſtuck to her Back, and the other to her Ribs; as alſo a ſmall part of her *Liver* or *Lungs*, corrupted ſo much, that they knew not which of the Two it was, and this no bigger than the Palm of ones Hand. Other *Bowels*, none could be found: Yet in this Condition ſhe liv'd a long while, and retain'd her Senſes to the laſt.

But we will content our ſelves with annexing to theſe things, a Narrative of a Woman celebrating the wonderful *Diſpenſations* of Heaven.

A NARRATIVE of Hannah Swarton, *containing* Wonderful Paſſages, *relating to her Captivity and her Deliverance.*

I Was taken by the *Indians* when *Caſco* Fort was taken (*May* 1690.) My Husband being ſlain, and four Children taken with me. The Eldeſt of my Sons they kill'd, about two Months after I was taken, and the reſt ſcatter'd from me. I was now left a Widow, and as bereav'd of my Children; though, I had them alive, yet it was very ſeldom that I could ſee 'em, and I had not Liberty to diſcourſe with 'em without danger either of my own Life, or theirs; for our condoling each others Condition, and ſhewing Natural Affection, was ſo diſpleaſing to our *Indian Rulers*, unto whoſe ſhare we fell, that they would threaten to kill us, if we cry'd each to other, or diſcourſed much together. So that my Condition was like what the Lord threatned the *Jews* in *Ezek*. 24. 22, 23. We durſt not *Mourn* or *Weep* in the Sight of our Enemies, leſt we loſt our own Lives. For the firſt times, while the Enemy feaſted on our Engliſh Proviſions, I might have had ſome with them; but then I was ſo fill'd with Sorrow and Tears, that I had little Stomach to eat; and when my Stomach was come, our Engliſh Food was ſpent, the *Indians* wanted themſelves, and we more: ſo that then I was pin'd with Want. We had no Corn or Bread; but ſometimes *Groundnuts*, *Acorns*, *Purſlain*, *Hogweed*, Weeds, Roots, and ſometimes *Dogs Fleſh*, but not ſufficient to ſatisfie Hunger with theſe; having but little at a time. We had no Succeſs at hunting; ſave that one Bear was killed, which I had part of; and a very ſmall part of a Turtle I had another time, and once an *Indian* gave me piece of a *Mooſe's* Liver, which was a ſweet Morſel to me; and *Fiſh* if we could catch it. Thus I continued with them, hurry'd up and down the Wilderneſs, from *May* 20. till the middle of *February*; carrying continually a great Burden in our Travels; and I muſt go their Pace, or elſe be killed preſently; and yet was pinch'd with Cold for want of Cloathing, being put by them into an *Indian* Dreſs, with a ſleight Blanket, no Stockins, and but one pair of *Indian* Shooes, and of their Leather Stockins for the Winter: My Feet were pricked with ſharp Stones and prickly Buſhes ſometimes, and other times pinch'd with Snow, Cold, and Ice, that I travell'd upon, ready to be frozen, and faint for want of Food; ſo that many times I thought I could go no further, but muſt lie down, and if they would kill me, let 'em kill me. Yet then the Lord did ſo renew my Strength, that I went on ſtill further as my Maſter would have me, and held out with them. Though many Engliſh were taken, and I was brought to ſome of 'em at times, while we were about *Caſco* Bay and *Kennebeck River*, yet at

Nor-

Norridgawock we were ſeparated, and no *Engliſh* were in our Company, but one *John York* and my ſelf, who were both almoſt ſtarv'd for Want; and yet told, that if we could not hold up to travel with them, they would kill us. And accordingly *John York* growing weak by his Wants, they killed him, and threatned me with the like. One time my *Indian* Miſtreſs and I, were left alone, while the reſt went to look for *Eels*; and they left us no Food from *Sabbath-day* Morning till the next *Saturday*; ſave that we had a *Bladder* (of *Mooſe* I think) which was well fill'd with Maggots, and we boil'd it, and drank the Broth; but the Bladder was ſo tough we we could not eat it. On the *Saturday* I was ſent by my Miſtreſs to that part of the Iſland moſt likely to ſee ſome *Canoo*, and there to make Fire and Smoke, to invite ſome *Indians* if I could ſpie any, to come to relieve us; and I eſpy'd a *Canoo*, and by Signs invited 'em to come to ſhore. It prov'd to be ſome *Squaws*; who underſtanding our Wants, one of 'em gave me a roaſted Eel; which I eat, and it ſeem'd unto me the moſt ſavory Food I ever taſted before. Sometimes we liv'd on *Wortle berries*, ſometimes on a kind of *Wild Cherry*, which grew on Buſhes, which I was ſent to gather once in ſo bitter a cold Seaſon, that I was not able to bring my Fingers together to hold them faſt: Yet under all theſe Hardſhips the Lord kept me from any Sickneſs, or ſuch Weakneſs as to diſenable me from Travelling when they put us upon it.

My *Indian* Miſtreſs was one that had been bred by the *Engliſh* at *Black-Point*, and now married to a *Canada Indian*, and turned Papiſt; and ſhe would ſay, *That had the* Engliſh *been as careful to inſtruct her in our Religion as the* French *were, to inſtruct her in theirs, ſhe might have been of our our Religion*: and ſhe would ſay, *That God delivered us into their Hands to puniſh us for our Sins*; And this I knew was true as to my ſelf. And as I deſired to conſider of all my Sins, for which the Lord did puniſh me, ſo this lay very heavy upon my Spirit many a time, that I had left the Publick Worſhip and Ordinances of God, where I formerly lived (*viz.* at *Beverley*) to remove to the North Part of *Caſco Bay*, where there was no Church or *Miniſter* of the Goſpel; and this we did for large Accommodations in the World, thereby expoſing our Children, to be bred Ignorantly like *Indians*, and our ſelves to forget what we had been formerly inſtructed in; and ſo we turned our Backs upon God's Ordinances to get this World's Goods. But now, God hath ſtript me of theſe things alſo; ſo that I muſt juſtifie the Lord in all that has befallen me, and acknowledged that he hath puniſh'd me leſs than my Iniquities deſerved. I was now bereav'd of Huſband, Children, Friends, Neighbours, Houſe, Eſtate, Bread, Cloaths, or Lodging ſuitable; and my very Life did hang daily in doubt, being continually in danger of being kill'd by the *Indians*, or pined to Death with Famine, or tired to Death with hard Travelling, or pinch'd with Cold till I died, in the Winter Seaſon. I was ſo amazed with many Troubles, and hurry'd in my Spirit from one Exerciſe to another, how to preſerve my ſelf in Danger, and ſupply my ſelf in the Want that was preſent; that I had not time or Leiſure ſo compoſedly to conſider of the great Concernments of my Soul, as I ſhould have done; neither had I any *Bible* or *Good Book* to look into, or Chriſtian Friend to be my Counſellour in theſe Diſtreſſes: But I may ſay, *The Words of God*, which I had formerly heard or read, many of them came oft into my Mind, and kept me from *periſhing in my Afflictions*. As when they threatned to kill me many times, I often thought of the Words of our Saviour to *Pilate*, Joh. 19. 11. *Thou couldeſt have no Power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* I knew they had no *Power* to kill me but what the Lord gave them; and I had many times Hope, that the Lord would not ſuffer them to ſlay me, but deliver me out of their Hands; and in his time I hoped, return me to my Countrey again. When they told me that my *Eldeſt Son* was kill'd by the *Indians*, I thought of that in *Jer.* 33. 8. *I will cleanſe them from all their Iniquities whereby they have ſinned againſt me, and I will pardon all their Iniquities.* I hoped, tho' the Enemy had barbarouſly killed his Body, yet that the Lord had pardoned his Sins, and that his *Soul* was ſafe. When I thought upon my many Troubles, I thought of *Job*'s Complaint, Chap. 14. 16, 17. *Thou numbreſt my Steps, and watcheſt over my Sin; my Tranſgreſſion is ſealed up into a Bag; and thou ſoweſt up mine Iniquity.* This was for my Humiliation, and put me upon Prayer to God, for his *Pardoning Mercy* in Chriſt; and I thought upon *David*'s Complaint, *Pſalm* 13. 1, 2. and uſed it in my Prayers to the Lord; *How long wilt thou forget me, O Lord, for ever! How long wilt thou hide thy Face from me? How long ſhall I take Counſel in my Soul, having Sorrow in my Heart! How long ſhall my Enemy be exalted over me?* I ſometimes bemoaned my ſelf, as *Job*, Chap. 19. 9, 10. *He hath ſtripped me of my Glory, and taken my Crown from my Head; he hath deſtroyed me on every ſide, and I am gone, and my hope hath he removed like a Tree.* Yet ſometimes encourag'd from *Job* 22. 27. *Thou ſhalt make thy Prayer to him, and he ſhall hear thee, and thou ſhalt pay thy Vows.* I made my Vows to the Lord that I would give up my ſelf to him, if he would accept me in Jeſus Chriſt, and pardon my Sins; and I deſired and endeavour'd to pay my Vows unto the Lord. I pray'd to him, *Remember not againſt me the Sins of my Youth*; and I beſought him, *Judge me, O God, and plead my cauſe againſt an Ungodly Nation; deliver me from the deceitful and unjuſt Man. Why go I mourning becauſe of the Oppreſſion of the Enemy?* And by many other Scriptures that were brought to my Remembrance, was I inſtructed, directed and comforted.

I travell'd over ſteep and hideous Mountains one while, and another while over *Swamps* and Thickets of fallen Trees lying one, two, three Foot from the Ground, which I have ſtepp'd on from one to another, nigh a thouſand in a Day, carrying a great Burden on my Back. Yet I dreaded going to *Canada*, for fear leſt I ſhould be overcome by them to yield to their Religion; which

which I had vowed unto God, *That I would not do.* But the Extremity of my Sufferings were ſuch, that at length I was willing to go to preſerve my Life. And after many weary Journies thro' Froſt and Snow, we came to *Canada* about the middle of *February* 1690. and travelling over the River, my Maſter pitch'd his *Wigwam* in ſight of ſome *French* Houſes Weſtward of us, and then ſent me to thoſe Houſes to beg Victuals for them; which I did, and found the *French* very kind to me, giving me Beef, and Pork, and Bread, which I had been without near Nine Months before; ſo that now I found a great Change as to Diet. But the Snow being Knee-deep, and my Legs and Hams very ſore, I found it very tedious to travel; and my Sores bled; ſo that as I travell'd, I might be track'd by my Blood that I left behind me on the Snow. I aſked leave to ſtay all Night with the *French* when I went to beg again, which my Maſter conſented unto, and ſent me Eaſtward, to Houſes, which were toward *Quebeck* (though then I knew it not:) So, having begg'd Proviſions at a *French* Houſe, and it being near Night, after I was refreſh'd my ſelf, and had Food to carry to the *Indians*, I ſignified as well as I could, to make the *French* Woman underſtand, that I deſir'd to ſtay by her Fire that Night. Whereupon ſhe laid a good Bed on the Floor, and good Coverings for me, and there I lodg'd comfortably; and the next Morning, when I had breakfaſted with the Family, and the Men-kind were gone abroad, as I was about to go to my *Indian* Maſter, the *French* Woman ſtept out, and left me alone in her Houſe; and I then ſtaid her Return, to give her Thanks for her Kindneſs; and while I waited, came in two Men, and one of 'em ſpake to me in *Engliſh I am glad to ſee you, Countrey Woman!* This was exceedingly reviving to hear the Voice of an *Engliſhman*, and upon Inquiry I found he was taken at the *North-Weſt Paſſage*; and the other was a *French Ordinary Keeper.* After ſome Diſcourſe, he ask'd me to go with him to *Quebeck*, which he told me, was about four Miles off: I anſwer'd, my *Indian* Maſter might kill me for it, when I went back. Then, after ſome Diſcourſe in *French* with his Fellow-Traveller, he ſaid, This *French* Man engag'd, that if I would go with them, he would keep me from returning to the *Indians*, and I ſhould be ranſom'd: And my *French* Hoſteſs being now return'd in-a-doors, perſwaded me to go with 'em to *Quebeck*; which I did, and was convey'd unto the Houſe of the *Lord-Intendant*, *Monſieur le Tonant*, who was Chief Judge, and the Second to the Governour; and I was kindly entertain'd by the Lady; and had *French* Cloaths given me, with good Diet and Lodging, and was carry'd thence unto the Hoſpital, where I was Phyſick'd and Blooded, and very courteouſly provided for. And ſome time after my *Indian Maſter* and *Miſtreſs* coming for me, the *Lady Intendant* paid a Ranſom for me, and I became her Servant. And I muſt ſpeak it to the Honour of the *French*, they were exceeding kind to me at firſt; even as kind as I could expect to find the *Engliſh*: ſo that I wanted nothing for my bodily Comfort which they could help me unto.

Here was a great and comfortable Change as to my *Outward Man*, in my Freedom from my former Hardſhips, and Hard-hearted Oppreſſours. But here began a greater Snare and Trouble to my Soul, and Danger to my *Inward Man.* For the Lady my Miſtreſs, the Nuns, the Prieſts, the Friers, and the reſt, ſet upon me with all the Strength of *Argument* they could from Scripture, as they interpreted it, to perſwade me to turn *Papiſt*; which they preſs'd with very much Zeal, Love, Intreaties and Promiſes, if I would turn to 'em; and with many Threatnings, and ſometimes hard Uſages, becauſe I did not turn to their Religion. Yea, ſometimes the Papiſts, becauſe I would not turn to them, threatned to ſend me to *France*, and there I ſhould be burn'd, becauſe I would not turn to them. Then was I comforted from that in 2 *Cor.* 1. 8, 9, 10. *We were preſt out of meaſure above Strength, inſomuch that we deſpair'd even of Life; but we had the ſentence of Death in our ſelves, that we ſhould not truſt in our ſelves, but in God, who raiſes the Dead, who deliver'd us from ſo great a Death, and doth deliver; in whom we truſt that he will yet deliver us.* I knew God was able to deliver me, as he did *Paul*, and as he did the Three Children out of the Fiery Furnace; And I believ'd he would either deliver me from them, or fit me for what he call'd me to ſuffer, for his Sake and Name. For their praying to *Angels*, they brought the Hiſtory of the Angel that was ſent to the Virgin *Mary*, in the firſt of *Luke.* I anſwer'd them from *Rev.* 19. 10. and 22. 9. They brought *Exod.* 17. 11. of *Iſrael*'s prevailing while *Moſes* held up his Hands. I told them, we muſt come to God only by Chriſt, *Joh.* 6. 37, 44. For *Purgatory*, they brought *Mat.* 5. 25. I told them, to agree with God while here on Earth, was, to *Agree with our our Adverſary in the way*; and if we did not, we ſhould be caſt into Hell, and ſhould not come out until we *paid the utmoſt Farthing*, which could never be paid. But it's bootleſs for me a poor Woman, to acquaint the World, with what Arguments I uſed, if I could now remember them; and many of them are ſlipt out of my Memory.

I ſhall proceed to relate what Trials I met with in theſe things. I was put upon it, either to ſtand to the Religion I was brought up in, and believ'd in my Conſcience to be true; or to turn to another, which I believ'd was not right. And I was kept from turning, by that Scripture, *Mat.* 10. 32, 33. *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before Men, him will I confeſs before my Father which is in Heaven; and whoſoever denies me before Men, him alſo will I deny before my Father which is in Heaven.* I thought, that if I ſhould deny the Truth, and own their Religion, I ſhould deny Chriſt. Yet, upon their Perſwaſions, I went to ſee and be preſent at their Worſhip ſometimes; but never to receive their Sacrament. And once when I was at their Worſhip, that Scripture 2 *Cor.* 6. 14. to the End, came into my Mind: *What Communion hath Light with Darkneſs! what Concord hath Chriſt with Belial! what part hath he that believeth with an Infidel! and what Agreement hath*

hath the Temple of God with Idols? Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye ſhall be my Sons and Daughters, ſaith the Lord Almighty. This Scripture was ſo ſtrong upon my Spirit, that I thought I was out of my way to be preſent at the Idolatrous Worſhip, and I reſolv'd never to come unto it again. But when the time drew nigh, that I was to go again, I was ſo reſtleſs that Night, that I could not ſleep; thinking what I ſhould ſay to 'em when they urg'd me to go again, and what I ſhould do. And ſo it was in the Morning, that a *French* Woman of my Acquaintance, told me, if I would not be of their Religion, I did but mock at it, to go to their Worſhip, and bid me, that if I would not be of their Religion, I ſhould go no more. I anſwer'd her, *That I would not be of their Religion, and I would go no more to their Worſhip*: And accordingly I never went more, and they did not force me to it.

I have had many Conflicts in my own Spirit, fearing that I was not truly converted unto God in Chriſt, and that I had no ſaving Intereſt in Chriſt. I could not be of a Falſe Religion, to pleaſe Men; for it was againſt my Conſcience: And I was not fit to ſuffer for the True Religion, and for Chriſt: For I then fear'd I had no Intereſt in him. I was neither fit to live, nor fit to die; and brought once to the very Pit of Deſpair about what would become of my Soul. In this time I had gotten an *Engliſh Bible*, and other good Books by the help of my Fellow Captives. I looked over the Scripture, and ſetled on the Prayer of *Jonah*, and thoſe Words, *I ſaid I am caſt out of thy ſight, yet will I look again towards thy* Holy Temple. I reſolv'd I would do as *Jonah* did: And in the Meditation upon this Scripture the Lord was pleaſed by his Spirit to come into my Soul, and ſo fill me with raviſhing Comfort, that I cannot expreſs it. Then came to mind the Hiſtory of the Transfiguring of Chriſt, and *Peter's* Saying, *Matth.* 17. 4. *Lord, it is good for us to be here!* I thought it was good for me to be here; and I was ſo full of Comfort and Joy, I even wiſh'd I could be ſo always, and never ſleep; or elſe die in that Rapture of Joy, and never live to ſin any more againſt the Lord. Now I thought God was my God, and my Sins were pardoned in Chriſt; and now I could ſuffer for Chriſt, yea, die for Chriſt, or do any thing for him. My Sins had been a Burden to me: I deſired to ſee all my Sins, and to repent of them all with all my Heart, and of that Sin which had been eſpecially a Burden to me, namely, *That I Left the Publick Worſhip and Ordinances of God, to go to live in a remote Place, without the* Publick Miniſtry; *depriving our ſelves and our* Children *of ſo great a Benefit for our* Souls; *and all this for* Worldly Advantages. I found an Heart to repent of them all; and to lay hold of the Blood of Chriſt, to cleanſe me from them all.

I found much Comfort, while I was among the *French*, by the Opportunities I had ſometimes to read the Scriptures and other good Books, and pray to the Lord in ſecret; and the Conference that ſome of us Captives had together about things of God and Prayer together ſometimes; eſpecially with one that was in the ſame Houſe with me, *Margaret Stilſon*. Then was the Word of God precious to us, and they *that feared the Lord, ſpake one to another of it*, as we had Opportunity. And Col. *Tyng* and Mr. *Alden*, as they were permitted, did ſpeak to us to confirm and ſtrengthen us in the ways of the Lord. At length the *French* debarr'd our coming together for Religious Conference, or other Duties: And Word was ſent us by Mr. *Alden, That this was one kind of Perſecution that we muſt ſuffer for Chriſt.*

Theſe are ſome of the Scriptures which have been my Support and Comfort in the Affliction of my Captivity among the Papiſts. That in *Ezek.* 16. 6,-- 8. I apply'd unto my ſelf, and I deſir'd to *Enter into Covenant with God*, and to be His; and I prayed to the Lord, and hoped the Lord would return me to my Countrey again, That I might *Enter into Covenant* with Him, among his People, and enjoy Communion with Him in his Churches and publick Ordinances. Which Prayers the Lord hath now Heard, and graciouſly anſwer'd; praiſed be his Name! The Lord enable me to live ſuitably to his Mercy, and to thoſe publick and precious Privileges which I now enjoy. So, that in *Ezek.* 11. 16, 17. was a great Comfort unto me in my Captivity; *Although I have caſt them far off among the Heathen, yet will I be a little Sanctuary to them*:——*I will gather you from the People,*——*where you have been ſcattered.* I found that God was a Little Sanctuary to me there, and hoped, that the Lord would bring me unto the Countrey from whence I had been ſcattered. And the Lord hath heard the Prayer of the Deſtitute, and not deſpis'd my Prayer, but granted me the Deſire of my Soul, in bringing me to his Houſe, and my Relations again. I often thought on the Hiſtory of the Man born blind; of whom Chriſt, when his Diſciples asked, *Whether this Man had ſinned, or his Parents?* anſwered, *Neither this Man nor his Parents; but this was, that the Works of God might be made manifeſt in him.* So, tho' I had deſerved all this, yet I knew not but one Reaſon of God's bringing all theſe Afflictions and Miſeries upon me, and then enabling me to bear them, was, *That the Works of God might be made manifeſt.* And in my great Diſtreſs I was revived by that in *Pſal.* 118. 17, 18. *I ſhall not die but live, and declare the Works of the Lord: The Lord hath chaſtened me ſore, but he hath not given me over to Death.* I had very often a ſecret Perſwaſion, That I ſhould *Live to declare the Works of the Lord.* And 2 *Chron.* 6. 36, 37, 38, 39. was a precious Scripture to me in the Day of Evil. We have read over, and prayed over this Scripture together, and talk'd together of this Scripture, *Margaret* and I; how the Lord had promis'd, Though they were ſcattered for their Sins, yet there ſhould be a Return, if they did bethink themſelves, and turn, and pray. So we did bethink our ſelves in the Land where we were carried Captive, did turn, did pray, and endeavour to *Return to God with all our Hearts*. And, as they were to *pray towards the*

Tem-

Temple, I took it that I ſhould pray towards Chriſt; and accordingly did ſo, and hoped the Lord would hear, and he hath heard from Heaven his Dwelling-place, my Prayer and Supplication, and maintained my Cauſe, and not rejected me, but returned me. And Oh! how affectionate was my reading of the 84th Pſalm in this Condition.

The means of my Deliverance, were by reaſon of Letters that had paſſed between the Governments of *New-England* and of *Canada*. Mr. *Cary* was ſent with a Veſſel, to fetch Captives from *Quebeck*; and when he came, I among others, with my youngeſt Son, had our Liberty to come away: And by God's Bleſſing upon us, we arrived in Safety, at *Boſton* in *November* 1695. our deſired Haven. And I deſire to praiſe the *Lord for his Goodneſs, and for his wonderful Works to me.* Yet ſtill I have left behind Two Children; a Daughter of *Twenty* Years old at *Mont Royal*, whom I had not ſeen in Two Years before I came away; and a Son of *Nineteen* Years old, whom I never ſaw ſince we parted, the next Morning after we were taken. I earneſtly requeſt the Prayers of my Chriſtian Friends that the Lord will deliver them.

What ſhall I render to the Lord for all his Benefits?

CHAP. III. *Ceraunius.*

Relating Remarkables done by THUNDER.

THE Remarkable Effects of *THUNDER*, have been memorable Subjects, upon which the Pens of Hiſtorians in all Ages have been imployed. And indeed, tho' the Natural Cauſes of the THUNDER are known unto us; yet there are thoſe Notable Voices of the Almighty God, often ſenſible in the directing thereof, which it becomes Good Men to obſerve with devout Reſentments.

'Tis very likely, that the *Evil Angels* may have a particular Energy and Employment, oftentimes in the Miſchiefs done by the *Thunder*. When we read concerning the *Fire of God* falling on ſome of *Job*'s Poſſeſſions, our *Caryl* ſays upon it, *The* Fire of God *here is conceived to have been ſome* terrible Flaſh *of Lightning*; *and it is the more probable, becauſe it is ſaid,* To fall from Heaven; *that is,* out of the Air. *There Satan can do mighty things, command much of the Magazine of* Heaven, *where that* dreadful Artillery, *which makes Men tremble, thoſe* Fiery Meteors, *Thunder and Lightning, are ſtor'd and lodg'd. Satan, let looſe by God, can do wonders in the Air: He can raiſe Storms, he can diſcharge the* Great Ordnance of Heaven, *Thunder and Lightning*; *and by his Art can make them more* Terrible *and* Dreadful *than they are in their own nature.* 'Tis no Hereſie or Blaſphemy to think that the *Prince of the Power of the Air* hath as good Skill in *Chymiſtry* as goes to the making of *Aurum Fulminans*. But this Conceſſion does the more powerfully beſpeak our Acknowledgment of the Great GOD, the High THUNDERER, who limits thoſe Deſtroyers from all Miſ-applications of his Thunder-bolts, and who hath *Good* Angels as well as *Evil* ones to be the Executioners of his Judgments in his Thunders, and who will have none but his own Deſigns accompliſhed by the *Thunders*, wherein the *Clouds* do proclaim his *Immortal* Strength.

New-England hath been a Countrey ſignaliz'd with Miſchiefs done by *Thunders*, as much as perhaps moſt in the World. If Things that are ſmitten by *Lightning* were to be eſteemed Sacred, this were a Sacred Countrey. Rarely a Summer paſſes without ſome Strokes from the *Thunders*, on the Perſons, or Houſes, or Cattel of our People.

To enumerate the Inſtances of Damages done by Thunders in this Land, Houſes fired, Cattel ſlain, Trees pull'd a-pieces, Rocks pulverized, Bricks vitrify'd, and Ships mortify'd, would be to fill a Volume.

Several Perſons have been kill'd by the *Thunders*; the *Lightnings* have ſtrangely lick'd up their Animal Spirits, and left them dead upon the ſpot. The Puniſhment of *Burning* uſed ſometimes among the *Jews* of old, ſome think was inflicted by pouring Hot Lead into the Mouths of the Criminals. This Puniſhment was call'd *Combuſtio Animæ*, and uſed in imitation of God's deſtroying Men with *Lightning*, whereby the *Inward* Parts are *Burnt*, while the *Outward* are not hurt. A *Combuſtio Animæ* by the *Lightning* hath killed many of our People. Some of theſe have had the juſt Reputation of *Godly Perſons*, who yet have died the ſame Way that the Learned *Zuinger* ſuppoſes the *Sodomites*, and *Corah*'s Conſpirators to have periſh'd, as well as *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the *Semicenturions* that affronted the Prophet *Elias*.

In Confutation of an Opinion mentioned by *Plutarch*, That Men aſleep are never ſtricken with *Lightning*; ſome among us have been killed by the *Thunder* when faſt aſleep, and had that *Epitaph*,

Triſte jaces luces Evitandumq; Bidental.

All that I ſhall add, is this; It hath been ſeen *That* Thunders *oftner fall upon Houſes of God, than upon any other* Houſes; *New-England* can ſay ſo. Our *Meeting-Houſes*, and our *Miniſters* Houſes have had a ſingular ſhare in the Strokes of *Thunders*.

Now becauſe there was in it ſomewhat Remarkable and Entertaining, I ſhall ſuperſede all further Accounts of our Thunders, by annexing ſome Notes of a Sermon preached by one among us, at the very Inſtant when the Thunders were falling upon his own Houſe, with ſome ſingular Circumſtances.

Brontologia Sacra: The Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, Explained and Applied, in a Sermon, uttered by a Miniſter of the Goſpel, in a Lecture unto an Aſſembly of Chriſtians abroad, at the very ſame time when the Thunder was, by the Permiſſion and Providence of God, falling upon his own Houſe. A Diſcourſe uſeful for all Men at all times; but eſpecially intended for an Entertainment in the Hours of *Thunder.*

——Cui non Conrepunt membra pavore
Fulminis Horribili cum plagâ torrida tellus
Contremit, & magnum percurrunt murmura Cælum!

Lucret. l. 5.

Advertiſement.

THE *Author of the enſuing Meditations, is willing to have nothing further known either of* him *or of* them, *ſave this, That being at Prayer before a* Sermon *in an* Aſſembly of Chriſtians, *the ſudden Riſe of a* Thunder-Storm *was the Occaſion of his feeling a ſtrong* Impreſſion *upon his Mind unto this purpoſe*; Lay aſide what you had prepar'd for this Auditory: Speak to them in the Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder; you ſhall not want Aſſiſtances. *He could not withſtand this* Impreſſion, *but ventured upon an* extemporaneous Contemplation *of the* Thunder. *Now, the Thing which made this Digreſſion remarkable, was, that at the very ſame Inſtant when he was thus driven to* this Theme, *the* Thunder *was directed by the God of Heaven to fall with very* tearing, *tho' no* killing Effects *upon his own* Houſe. *The* Hearers, *I ſuppoſe, found a ſenſible Edge given to theſe* Meditations, *by the wondrous timing of them*; *and although no doubt, the Author would have digeſted them with more Exactneſs, had they not been altogether like the Accidents that produced them,* ſudden; *yet theſe* Notes *taken of them, are perhaps not ſo utterly undigeſted as to be wholly uſeleſs unto a well-diſpos'd* Reader.

The Thunder *being a Thing that often* entertains *us, it was thought that it would be no Diſ-ſervice unto the Church of God, if a few ſuch* Reflections *were offer'd unto the Publick for the* Entertainment *of the* Serious, *When*

Ipſe pater mediâ Nimborum in nocte coruſcâ,
Fulmina molitur dextrâ, quo maxima motu
Terra tremit, fugere feræ, & mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis ſtravit pavor.——

Meditations *upon* Thunder. *Uttered* September 12. 1694.

OBſerving that by the *Thunder-Storm* juſt now begun, you are many of you thrown into a Conſternation, which perhaps may indiſpoſe you to mind any thing but the *Thunder*, I ſhall altogether lay aſide the Meditations wherewith I came hither purpoſing to entertain you; and I ſhall with the Leave and Help of Our God, who is now ſpeaking, treat you with ſome ſudden *Meditations* upon the *Thunder* it ſelf.

Chriſtians, You ſhall now go along with me unto the 29th *Pſalm*, in the Third Verſe, whereof you ſhall find theſe Words:

The Voice of the Lord is upon the Waters, the God of Glory Thundereth.

And now, let not your Attention to the *Thunder* at this Inſtant *abroad*, interrupt your further Attention to the Greater and Louder *Thunder* here within.

The *Voice of God* in this Book, is far beyond that *Voice* which is now making its rapid Peals in the Skie. This *Voice* is more articulate than that; yea, by this Voice that becomes articulate, give unto both your earneſt Heed.

I remember that when *Elihu* was, as I now am, ſpeaking at a *Meeting* of ſome Godly Men, at that very time, as at this, 'tis by ſome Interpreters conceived, it Thundered; and at the ſame time that *Man of God* fell into a Diſcourſe upon the Voice of God in the *Thunder. Then* 'twas that he ſaid, in *Job* 37. *beg. At this my Heart trembleth, and is mov'd out of his place. Hear attentively the noiſe of his Voice, and the Sound that goeth out of his Mouth. He directeth it under the whole* Heaven, *and his Lightning unto the Ends of the Earth: after it a* Voice *roareth; He thundereth with the Voice of his* Excellency; *and he will not ſtay them when his* Voice *is heard*; *God* thun-

thundereth marvellouſly with his Voice ; *great things doth he which we cannot* comprehend.

You then will not count it improper, and I hope our common Lord will make it not unuſeful, if I ſo far imitate the Example, as to offer you in this Juncture, an *Eſſay* at explaining the Voice of God in that very Thunder, which is juſt now beginning to alarm our Thoughts; and this the rather, becauſe the Text which we have now read, ſeems to be fetch'd from thoſe very Words of *Elihu*.

We have before us a *Pſalm* compoſed by a Great Servant and Singer of the Lord, probably at a time tempeſtuous by *Thunders*, and compoſed that it might be imployed among the People of God at ſuch a time. You ſee how conveniently it may at this time give a Text unto us.

I call to mind, that when the Prieſt went into the Sanctuary, his Habit was among other Circumſtances, to be attended with (*Exod.* 28. 34.) *Golden Bells* and *Pomegranates*; and *Joſephus* thinks the Clatter of *Thunder* and Colour of *Lightning* was deſigned therein to be repreſented. It ſeems *Thunder* and *Lightning* is a thing, whereof God would have Notice to be taken in the Sanctuary. In the Oracles of the Sanctuary, He doth Himſelf take notice of it.

The Sons of ſuch Eminent Patriarchs as *Abraham*, and *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, are here call'd upon to give Glory unto the God of Heaven; and this both for his Works of Nature in the World, and for his Works of Grace in the Church ; And among his works of Nature, ſome done in the *Lower Heaven*, namely the *Thunders*, are ſingled out as the ſpecial Occaſions for our praiſing Him. But if *Angels* may be meant by the *Sons of the Mighty*, thus addreſſed, their own frequent Concernment and Improvement in the producing of *Thunders*, gives yet a further Emphaſis unto this Invitation.

About the *Thunder*, we have two Remarks in the Words now read unto us.

Firſt, We have the Place of it. It is among the Waters: that is, in the *Rainy Clouds*. The Aqueous Particles, daily fetch'd up from the Earth and the Sea, into the Regions of the Air, are a Vaſt Advantage to our Quarters of the Creation. The Emptying, the Refreſhing, the Proportioning of many Parts in the Creation, by their perpetual Diſtillation, is juſtly to be reckoned among Infallible Demonſtrations, to prove as well the *Providence* as the *Exiſtence* of the Great God, *who formed all things*. For this Cauſe, this thing is well worthy of the Figure which it makes in the Hiſtory of the *Creation*; tho' it had not been there introduced, as probably it is, as Figurative of that Age wherein God ſeparated from the reſt of the World, a Number of People in the Patriarchal Families, whom he called up into a *Church-State* ; but ſo ſmall a Number, that in compariſon to the reſt, they were no more than the Clouds are unto the Seas. This now is the *Secret Place of Thunder*.

Next we have the *Cauſe* of it.

This is *The Lord, the God of Glory*; Or the Lord, who is the Glorious God.

It is the Duty of a *Miniſter* to watch for Seaſons, wherein and whereby the Word of God, which he is to preach, may be advantag'd with a ſingular Energy, for the *Saving of Himſelf and them that hear him*.

'Twill be but a piece of *Miniſterial Watchfulneſs*, for me to bring you certain Words of God this Afternoon, unto which the Terrible *Thunder* now happening may be ſubſervient with a more than ordinary Penetrancy.

Sirs, Be not now *Deaf to Thunder*, but with me make this Obſervation.

In the THUNDER *there is the Voice of the Glorious GOD.*

There is,——[*The Author being arriv'd hereabouts in his Diſcourſe, a Meſſenger interrupted him, with Tidings that a* Thunder-Clap *had juſt now fallen upon his own Houſe; and that tho' no Perſon had been hurt, yet the Houſe had been much torn, and filled with the* Lightnings. *But, without breaking off, as had been deſired, he thus proceeded.*]

Brethren, I am juſt now inform'd, That the *Voice* of the *Glorious God* in the *Thunder* has been very immediately directed unto my ſelf by a Fall of *Thunder-bolts* upon my own Houſe, at that very Inſtant, as far as I can judge, that I felt the powerful Impreſſions of Heaven upon my own Soul; inclining and engaging of me to frame a peculiar *Meditation* upon the *Voice of the glorious God in the Thunder*, among you.

The Pſalmiſt here mentioning the Great Effects of the *Thunder*, adds, *In his Temple doth every one ſpeak of his Glory*. As I remember, there is in *Aben Ezra* this obſervable Paſſage of *R. Moſeh*, quoted for a Gloſs upon it, *The* Levites *there praiſe God for keeping them from Hurt by the* Thunder. What an Occaſion have I to do ſo this Day? Inſtead of being hereby diverted from the Work which I have now undertaken, I would practically teach you, *That with a Mind unconcer'd about the things of this Life, we ſhould never be unfurniſh'd with devout and proper Thoughts on the Mind of God in all our Trials* ; and I would hope that this unhappy Accident will be made happy, at leaſt by procuring more of Edge to that Attention which the *Voice of God* is to have with you: *To day if ye will hear his Voice*.

There is in this an Enquiry which I did but now deſign to make, and which I am now concerned more than I was before to make, on this Occaſion.

What is the Voice *of the* Glorious God *in the* Thunder?

Firſt, It is to be premiſed as herein implied and confeſſed, that the *Thunder* is the Work of the Glorious God. It is true, that the *Thunder* is a Natural Production, and by the Common Laws of

of Matter and Motion it is produced; there is in it a Concourſe of divers weighty *Clouds*, claſhing and breaking one againſt another, from whence ariſes a mighty *Sound*, which grows yet more mighty by its Reſonancies. The Subtil and Sulphurous Vapours among theſe Clouds take Fire in this Combuſtion, and *Lightnings* are thence darted forth; which, when they are ſomewhat groſſer, are fulminated with an irreſiſtible Violence upon our Territories.

This is the *Carteſian* Account; tho that which I rather chooſe is, that with the Vegetable Matter protruded by the Subterraneous Fire, and exhaled alſo by the Force of the Sun, in the Vapour that makes our Shower a *Mineral Matter* of *Niter* and *Sulphur*, does alſo aſcend into the *Atmoſphere*, and there it goes off with fierce Exploſions.

But ſtill, who is the Author of thoſe Laws, according whereunto things are thus moved into *Thunder*? yea, who is the *Firſt Mover* of them? *Chriſtians*, 'tis our Glorious God. There is an Intimation ſomewhere, ('tis in *Pſal.* 104. 7.) That there was a moſt early and wondrous Uſe of the *Thunder* in the firſt Creation of the World; but ſtill the *Thunder* it ſelf, and the *Tonitruous* Diſpoſition and Generation with which the Air is impregnated, was a part of that Creation. Well; and whoſe Workmanſhip is it all? *Ah! Lord, thou haſt created all theſe things; and for thy Pleaſure they are and were* created. It is alſo true, that Angels may be reckoned among the Cauſes of *Thunders*; and for this Cauſe, in the Sentence of the *Pſalms*, where they called *Flames of Fire*, one would have been at a Loſs whether *Angels* or *Lightnings* were intended, if the Apoſtolical Accommodation had not cleared it. But what tho' Angels may have their peculiar Influence upon *Thunders*? It is but the Influence of an Inſtrument; they are but Inſtruments directed, ordered, limited by him, who is the *God of Thunders* and the *Lord of Angels*.] Hence the *Thunder* is aſcribed unto our God all the Bible over; in the Scripture of Truth, 'tis called the *Thunder of God*, oftener than I can preſently quote unto you. And hence we find the *Thunder* ever now and then executing the Purpoſe of God; whoſe can it be but the *Thunder of God*, when the Pleaſure of God has been continually thereby accompliſhed?

But I pray, why then ſhould we be *ſlaviſhly afraid* of the *Thunder*? We are in Covenant with that God who makes the *Thunder*, and it is a *Covenant of Grace*, wherein he is *Our God*. Well, and ſhall we not now make that Joyful Concluſion, *He is our own God, and he will bleſs us*! Whence then our amazing *Terrors*, when we hear him him *Thundering* terribly in the Heavens over us? As long as the *Almighty Thunderer* is our own God, we need not fear that he will do us any Hurt by any of his Works: No, He will make *all things work together for our Good.* A Saint may ſay, *My God will never hurt me!* Suppoſe we ſhould be ſlain by *Thunder*, we ſhall but in that *Thunder* of Heaven, have a great Voice from Heaven ſaying to us, *Come up hither*! and ſetting aſide the *Unuſualneſs* of the Stroke, which makes it ſeem horrid and uncouth, it were the eaſieſt Way of going up that ever was gone. I ſay then, Be not afraid: *Ejus eſt timere qui nolit ad Chriſtum ire.*

Mr. *Ambroſe* in his Treatiſe of *Angels*, as I remember, does relate this Paſſage;

'A profane Perſecutor diſcovered much Affrightment at the *Thunder* which hapned while he was on a Journey, his pious and holy Wife then with him, asked him the Reaſon of his being ſo affrighted; *Why*, ſaid he, *are not you afraid?* She replied, *No, not all; for I know 'tis the Voice of my* Heavenly Father; *and ſhall a Child be afraid of a kind Father's Voice*? The Man hereby ſurpriz'd, made this Concluſion, *Sure theſe* Puritans *have a* Divine Principle *in them, which the World ſeeth not; Elſe they could not have ſuch a* Serenity *in their Souls, when the reſt of the World are fill'd with diſmal* Horrors! Hereupon he went to Mr. *Bolton*, bewailing the Oppoſition which he had given unto the *Miniſtry* of that Reverent Man, and became a Godly Man ever after.

You know what uſe to make of the Story, and ſo I may proceed.

Secondly, it is now to be more diſtinctly aſſerted, That *Thunder* is the Voice of the Glorious God. There is a Voice of his in this Work of his. If the *Thunder* were φωνὴ Διὸς, *The Voice of* Jupiter, in the Account of the poor *Pagans*, I am ſure it ſhould be accounted *The Voice of* Jehovah by us *Chriſtians*. One of the Ways whereby God revealed himſelf to his ancient People, was a *Beth Kol*, as they called it, there was a Voice of Thunder in it. Sirs, we have what is equivalent unto a *Beth Kol* this Afternoon, in the Significancy which we ſhall now hear the Scripture give unto the *Thunder*.

I. One *Voice* of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *that he is a Glorious God, who makes the Thunder*. There is the Marvellous Glory of God ſeen in it, when he *Thunders Marvellouſly*. Thus do theſe Inferiour and Meteorous *Heavens declare the Glory of God*.

The Power of God is the Glory of God: Now his *Thunder* does proclaim his Power. It is ſaid, *The* Thunder *of his Power who can underſtand?* that is, his Powerful Thunder; the *Thunder* gives us to underſtand, that our God is a moſt Powerful One. There is nothing able to ſtand before thoſe *Lightnings*, which are ſtiled, *The Arrows of God*: Caſtles fall, Metals melt; all flies, when *Hot Thunder-bolts* are ſcattered upon them. The very Mountains are torn to pieces, when

——Feriunt ſummos
Fulmina montes.——

Yea, to ſpeak in the Language of the Prophets, fulfilled in the Thunder-ſtorm that routed the *Aſſyrian* Armies, *The Mountains quake, the Hills melt, the Earth is burnt; who can ſtand before his Indignation? and who can abide in the Fierceneſs of*

his Anger? His Fury is poured out like Fire, and the Rocks are thrown down by him. Suetonius, I think 'tis, who tells us, That the haughty and profane Emperour *Caligula* would yet ſhrink, and ſhake, and cover his Head at the leaſt Thunder, and run to hide himſelf under a Bed. This truly is the Voice of the *Thunder*: *Let the proudeſt Sinners tremble to rebel any more againſt a God, who can thus diſcomfit them with ſhooting out his Lightnings upon them: Sinners, where can you ſhew your Heads, if the Higheſt give forth his Voice with Hailſtones and Coals of Fire.* Methinks there is that Song of *Hannah* in the Thunder, 1 *Sam.* 2. 3, 10. *Talk no more ſo exceeding proudly; Let not Arrogancy come out of your Mouth. For the Adverſaries of the Lord ſhall be broken to pieces; out of Heaven ſhall he Thunder upon them.* The Omnipotent God in the *Thunder* ſpeaks to thoſe hardy *Typhons*, that are found fighting againſt him; and ſays, *Oh, do not harden your ſelves againſt ſuch a God; You are not ſtronger than He!* Yea, the Great God is propoſed as an Object for our Faith, as well as for our Fear in his *Thunder*.

If Nothing be too hard for the *Thunder*, we may think ſurely Nothing is too hard for the Lord! The *Arm* that can wield *Thunder-bolts*, is a very *mighty Arm*.

From hence paſs on, and admire the other *Glorious Attributes* of God which he doth in his *Thunder* diſplay moſt Gloriouſly: When it *Thunders*, let us adore the Wiſdom of that God, who thereby many Ways does conſult the Welfare of the Univerſe: Let us adore the Juſtice of that God, who thereby many times has cut off his Adverſaries; and let us adore the Goodneſs of that God who therein preſerves us from imminent and impending Deſolations, and is not ſo ſevere as he would be.

Si quoties peccant homines ſua fulmina mittat.

II. A ſecond Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *Remember the Law of the* Glorious God *that was given in* Thunder. The People of God were once gathered about a Mountain, on which, From his Right Hand iſſued a Fiery Law for them; or a Law given with Lightning. At the Promulgation of the Ten *Commandments*, we are told in *Ex.* 20. 18. *All People ſaw the* Thunderings, *and the* Lightnings, *and the Mountain ſmoaking.* Yea, they were ſuch, that the Apoſtle tells us, tho' *Moſes* himſelf ſays nothing of it, they made *Moſes* himſelf *Exceedingly to fear and quake.* Well, when it Thunders, let us call to mind the Commandments, which were once thus Thundered unto the World; and bear in mind, that with a Voice of Thunder, the Lord ſtill ſays unto us, *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and all thy Soul, and all thy Strength; and thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf.* But when the Thunder cauſes us to reflect upon the Commandments of our God, let there be a Self-Examination in that Reflection.

Let us now examine our ſelves, what is requir'd and whether we have not omitted it? what is Forbidden, and whether we had not committed it? And what Provocation we have given unto the God of Glory, to ſpeak unto us in his Wrath, and vex us in his Diſpleaſure. Bleſſed the *Thunder*, that ſhall Thunder-ſtrike us into the Acknowledgments of a Convinced and a Repenting Soul!

III. A Third Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *Think on the future Coming of the* Glorious God *in the Thunder, and in great Glory.* When the Day of Judgment ſhall arrive unto us, then *Our God ſhall come, and ſhall not keep ſilence; a Fire ſhall devour before him, and it ſhall be very tempeſtuous round about him.* The Second Coming of our Lord will be, as we are adviſed in 2 *Theſ.* 1. 7, 8. *with his mighty Angels in Flaming Fire*; the Clouds will be his Charriot, but there will be prodigious Thunders breaking forth from thoſe Clouds.

The Redemption of the Church, for which the Lord hath long been cried unto, will then be accompliſhed; but at what Rate? The Lord will come in the thick Clouds of the Skies: at the Brightneſs that ſhall be before him thick Clouds will paſs, Hail-Stones and Coals of Fire; the Lord alſo will *thunder* in the Heavens.

I ſay then, does it *thunder*? Let us now realize unto our ſelves that Great and Notable Day of the Lord, which will be indeed a Great and and Thundering Day! But how far ſhould we now realize it? Realize it ſo, as to be ready for it. Oh, count your ſelves not ſafe till you get into ſuch a Condition of Soul, that your Hearts would even Leap and Spring within you, were you ſure that in the very next Thunders our precious Lord would make his Deſcent unto us. What if the Hour were now turned, wherein the Judge of the whole World were going to break in upon us with fierce Thunders, and make the Mountains to ſmoak by his coming down upon them, and Reign before his ancient People Gloriouſly? Could you gladly ſay, *Lo this is the God of my* Salvation, *and I have waited for him!* I ſay, let the Thunders drive you on to this Attainment.

IV. A Fourth Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, is, *Make your Peace with* God *immediately, leſt by the* Stroke *of his Thunder he take you away in his Wrath.* Why is it that Perſons are uſually in ſuch a Conſternation at the *Thunder*? Indeed there is a Complectional and Conſtitutional Weakneſs in many this way; they have ſuch a Diſadvantantage in a Frightful Temper, that no Conſiderations can wholly overcome it. But moſt uſually the Frights of People at the Thunder, ariſe from the Terms wherein they may ſuſpect their own Souls to ſtand before an angry God. Their Conſciences tell 'em that their Sins are yet unpardoned, that their Hearts are yet unrenewed, that their Title to Bleſſedneſs is yet unſetled, and that if the next *Thunder-Clap* ſhould ſtrike them dead, it had been good for them that they had never been born.

Hi ſunt qui trepidant, & ad omnia Fulgura pallent;
Cum tonat, Exanimes primo quoque murmure Cœli.

Here then is the Voice of God in the *Thunder*: *Art thou ready? Soul, art thou ready? make ready preſently, leſt I call for thee before thou art aware.* There is in *Thunder* a vehement Call unto that Regeneration, unto that Repenting of Sin, that Believing on Chriſt, and that Conſenting unto the Demands of the New Covenant, without which no Man in his Wits can comfortably hold up his Face before the *Thunder*. I have now in my Houſe a Mariners Compaſs, whereupon a *Thunder-Clap* had this odd Effect, that the North-Point was thereby turned clear about unto the South; and ſo it will veer and ſtand ever ſince unto this Day, tho' the thing happened above thirteen Years ago.

I would to God that the next *Thunder-Claps* would give as effectual a Turn unto all the Unconverted Souls among us! May the *Thunder* awaken you to turn from every Vanity to God in Chriſt without any Delay, leſt by the *Thunder* it ſelf it come quickly to be too late. It is a vulgar Error, that the *Thunder* never kills any who are aſleep: Man, what if the *Thunder* ſhould kill thee in the dead Sleep of thy Unregeneracy?

5. A fifth Voice of the Glorious God in the *Thunder*, is, *Let this Thunder convict you of what you may juſtly reckon your own Iniquity.* Every Man has his own peculiar *Sin*, a *Sin* whereby the Soul of the Man is more expos'd and endanger'd than by any other Sin; his *Darling-ſin*, his *Maſter-ſin*, or that which bids faireſt ſo to be. *David* being deliver'd from Damage by the *Thunder*, aſcribes it unto the Favour of God, (2 *Sam.* 22. 24.) Rewarding him for keeping *himſelf from his own Iniquity.* This I ſay, the *Thunder* may do us the favour of informing us, what is our own Iniquity, and that would be a Favour indeed! There are ſome ſort of *Writings*, which you can't read until you hold them againſt the Fire: Would you read the worſt Guiltineſs and Wickedneſs of your own Hearts? Then ſay I, *Hold them up againſt the Lightning.* My meaning is this: when it *Thunders*, do you obſerve about what Miſcariage your Hearts do firſt and moſt of all then miſgive you; obſerve which of all your Faults *then* does firſt of all, and moſt of all ſtare you in the face with formidable Criminations. You may now take it for granted, this is *Your own Iniquity.* And the Voice of the *Thunder* is, *Do you keep a ſpecial Watch againſt that Iniquity, and againſt all the Beginnings, all the Occaſions, all the Incentives of that Iniquity.*

6. A ſixth Voice of the *Glorious God* in the *Thunder*, is, *Take heed now, take heed ever, of thoſe groſſer Sins which have ſometimes been revenged by Thunder.* There have been the Ireſul and the Direful *Thunders* of God, ſometimes uſed for the Executions of his Vengeance upon ſuch and ſuch Enormities. The perpetual Admonitions of the *Thunders* are, *take heed of ſuch Thunder-ſtruck Abominations.* As now, the Cities now buried, (tho' they ſay of late by the ſinking of the Water growing viſible again) in the Lake of *Sodom*. *Tacitus* the Roman Hiſtorian, truly tells us, they periſh'd *Fulminum jactu*, by *Thunder-bolts*; God ſent an extraordinary *Thunder-ſtorm* upon them for the Luſts of *Uncleanneſs*, wherein they burned.

What ſays the Poet?

Tu parùm caſtis inimica mittes
——*Fulmina Lucis.*

Wherefore, when it *Thunders*, the Voice of God in it is, *Put out the unclean Fires of Luſt in your Souls, leſt I ſet you on fire, by my dreadful Thunders!* Again, there was *Nadab* and *Abihu*, who offered ſtrange Fire to God, and God puniſhed them with a killing Fire from Heaven, in a hideous *Thunder-ſtorm*; ſo then, when it *Thunders*, the Voice of God in it is, *Look well to all your Sacrifices, leſt my Fire make you a Sacrifice: See that you duly attend my Worſhip, leſt my Thunder fall upon you!* Once more, there was *Uzzah*, who fell into an Error in his Management about the *Ark* of God; and it ſeems as if a *Thunder-Storm* ſuddenly coming up, kill'd him for it: Hence then, when it *Thunders*, the Voice of God in it is, *Look to it, that my Ark and my Word find no contempt with you, leſt my Thunder chaſtiſe you for your Contempt.* What ſhall I ſay more? *Corah* was deſtroyed by *Thunder* for his Rebellion againſt God and *Moſes*; Wherefore the Voice of the *Thunder* is, *Take heed of all Rebellion againſt* God *and* Jeſus. The *Egyptians*, the *Philiſtines*, the *Aſſyrians*, were confounded with Deſolating Thunders, becauſe they invaded and injured the People of God. It is then the Voice of the Thunder, *See that you do no wrong unto an holy People, that have this Artillery of Heaven to defend them.* They that are ſuch Witneſſes for God and Reformation as *Elijah* was, have, as he had, the Fires of Lightnings to devour thoſe that hurt them.

VII. A ſeventh Voice of the Glorious God in the Thunder, is, *Hear the* Voice *of my Word, leſt I make you fear the* Voice *of my* Thunder. When the Inhabitants of *Egypt* perſiſted in their Diſobedience to the Word of God, it came to that at laſt, in *Ex.* 9. 23. *The Lord ſent* Thunder, *and the Fire ran along upon the Ground.* Thus the Eternal God commands Men to let go their Sins, and go themſelves to ſerve him; if they are diſobedient, they lay themſelves open to fiery Thunders. This, you may be ſure, is the Voice of God in the Thunder, *Hear my ſtill Voice in my Ordinances, leſt you put me upon ſpeaking to you with more angry* Thunder-bolts. I have known it ſometimes remark'd, that very Notorious and Reſolved Sleepers at Sermons, often have ſome remarkable Suddenneſs in the Circumſtances of their Death. Truly, if you are ſcandalouſly given to ſleep under the Word of God, and much more, if to ſin under it; and moſt of all, if to ſcoff under it, it may be, your Deaths will be rendred ſudden by the other Thunders of Heaven lighting on you.

When

When it Thunders, God ſaith to all the Hearers of his Word ordinarily preached, *Conſider this, and forget not God, leſt he tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver you.*

Finally, And is there not this Voice of the Glorious God in Thunder after all? *O be thankful to the gracious God, that the Thunder does no more miſchief to you all.*

Whatever the Witch-Advocates may make of it, it is a Scriptural and a Rational Aſſertion, That in the Thunder there is oftentimes by the Permiſſion of God, the Agency of the Devil. The Devil is the Prince of the *Air*, and when God gives him leave, he has a vaſt Power in the *Air*, and *Armies* that can make Thunders in the *Air*. We are certain that Satan had his Efficiency in it, when the Fire of God or the Lightning, fell upon part of *Job*'s Eſtate; how glad would he have been, if the good Man himſelf had been in the way, to have been torn in pieces? And perhaps it was the Helliſh Policy of the Wicked One, thus to make the good Man ſuſpicious that God was become his Enemy. *Popes* that have been Conjurers, have made Fire thus come from Heaven, by their Confederacies with Evil Spirits; and we have in our own Land known Evil Spirits, plainly diſcovering their Concurrence in Diſaſters thus occaſioned. A great Man has therefore noted it, that Thunders break oftener on Churches than any other Houſes, becauſe the *Dæmons* have a peculiar ſpite at Houſes that are ſet a-part for the peculiar Service of God.

I ſay then, Live we thus in the midſt of Thunders and Devils too; and yet live we? Oh! let us be thankful to God for our Lives. Are we not ſmitten by the great Ordnance of Heaven, diſcharging ever now and then on every ſide of us? Let us be thankful to the great Lord of Heaven, who makes even the Wrath of Hell to praiſe him, and the Remainder of that Wrath does he reſtrain.

Such a ſerious Thankfulneſs manifeſted in an anſwerable Fruitfulneſs, will be ſtill continually a better Shelter to us from the Miſchiefs of the Thunder, than the Crowns of Laurels, or the Tents of *Seal*-Leather, whereby ſome Old Emperours counted themſelves protected; or than all the Amulets of Superſtition.

To the Cuſtody of Iſrael's *Great Keeper I now commend you all.*

CHAP. IV. *The Returning Prodigal.*

Relating Remarkable CONVERSIONS.

Suis perdita nunquam reverteretur, niſi pii Paſtoris miſericordiam conſequeretur. Aug.

THE *Subſtance* of the *Church*, that *Myſtical Body* of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, was from all Eternity under the Eye of God, as propoſed in the Decree of *Election*. The Members of that Body were from all Eternity written in the Book of Life: And, in purſuance of the Divine Decree concerning it, the Holy Spirit in the Continuance of Time, thro' ſeveral Generations, does faſhion it into the Shape deſigned for it. But how? We are told in *Pſal.* 139.14. *'Tis fearfully and wondrouſly made; marvellous are the Works of God about it.* The Marvellous Works of God in converting and uniting of Elect Sinners unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST, will make an Hiſtory for Heaven. But ſomething of that Hiſtory has thouſands of times been given to particular Flocks of the Faithful throughout *New-England*, in the Relations which Devout People have made unto them, at their firſt Admiſſion into their Communion.

Theſe marvellous Works of God were very proper Materials for a *Church-Hiſtory*: But Ours has not a Room for them; Nor will I recite in this Place more than Two or Three *Remarkables*.

I. It was a Problem among the ancient Philoſophers, *Whether a Child may not confer more Benefits on his Father than he has receiv'd from him?* This hath been ſometimes bravely determined in the Affirmative among us, when Fathers have by the Means of their own Children, been born again.

One of my Neighbours had a Son which died when he was about five or ſix Years old. The Man's Religion extended no further, than to Prayer with his Family on the Lord's Days. All the reſt of the Week his Worldly Heart was by the Cares of this World indiſpoſed for Devotions. The Mother of the Child therefore pray'd with her Children every Day; and ſhe ſaw the good Effects of it upon them. This Child lay ſick for divers Weeks; in which time he often called on his Mother to pray for him, never on his Father. And when the *Lord's-Day* arrived, the Child would with obſervable Joy, utter that Expreſſion, *This is the Day on which my Father uſes to go to prayer.* The Words of the Dying *Son* ſo ſtuck in the Mind of his Father, that with many Tears he not only bewailed and reformed this his Neglect of his *Family-Prayer*; but alſo became, as far as could be judged, a ſincerely Godly Man, dying afterwards in the Fear of God.

II. Some

II. Some have obſerv'd that for the Generality of them who are effectually brought home unto God under the conſtant Preaching of the Goſpel, between *Fifteen* and *Thirty*, is the Age wherein moſt of the *Elect* become *call'd*. Nevertheleſs *New-England* hath afforded many Examples of *Children*, which have in their early *Infancy* been marvelloufly filled with the Spirit of Chriſt; and ſome of theſe Examples have been afterwards publiſh'd unto the World. Moreover, That the Grace of God, may be diſplay'd, as truly Sovereign, ſome among us that have liv'd unto Old Age, poor, graceleſs, Godleſs, Wretchleſs, have then paſſed under changing Operations and Renovations, from the *Word of the Grace of God* upon their Souls. In the primitive Times, there was one *Victorius*, a very Old Man, turned unto Chriſtianity; the Church would not for ſome while receive him: For, thought they, *Old Sinners do not uſe thus to turn and live*; but he evinced the Reality of his Turn at ſuch a rate, that they ſang Hymns about it in the Chriſtian Aſſemblies; and it was much proclaim'd, Victorius *is become a Chriſtian!* Victorius *is become a Chriſtian!*

Among other Inſtances of ſuch a matter, in the Churches of *New-England*, One was a Man of *Lancaſter*, who arrived in Age to ſo many Years above an hundred, that he had lived in Wedlock with his Wife *Sixty three* Years, and yet ſhe was *Thirty five* Years younger than himſelf; and he was able to follow his Toils at Husbandry, very livelily about a Month before his Death. This Man had been all his Days a poor, ignorant, ungodly Man, and after he had heard ſo many Thouſands of Sermons, unacquainted with the very Principles of his Catechiſm. Nevertheleſs when he was about *an hundred years old*, God bleſſed the Miniſtry of his Word, unto this Man's awakening; the Man became a diligent Enquirer after the Things of the Life to come, and a ſerious Attender on all that was Religious. He arrived unto ſuch Meaſures of a well informed Piety, that the Church, which was very ſtrict in the Terms of their Communion, yet received him into their Communion ſome Years before he died; wherein he continu'd under a good Character ſo long as he continu'd in the World.

III. When a *Great Sinner* cried out, *My Sin is greater than can be forgiven*, it was by *Auſtin* well replied, Cain, *thou lyeſt!* A Malefactor once going to his Execution, in a Tranſporting Senſe of *Great Mercy* to a *Great Sinner*, kept crying out, *God is a great Forgiver! God is a great Forgiver!* So thought one who died at our *Salem*-Village in *December* 1688. This Man, (whoſe Name was *Wilkins*) had ſignalized himſelf by a bad Life, until he had ſpent fifty Years, on the lewd and rude Courſes of Notorious Ungodlineſs. Tho' he had enjoy'd the Benefits of a *Pious Education*, yet he ſhook off all the Yokes which that Education had laid upon him. He became a foulmouth'd Scoffer at all good Men and good Things, and a baſe Mocker of *Church-Members* in particular. The Vices of *Drunkenneſs*, and *Lying*, and *Swearing*, made the Characters of his Converſation. *Sabbath-breaking* made him infamous among *Sober*, and *Promiſe-breaking* among *Honeſt* People; and his *Diſobedience* to his Parents was not unequal to the reſt of his Diſorders. *Original Sin* in the furtheſt Efforts of it, filled his whole Walk for half an hundred Years; at which Age he left the World; and had ſate under, and ſinn'd againſt the *Means of Grace* all this while.

But yet, Reader, prepare thy Admirations! This Enormous Liver was wonderfully regenerated before he died. The Great God ſo bleſſed and owned the *Miniſtry of his Word*, that the Efficacy thereof upon him, did become conſpicuous to Aſtoniſhment. He became an Heart-broken Penitent, and ſo devout, ſo penſive, ſo humble, that every one ſaw a *New Creature* in him. He mourned for all his former Faults, and his mournful Complaints reached unto the *Plague of his Heart*, as the Root of all. He reformed what was amiſs in him, and applied himſelf with an exceeding Vigour unto the Lord JESUS CHRIST our only Saviour, for his *Great Salvation*. While the Lord was thus beginning his heavenly Impreſſions upon him, he fell mortally ſick; and it was not long before he paſſed out of this World with a wonderful Aſſurance of his Intereſt in a *Better*.

It were endleſs to reckon up the *Extraordinary Paſſages* which occurred in the *Sick* and *Laſt Weeks* of his Life: but ſome of them were ſuch as theſe:

'Oh! what a *Wonder of Mercy* is it (ſaid he) 'unto my Soul, that God hath not caſt me im'mediately into Hell, and given me no Time to 'repent; or to beg for an Heart to repent! But '*great Mercy* hath ſpared a *great Sinner*.

'—The ſtouteſt Man (ſaid he) that ever 'lived, ſhould he but ſeriouſly think on ETER'NITY, and have no CHRIST to fly unto, it 'would ſo ſink the Heart of him, that he could 'never bear it; but the Lord will ſhew Mercy 'to my diſtreſſed Soul.

He gave himſelf wholly to *Prayer*, and would excuſe *Watchers* from ſitting with him, that he might be at leiſure for Communion with God above. Sometimes he would give a Start as he lay; and being asked the Reaſon of it, he ſaid, *Oh! I have a great Work to do, and but a little Time to do it.*

The Conflicts which he endured in his Mind, were intolerable; under which, he Day and Night kept *wreſtling with God* for his Mercy.

One Morning his Brother enquiring of him how he did, he replied, 'Oh! I have had as 'doleful a Night as ever Man had. I have had 'Three great Enemies this Night encountering 'with me; the *Fleſh*, the *World* and the *Devil*. I have 'been this Night both in *Hell* and in *Heaven*; 'and

'and I can truly ſay with *David*, All this Night 'long *I have watered my Couch with my Tears.* 'But, as the Day broke, my *Saviour* came and 'vanquiſhed the *Devil*, and told him, *That he had* '*no Right in me*; *for he had redeem'd me with his* '*own Blood.*

Unto his Aged Father he ſaid, 'Sir, I have 'felt a great Work on my diſtreſs'd Soul: *This your* '*Son was loſt, and is found*; *was dead, and is alive.* 'Doleful Nights have I ſeen: The Thoughts of 'my Sins did ſorely oppreſs me. When I would 'be crying to my dear Saviour for his Mercy, he 'would ſeem not to pity me, but ſay, *Thou haſt* '*been a Servant of the Devil, and of thy Luſt, and* '*doſt thou now come to me? I have been calling to* '*thee, and thou haſt been hardening thy Heart at my* '*Calls, and doſt thou expect Mercy after all?* And 'then the Devil would put in, ſaying, *Thou* '*haſt been my Vaſſal ſo long, thy Cries for Mercy are* '*now all too late.* I have alſo ſeen the Face of an '*Angry God*, and that is the Terribleſt Thing 'that was ever ſeen. I then found no Stay for 'my diſtreſſed Soul; but *Free Mercy! Free Mercy*! 'The Lord now put under me his Everlaſting 'Arms, and gave me an Heart ſtill to pray, and 'ſay, Lord Jeſus, Mercy for thy Names ſake, 'Mercy for thy Names ſake*!* My Redeemer 'would ſay, *Thou art a* Great Sinner *and an* Old 'Sinner! The Anſwer of my Soul was, *Truth,* '*Lord*; *but even ſuch* Sinners *have already found* 'Mercy *at thy Hands. I come to* Thee; *for with* 'Thee *the Fatherleſs find* Mercy.

He would ſpeak forth into very high Expreſſions. His great Comfort he fetched from *Mat.* 11.28. *Come to me, and I will give you Reſt.* He would now cry out, 'O the Riches of Free-'Grace! There are thouſands of thouſands, and 'ten thouſand times ten thouſand in the Third 'Heaven rejoicing over a Great and an Old Sin-'ner coming to Glory*!* O glorifie FREE-'GRACE for ever!

He would ſay, 'O bleſſed Sickneſs, bleſſed 'Sickneſs! What a Friend haſt thou been to me! 'and now welcome Death, or Welcome Life; 'what my Redeemer pleaſe. O, that I could 'declare unto my Relations and Neighbours; 'yea, that I could declare unto Kings and Worlds 'What the Lord hath done for my Soul*!*

He would reflect on the Humiliation of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with an amazed and a tranſported Soul: He would break forth into a great *Adoration* of it, and ſay, 'Oh! this wonderful 'Mercy to undone Sinners! He would alſo make that one of his Admirations, 'O, the glorious 'Work of Faith, which rolls it ſelf on Chriſt a-'lone!

He talked in Strains that were ſurpriſingly Prophetical, concerning the *Changes* which quickly after came on our Government; and of the Succeſs which God would give unto the (then) Prince of *Orange*, in the Deſcent which we then had newly heard, that he was intending upon *England.*

His Counſel to every one was, To make their Calling and Election ſure. And he would often ſay, 'Oh! I am an Old Sinner, and but a 'Young Convert! I am fifty Years old, and have 'lived but ſeven Weeks all this while.

To his Brethren he ſaid, 'You are careful a-'bout a Garment for me, under my Weakneſs 'this Winter: But, Brothers, I have a better 'Garment than you can provide for me; the 'long white Robe of the Righteouſneſs of Je-'ſus Chriſt, will cover me all over.

He kept praying, and praiſing, and ſinging of Pſalms till his End came; and then being taken Speechleſs and Senſeleſs, his Friends apprehended him juſt come in a manner to his laſt Gaſp. Thus he lay for divers Hours drawing on; but at length he ſtrangely revived ſo far, that he ſprang up in his Bed, ſpreading his *Arms* abroad, as tho' going to leap into the *Arms* of a Redeemer, and ſhouting, 'O my Friends, Heaven rings all 'over at this; a *Great* and an *Old* Sinner coming 'to Heaven! Behold in my Father's Houſe 'are many Manſions: If it had not been ſo, my 'Saviour would not have ſaid it. But he is gone 'to prepare a place for me. O, the Riches of '*Grace*! O glorifie *Free-Grace* for evermore.— And ſo he lay down, he expired, he went away, to the Reſt of God.

IV. Reader, paſs thy Judgment on a thing that has newly hapned. The Story is publiſhed among us, and no body doth, or can doubt the Truth of it.

In *Barwick* of our *New-England* there dwelt one *Ephraim Joy*, as infamous a *Drunkard* as perhaps any in the World. By his Drunkenneſs he not only waſted his Eſtate, but ruined his Body too. At laſt, being both poor and ſick, and therewithal hurried by ſore *Temptations*, a Gentleman of *Portſmouth*, out of pure Charity and Compaſſion took him into his Houſe. While he lay ill there, the approaches of *Death* and *Hell*, under his Convictions of his debauch'd Life exceedingly terrified him. Amidſt theſe *Terrours*, he dreamt that he made his appearance before the *Tribunal* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Judge of the World, by whom he was condemned; whereupon he had a Sight of the Horrors in the State of Damnation, which was now arreſting of him. He cried with an *Anguiſh* of Importunity unto the Judge for a Pardon; but his Eternal Judge anſwered him, that he would not yet give him an *Abſolute* Pardon, but allow him 14 *Days* to repent; in which time, if he did repent, he ſhould have a Pardon. He dreamt that accordingly he repented and was pardon'd, and at the 14 *Days* End received into Heaven. The poor Man declared his Dream to the People of the Houſe, and ſent for the Help of Miniſters and other Chriſtians; and expreſſed the Humiliations of a very deep Repentance. As he drew near his End, he grew daily more lively in the Exerciſes of his Faith on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, relying on him for Salvation; until he confidently ſaid, that his Peace was made with God. But behold at the Expiration of the 14 *Days* preciſely and exactly

ac-

according to his Dream, he died. Yea, and he died full of that great Joy which gave no little, to the Spectators.

Nunquam eſt ſera Converſio : Latro de cruce tranſit ad Paradiſum. Hier.

CHAP. V. *Hiſtoria Nemeſios.*

Relating Remarkable JUDGMENTS *of* God.

THE Reader is doubtleſs waiting for an Hiſtory of *REMARKABLE JUDGMENTS*, inflicted by the evident and undoubted Hand of Heaven on ſeveral ſorts of Sinners in this Land. Now, an Hiſtory of thoſe things having been interwoven into two Brief SERMONS lately preached among us, Reader, take it under the Advantage which was thereby given unto it. Read it with the Salutation uſed by *Maximilian* when he paſſed by the Place of Execution, *Salve Juſtitia.*

Terribilia DEI.

Remarkable Judgments of God, on ſeveral Sorts of Offenders, in ſeveral Scores of Inſtances ; among the People of New-England. *Obſerved, Collected, Related, and Improved ; In Two Sermons, at* Boſton-*Lecture in the Month of* July 1697.

By *COTTON MATHER.*

Raro antecedentem Sceleſtum deſeruit pede pœna Claudo. Horat.
Supplicia Imprudentium prudentibus conferunt Sanitatem. Cypr. de Zelo.

The Firſt SERMON.

Pſal. CXIX. 120. *My Fleſh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy* JUDGMENTS.

IT cannot be ſaid of any Man as it is ſaid of the *Leviathan, He is made without Fear* ; but *Fear* is one of thoſe *Natural Paſſions*, which the Maker of Man hath infuſed into him to move him in the Matters of his Happineſs. And indeed if the Spirit of Man were deſtitute of all Fear, it would want a Sinew, needful to manage him in many of his Motions. But this Affection of our Fear, by which we have ſuch Apprehenſions of *Evils* as to fly from them, as 'tis uſeful to us in all our concerns, thus 'tis of moſt eminent Uſe to us in the Concerns of Religion. Without the Exerciſe of ſome Fear, no real *Religion* can be exerciſed : If we would ſerve the Lord, it muſt be with *Fear* ; If we would keep the Commandments of God, it is our *Fear* of Him that will be *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ.*

In the Sacred Oracle now before us, behold ſuch a Fear exemplified ! *Solomon the Wiſe* once wrote that Maxim of *Wiſdom, Happy is the Man that feareth always.* And he had the Example of his Bleſſed Father, to inform him of, and confirm him in ſuch a *Maxim. David* was as great an Inſtance of undaunted Valour and Courage, as perhaps any that ever lived : His Fortitude was Heroical. Yet we find him fearing always: And well might he fear, when he had ſuch a formidable Object for his Fear, as that which is propoſed in the Text now before us.

The Pſalmiſt in our Context is making his Obſervations upon the Diſpenſations of the God of Heaven towards ungodly Men on Earth. Ungodly Men had been very high in their worldly Advancements and Advantages ; but, ſaith he, *Lord, I ſee thee treading of them down* ! Ungodly Men had cleaved unto the People of God, as if they had been of one *Metal* with them, and their Fate and Lot had been one ; but, ſaith he, *Lord, I ſee thee putting*

ting them away like Droſs. Now, there is a two-fold uſe which the Pſalmiſt makes of theſe Obſervations.

One is *Love. Therefore I love thy Teſtimonies.*

Another is *Fear. My Fleſh trembleth for fear of Thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments.*

The Degree of the *Fear* thus expreſſed, is remarkable. One of the Ancients who underſtood *Hebrew*, as few of them did, renders it, *Horripilavit Caro mea: (q. d.)* My Hair even ſtands on End with Fear. And the *Septuagint* renders it, *My Fleſh is pierc'd with Fear as with Nails.* But there is no need of evaporating our Diſcourſe in Criticiſms on the Language of our Text. The plain Language, and the Doctrine of it is,

That a very Trembling Fear *of God in his Judgments, is what all Men ſhould, and what Good Men will, have their Souls exceedingly Awed withal.*

If you will hear the Sum of the matter, there is this

CASE,

To be diſtinctly with all due Brevity ſpoken unto.

What is the trembling Fear *of God in his Judgments which is to be entertain'd in our Souls?* And ſo, *What are thoſe* Judgments *of God, whereof it becomes us with a* trembling Fear *to be Afraid?*

Behold the Steps, by which we ſhall arrive to a full Anſwer of the Important Caſe thus before us.

I. The *Fear of God* comprehends the whole of that Religion, whereto the Will of God obligeth us. Indeed in a *Natural Fear*, we are carried from what we Fear. But a *Gracious Fear* will carry us to the God, who is therein our *Fear*; To *fear* God, is to chooſe him, to love him, to truſt him, to ſeek him, and to draw near unto him. In this *Fear* of God there is preſuppoſed a *Senſe* of God. We muſt be none of thoſe *Fools*, who ſay, *There is no God.* Our *Fear* of God muſt not be as of an Imaginary Being, or of the frightful *Non-Entities* which the feeble Spirits of Children are ſcared with all. We are to be well ſatisfied, and we have all poſſible Demonſtrations, to ſatisfie us, *That there is a God, whoſe Kingdom ruleth over all.*

But then,

Firſt, There is in the *Fear of God* a Reverent Reſpect and Regard, unto all that has the Name of God upon it. We muſt have ſuch a Fear of God in us, that our God may ſpeak of us, in that Stile in *Mal.* 4. 2. *You fear my Name.* We ſhould have none but Fit, that is to ſay, Holy and Humble Reſentments of all thoſe Things whereby the Great God makes himſelf known unto us. His *Titles* we muſt mention with Honour; His *Attributes* we muſt adore, with all Affection; His *Appointments* we muſt approach, with all Attention. We ſhould be ſollicitous that God may be glorified, not only by our ſelves, but alſo by all the World about us. *Hallow'd be thy Name*, is to be the firſt Petition of our Souls.

Secondly, There is in the Fear of God, a ſtudious Concern and Caution, to avoid all that ſinful Evil by which the *Law of God is tranſgreſs'd.* We muſt have that Fear of God, whereto we are adviſed in *Prov.* 16. 6. *By the Fear of the Lord Men depart from Evil.* We ſhould fly from every known Sin, as from a deadly Serpent, or Poiſon, becauſe of the Offence thereby given to that God wo hath no pleaſure in Wickedneſs. When we ſee others do any thing that is forbidden and condemn'd in the Edicts of God, we ſhould be able to ſay as *Nehemiah* of old, *But ſo do not I, becauſe I have the* Fear of God! When others urge us to do any thing amiſs, we ſhould reply like *Joſeph, I dare not commit ſuch things, for I fear God!* And therefore the Anger of God ſhould be the Terror of our Souls: We ſhould rather incur any Miſeries, than procure that Anger which the ſtrongeſt Mountains cannot ſtand before; and count it a Fearful thing to fall into the Hands of the Living God.

Thirdly, In the *Fear of God* there is a Filial Care, to yield him that Service and Worſhip, which may be pleaſing unto him. In the *Fear of God* we muſt obey him with our Service. The Angels of Heaven, who move the Wheels in the great Changes on Earth, when they ſtood in their Service before the Throne of God which had the appearance of Fire round about him, they let down their Wings, at his Voice, in the Viſion of *Ezekiel*: In alluſion hereunto, the Apoſtle, ſpeaking unto Believers, that are to be as the Angels in the Kingdom of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which cannot be moved, ſays in Heb. 12. 28, 29. *Serve God with* Reverence *and with Godly Fear: For our God is a* Conſuming Fire. In the Fear of God we muſt renounce the Service of all our Idols; We muſt no more Humour the Fleſh, no more Follow the World, no more Gratifie the Devil. And we muſt now ſo devote our ſelves unto the Service of God, that we may be able to ſay, *Lord I am thy Servant, Devoted unto thy Fear!* He is to be our Maſter, and we ſhould leave no room for that Expoſtulation, *Where is my Fear?* And, in the Fear of God, we muſt addreſs him with our Worſhip. The Proſelytes which came in to embrace the true Worſhip of God, have this Diſtinction in Pſal. 115. 11. *Ye that fear the Lord.* In the Fear of God we muſt worſhip Him who is worthy to be feared: and both the Natural and the Inſtituted Worſhip of God, is to be continually perform'd with us; We ought to be, as he once was, Devout Perſons, who fear God, and pray always unto him.

All

All this is compriſed in the Fear of God. And yet you have no right Notion of it, if a CHRIST be left out of the Notion. There is a Faith implied in this Fear. The Fear of God, is, after all, to be thus deſcrib'd, and never fully, till thus deſcribed, unto us: 'Tis even *ſuch a Dread of the* Divine Diſpleaſure *at Sin, as drives us to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt for Salvation from Sin, and from the Diſpleaſure of God againſt us for it.* There never was any true Fear of God in the Days of the *Old Teſtament*, but ſuch as thought of and ran to a *Meſſiah*, as the Deliverer from the Wrath of God, and all the Fear of God in the Days of the *New Teſtament* acknowledges our Bleſſed Jeſus as that *Meſſiah*. This is that Fear of God which is the *Beginning* of *Wiſdom*: This that Fear of God wherein all Men ſhould be all the Day long. This is that Fear of God, wherein we ſhould continue all the Days that we live upon the Earth. If thou doſt not walk in this Fear of God, O Man, let thy Fleſh tremble for Fear, and be afraid of the Judgments whereto thou doſt make thy ſelf obnoxious. But this leads us to a further Conſideration.

II. Unto the Fear of God, we are by the Conſideration of his Judgments to be awakened; and we ſhould therefore be ſtruck with a very trembling Fear of thoſe Judgments. Now the Judgments of God are capable of a Diſtribution, into *Judicia Judicantia*, and *Judicia Judicata*; Judgments *Denounced*, and Judgments *Inflicted*: Judgments in the Commination, and Judgments in the Accompliſhment: the Declaration of Divine Judgments, and the Execution of Divine Judgments. With an Eye to this Diſtribution, there are theſe Counſels, which from the Great God of Judgment are to be given you.

The Firſt Counſel.

Let us with a very trembling Fear be afraid of the Judgments that are pronounced againſt the Ungodly, in the Book of God. There are uſed in our longeſt and ſweeteſt Pſalm, no leſs than Twelve ſeveral Words, to ſignifie the Revelation which God had made of his purpoſe, to ſave Men by that *Son of a Virgin*, who was to *break the old Serpent's Head*; And one of thoſe words is, JUDGMENTS. This, then is the Influence, which the Judgments of God, or the Diſcoveries which He has made of Himſelf in this Book of His, muſt have upon us: we ſhould be able to ſay, as in Pſ. 119. 161. Lord, *my heart ſtands in awe of thy word.* Are there any Precepts in this Book? We ſhould fear the *Commandment*: Fear, and Cry, *Lord, I am afraid of breaking thy Holy Laws, that are ſo Holy, and Juſt, and Good!* Are there any Promiſes in this Book? We ſhould fear, leſt we fall ſhort of them. Are there any Threatnings in this Book? We ſhould fear, leſt they take hold of us. Before every thing in the Book of God, we ſhould have the ſame Diſpoſition that *Joſiah* had when the Book of *Deuteronomy* was read unto him; [The Jews have a Tradition, that by the ſpecial Diſpoſal of Divine Providence the firſt Place which the Reader lit upon, was *Deut.* 28. 36.] That it may be ſaid unto us, *Thy Heart was tender, and thou didſt Humble thy ſelf before God, when thou didſt Hear his Words.* We ſhould be apprehenſive of the Almighty God, ſpeaking in every Line of this Book; and then be afraid, leſt all the Plagues written in this Book, overtake us if we ſin againſt ſuch a God. It was the Character of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in *Iſa.* 66. 2. *He that is of a poor and a contrite Spirit, and who trembleth at my Word.* When we ſee what Judgments the Word of God has threatned againſt the Children of Diſobedience, we ſhould even fall a trembling at them. And eſpecially they that are conſcious to a courſe of Diſobedience againſt God, ſhould be afraid of theſe Judgments. When *Belſhazzar* ſaw upon the Wall an Hand-writing, which he could not read (becauſe perhaps the Letters were ſo infolded one among another, that except a Man had the Key of the Cypher, the Sentence was not eaſie to be *Uncyphered*) he was wonderfully terrified at what he ſaw. Unbelievers may read that Hand-writing in this Book, *If any Man believe not the Son, the Wrath of God abideth on him*: and will you not be afraid of that Wrath? Impenitents may read that Hand-writing in this Book. *The Lord will wound ſuch an one as goeth on ſtill in his Treſpaſſes*: and will you not be afraid of that Wound? The Prayerleſs may in this Book read that Hand-writing, *The Wicked ſhall be turned into Hell, and all they that forget God*; and will they not be afraid of that Hell, or fear him, *who is able to caſt Body and Soul into Hell? I ſay unto you, Fear him*; and Oh, be afraid of theſe Judgments.

The Second Counſel.

Let us with a very *Trembling Fear* be afraid of Judgments that ſhall be pronounced upon the Ungodly in the *Day* of God. It is a Truth whereof we are very ſure, The God of Truth has given us aſſurance of it, That he hath appointed a *Day* in which he will judge the World in Righteouſneſs by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Now, in the Remembrance of this *Day*, when the Kingdom that was promiſed unto the Seed of *David*, ſhall be erected, it is ſaid in *Eccl.* 12. 13, 14. *Fear* God; *for* God *will bring every* Work *into Judgment.* We muſt expect the Approach of a *Day*, wherein the Quickening and Wondrous Voice of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt will raiſe us out of our Graves; a *Day*, wherein a Doom of Everlaſting Puniſhment, or of *Life Eternal* will be paſſed upon us, a *Day*, wherein, as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *We muſt all appear before the Judgment-ſeat of Chriſt, that every one may receive ſuch things in the Body, according to what he hath done*: [for thus I chooſe to render it.] Now, let us fear the *Judgments*, which on this Terrible *Day of Judgment* our Lord Jeſus Chriſt will diſpenſe unto the World. Of theſe *Judgments* it is, that a Great Miniſter of our Lord could ſay, in 2 *Cor.* 5. 11. *Knowing the Terror of the Lord, we perſwade Men.* There is a Terror in thoſe Judgments; Oh! Let

Let this *Terror* now perſwade us to purſue after an Intereſt in him that is to be our Judge: and let it perſwade us to repent of the Sins which our Judge will elſe damn us to Endleſs Confuſion for. When a Pagan *Fœlix*, was told of the Judgments which the *Notable Day of God will produce* upon Mankind, it is ſaid, *He trembled.* What; Shall we be worſe than that Unhappy Pagan? When God was only publiſhing his *Judgments* on the *Burning Mountain*, we are told, So terrible was the Sight, that *Moſes* ſaid, *I exceedingly Fear and Quake.* And ſhall not we *exceedingly Fear and Quake*, when we think on the Day when our Lord Jeſus Chriſt will deſcend from Heaven in Flaming Fire, to pour out his Judgments; and *Behold the Lord comes with Myriads of his Saints to execute Judgment upon all!* Certain I am, all this Lower World, will be ſurprized with an Horrible Fright, at that Great Revolution: An *Horrible Tempeſt* will then be Rain'd from Heaven upon this World: *The Earth will ſhake and tremble, the Foundations of the Hills alſo will move and be ſhaken*, when our Lord ſhall *Bow the Heavens and come down*, with a *Devouring Fire about him.* So then, Let us now *Shake and Tremble* at the Contemplation thereof. *Be afraid*, leſt we be found among the Ungodly, *that ſhall not ſtand in the Judgment. Be afraid*, leſt our Judgment then be, that of the Devil and his Angels. 'Tis a thing which I have given me in Charge, *Some Save with Fear, pulling them out of the Fire.* Wherefore I ſay unto you, Souls, *Be Afraid*, Leſt we be adjudged unto the Vengeance of Eternal Fire, even to the Fire of the Vengeance of God throughout Eternal Ages.

The Third Counſel.

There are aſtoniſhing Judgments, diſpenſed by the *Hand of God*, upon others in this World; and with a very *Trembling Fear*, we ſhould be afraid of thoſe *Judgments.* The Diſpenſations of God unto a ſinful World, are ſuch as give us that Invitation in *Pſal.* 66. 5. *Come and ſee the Works of God, for he is Terrible in his Doing towards the Children of Men.* 'Tis our Duty now, to be *Afraid* of thoſe Judgments, under which we ſee the Children of Men ſuffering, by the *Terrible* Diſpenſations of God. I do not mean, that we ſhould live in a *Slaviſh Fear*, of all *Fearful* Accidents, but that we ſhould be awakened unto the *Fear of God*, by what we ſee. Our *Duty* is deſcribed unto us, in *Iſa.* 26. 9. *When thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteouſneſs.* And now, let us proceed by theſe Rules, in this our *Duty.*

The Firſt Rule.

There is one thing in the Judgments of God, whereof we ſhould always be afraid; that is, Leſt we do make an Injudicious Interpretation of them. It is a Caution given to us, in *Pſal.* 36. 6. *Thy Judgments are a great Deep,* O *Lord,* And we ſhould be very cautious, leſt we drown our ſelves in ſuch a *Deep*, when we go to Fathom it. The Judgments of God are thoſe things, whereof 'tis ſaid, *Whoſo is wiſe will obſerve thoſe things*; but then we muſt be careful to proceed wiſely in our obſerving of them. 'Tis a dangerous thing for us to indulge our own *Fancy*, and much more for us to indulge our own Paſſion, in making of Gloſſes upon the *Judgments of God*: God will not hold the Man guiltleſs, who ſhall ſo take his Name in vain. Very ſad things may befal the *People God*, which if we ſhould call 'em the *Judgments of God*, upon them, for ſome Crime or other, this would be as great a Crime in us, as to adulterate the Coin of the Nation. The Sovereign God has made a Croſs, to be neceſſary for all the *Diſciples* of Him, who dy'd upon the Croſs; and he will in his Infinite Sovereignty, make choice of their Croſs for them, to exerciſe their Virtue, and prepare them and ripen them, for his Heavenly Kingdom. If we ſhould be ſo wicked, as to ſuppoſe a Curſe of God upon all that we ſee under the Croſs, *Behold, we ſhould wickedly offend againſt the Generation of the Children of God.* When the Sons of that Excellent *Miniſter of God, Aaron*, the *Prieſt of the Lord*, came to an untimely End, it had been a vile Impiety in the Congregation of *Iſrael* to have perſecuted their Worthy and Aged Father, with any Cenſorious Imputations. The *Judgments of God* are like to arreſt none ſooner than the Raſh Expoſitors of his Judgments on other Men. The jealous God will ſoon draw near in Judgment unto thoſe who Perſecute them whom he hath ſmitten, and who talk to the Grief of thoſe whom he hath wounded. Our Lord has given us a moſt wholſome Admonition, to be generally made uſe of when ſore *Diſaſters* happen unto any of our Neighbours, in *Luk.* 13. 4, 5. *Think ye that theſe were* Sinners *above all others? I tell you Nay.* But what ſhall we then do to determine a Judgment of God upon a Sinner for his doing ſo? I anſwer, Firſt, the Sin of the Sinner muſt be evident from the Scripture of God, before we may dare to apply a Judgment of God, unto him. 'Tis very prepoſterous for us, firſt of all to take it for granted, This or that Calamity is a Judgment of God for ſome Iniquity; and then upon this Preſumption to ſearch out that Iniquity. And, Secondly, a *Judgment of God for Sin*, muſt be cloathed with ſome convincing Circumſtance and Character upon it ſelf, reaſonably to ſpeak its being ſo, before we may venture to call it ſo. There muſt be ſomething in the Time of it, or in the Place of it, or in its Reſemblance to the Fault for which it comes, or in the Confeſſion of the Perſon chaſtiſed, that ſhall make the Conſcience to ſay, There are the plain Signatures of a Judgment for ſome Sin in the Stroke now given by God! Having firſt laid in this Antidote againſt Raſh Judgments of our own, about the Great Judgments of God, we may *ſafely* go on, to ſay;

The Second Rule.

The *Judgments of God* in Former Ages, they ſhould make us *afraid* of the Sins which procured thoſe Judgments. There came the *Judgments of God* upon the Murmurous *Iſraelites*; 'tis ſaid in 1 *Cor.* 10. 11. *All theſe things happened unto them for Examples, and they are written for our Admonition.* Behold thoſe Judgments then, and be *Afraid of* all Murmuring, be *Afraid of* all Impatience, be *Afraid of* all Diſcontent under

der the Difficulties of a Wilderneſs, leſt we be *deſtroy'd of the Deſtroyer.* There came the Judgments of God upon the debauch'd *Sodomites*; 'Tis ſaid in 2 *Pet.* 2. 6. *God made them an Example unto thoſe that after ſhould live Ungodly.* Behold thoſe Judgments then, and be *Afraid of* all Debauchery, be *Afraid of* all Uncleanneſs, be *Afraid of* all Intemperance, leſt God condemn us with a Fiery and an Early Overthrow. Sirs, the Hiſtory which the Bible hath given us of the Judgments which have come from God upon them that ſinned againſt him, 'tis not only a Chronicle of what is paſt, but alſo a Calendar of what is to come. We have the Hiſtory: there we may conſider the *Days of Old*, the *Years of Ancient times.* But when we do ſo, Let us be *Afraid*, leſt by repeating of *Old Sins*, we bring a Repetition of *Old Plagues* upon our ſelves. When Thunder and Lightning from Heaven ſuddenly calcin'd a poor Woman into a Lump of Salt for her Covetouſneſs near three thouſand and eight hundred Years ago, that Salt was to ſeaſon us with a Fear, leſt near the *Time of the End*, we periſh like her, by ſetting our Hearts upon the World. Our Lord therefore ſaid, on that Occaſion, in *Luk.* 17. 32. *Remember Lot's Wife.* Thus I may ſay, Remember *Judas*, and be *Afraid*, leſt we periſh as he did in betraying the the Intereſts of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for ſome Worldly Benefit. Remember *Herod*, and be *Afraid*, leſt we periſh as he did, in proud Affectations of what belongs not unto us. Remember all the reſt.

The Third Rule.

The *Judgments of God* on other Places, they ſhould make us *Afraid*, leſt we fall within the Circuit of thoſe Judgments. When the *Judgments of God* have begun their Walk, we have Cauſe to be *Afraid*, leſt we fall into their Walk; becauſe *with us, even with us alſo, there are Sins againſt the Lord our God.* It was propheſied in Jer. 25. 32. *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, Behold, Evil ſhall go forth from Nation to Nation.* Do we behold other Nations, grievouſly ſharing in Diſtreſs of Nations, and great Perplexity, we ſhould be *Afraid*, leſt we alſo have our ſhare in the Diſtreſſing Judgments of God. Have the *Judgments of God*, ſent War, and Poverty, and Scarcity, upon other Nations? We have Cauſe to be *Afraid* leſt the Evil of thoſe Judgments reach unto our ſelves; and leſt we drink of that Cup of *Trembling*, which God ſeems to be putting into the Hands of all the Nations. A Fire on one Houſe alarms all the Town. The Judgments of God have ſet all *Europe* on Fire; yea, the Sparks are flown over into *America*; Lamentable Deſolations have been made both Northward and Southward of us: Be *Afraid*, then, O poor people of God, leſt thou alſo become Deſolate. When the *Judgments of God* were in their courſe, He ſaid unto his people in Zeph. 3. 6, 7. *I have cut off the Nations, their Towers are deſolate, their Cities are deſtroyed. I ſaid, Surely, thou wilt fear me.* Thus, do we ſee Deſtructions come upon other Countries. Our God ſays thereupon, *Surely this Country too ſhall be Afraid, leſt I bring the like upon them.*

The Fourth Rule.

The *Judgments of God* ſeizing upon a few Perſons only, before our Eyes, they ſhould make us *Afraid*, leſt we be the next, that thoſe Judgments do ſeize upon. When one Malefactor died, it was ſaid, All the People ſhall hear and fear. Thus, if the *Judgments of God* ſingle out one Malefactor, to puniſh him, his Voice is, Let all be *Afraid!* It is noted of a miſerable Miniſter, who falling into a Scandal, was preſently overwhelm'd by the *Judgment of God*, in Acts 5. 5. *Great* Fear *came upon all them that heard theſe things.* When the *Judgments of God* had ſignalized themſelves upon any ſcandalous Wretches, we ſhould all be ſtruck with a great Fear, leſt our Sins expoſe us alſo to the ſignal Rebukes of Heaven. As, if one Drunkard in a Town be drowned, it is a Loud Sermon to all the Bruits about the Town, to be *Afraid*, of being ſo cut off in their Bruitiſh Follies. Thus in all the Special Judgments of God upon any Offenders whatſoever, there is that Voice from Heaven to all ſuch Offenders. *Tremble and Repent, leſt all of you likewiſe periſh:* Yea, the Judgments of God upon a few, often ſhould be ſeriouſly pondered by the whole Body of the People, whom they belong unto, as a Decimation made by that God, who gives none Account of his Matters. God hath a Controverſie with the whole Body of the People; he might have pitch'd upon *me* or *thee*, to have been the Subjects on which he does manage this Controverſie, as well as any other of our Neighbours. Oh! what cauſe have we now to be afraid, of what we alſo have to meet withal! When the Judgments of God follow'd one Man aboard the Veſſel, bound for *Tarteſſus*, 'tis ſaid in Jon. 1. 16. All the other Men feared the Lord exceedingly, Truly, if any one Man aboard the Veſſel of the Publick, be followed with a Storm of *Judgments from God*, it becomes us all to Fear exceedingly.

The Fifth Rule.

When things that look like *Judgments of God* befal the dear People of God, it highly concerns other People to be afraid of the greater Judgments which they may reaſonably look for. 'Tis an Inference whereto we are directed in 1 Pet. 4. 17. Judgment *muſt begin at the Houſe of GOD,* —— *And if the* Righteous *ſcarcely be ſav'd, where ſhall the* Ungodly *and the* Sinner *appear?* Which is but the *Tranſlation* of what we have in Prov. 11. 31. *Behold the* Righteous *ſhall be* recompenced *in the Earth, much more the* Wicked *and the* Sinner. Sometimes the moſt eminent Chriſtians in a Land, yea, and whole Churches of ſuch Chriſtians, meet with troubleſome Difficulties in their way to Salvation; yea, they meet with Troubles upon Earth, that ſeem to be Recompences from Heaven upon them for their Miſcarriages. Come, let all Ungodly Sinners now be *Afraid*: I, that never

never was reconciled unto God by the Blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; what, what will become of me throughout the Days of Eternity! Our Saviour has taught us to argue thus upon the Afflictions of good Men; *If theſe things be done to the green Tree, what ſhall be done to the Dry?* Thoſe Men that bring forth much of that Fruit, whereby God is glorified, are caſt into a Fire of many Afflictions. Yea, but you then that bring forth No Fruit, or Ill Fruit, and never were united unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, what a Formidable, Intolerable, Interminable Fire, is reſerved for you! Oh, be *Afraid of* that Fire! That bleſſed Prophet of God, even *Ezekiel*, muſt have the beſt Thing in his Family ſnatch'd out of it, by the Stroke of Death: *Behold, I take away from thee the Deſire of thine Eyes with a Stroke; yet ſhall not thy Tears run down, ſaith the Lord.* And what? was this a Judgment on the Prophet? It ſeem'd ſo; but it was indeed a Warning to the People; of whom the Lord then ſaid in *Ezek.* 24. 24. Ezekiel *is a Sign unto you: According to all that he hath done, ſhall ye do.*

Sirs, Thoſe things that appear like *Judgments of God* upon his own Faithful Servants, they are awful Warnings unto thoſe that ſerve him not: God therein ſays unto Prophane, Chriſtleſs and Graceleſs Creatures: *If I do theſe things to thoſe, whom yet I pity as a Father does his Children that ſerve him, what ſhall I do unto you that are my* Enemies, *and that ſerve none but my* greateſt Enemy? *What ſhall I do unto you?* Wretches, *what ſhall I do unto you?* If God has ſuch Rods for his Dutiful Children, what Scourges, what Scorpions hath he for his Adverſaries?

The Sixth Rule.

Among all the Judgments of God, I know none more Tremendous, than His leaving here and there ſome Famous Profeſſors and Pretenders of Religion, to ſome Horribly Irreligious Actions. When we ſee thoſe Judgments, Then, then, above all, ſhould our Fleſh tremble *for fear of God*, and we ſhould be *Afraid of* his Judgments. 'Tis a Thing, that ſometimes does happen among us. Perſons that have been exemplary for Piety and Charity all their Days, yet have at laſt grown melancholy, and God hath ſo left them to the poſſeſſion of ſome Devil, that they have laid violent Hands upon themſelves; they have ſtarv'd themſelves, hang'd themſelves, drown'd themſelves; yea, and had a preternatural Aſſiſtance in their doing of it. Who can behold theſe unaccountable Tragedies without that Out-cry, *Lord, I am afraid of thy* Judgments! What uſe can we make of theſe *Tragical Things*, but that in 1 Pet. 1. 17. *To paſs the Time of our ſojourning here in Fear?* What, but that in Phil. 2. 12. *To work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling?* And, alas, what ſhall we ſay, of thoſe prodigious Falls into Sin, which the Lives of ſome that were counted Firſt-rate Chriſtians, have been reproach'd withal? What ſhall we ſay! O, our God, what ſhall we ſay of the monſtrous Crimes which we have ſeen ſome that have ſeem'd Pillars of Chriſtianity among us, to fall into? This I will ſay, that the burning Wrath of a Righteous and a Terrible God, has never been ſo much diſcovered in all our Loſſes by Sea and Land, and in all the bloody Depredations of our Adverſaries as in this *One Thing*; that ever now and then ſome one or other, that has been much noted for *Zeal* in the Ways of God, has been found in ſome damnable *Act of Wickedneſs*. There is the very Venom and Spirit of Hell, in theſe Judgments of God upon a Land; God would never have permitted theſe Judgments, if there were not a Generation of his Wrath, to be precipitated down into the fiery bottom of Hell by his *Wrath*, ſo *Darkning of the Land.* Infinitely better had it been for thoſe *Woful Men*, to have dy'd with Milſtones about their Necks, many Years ago, than thus to have offended and poiſon'd the Souls of Multitudes; And, Oh! *Wo, Wo*, unto Multitudes of *Souls*, that have hence taken an incurable and an *Everlaſting Offence* againſt the bleſſed Ways of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Sirs, When a provok'd God, ſhall permit the *Dragon* to *ſweep Stars down from Heaven* with his *Tail*, and permit the *Devil* to enter, and poſſeſs, and befool, and beſot, and confound ſuch as have made a Shew of a more *Heavenly Frame* than other Men, how can we forbear crying out, *Lord, I am afraid of thy* Judgments! What ſays the Apoſtle in Rom. 11. 20. *Thou ſtandeſt by Faith: Be not highminded, but fear?* Oh! Be *Afraid*, Be *Afraid*, leſt by ſome Secret Sin, we grieve the Holy Spirit of God. If He withdraw, Ah, Lord! who ſhall ſtand?

The Seventh Rule.

There is a peculiar Concernment lying upon the young People among us to be *Afraid of* thoſe Judgments, in which they ſee the great God conſuming of our young People, with his fiery Indignation. It may be ſaid about the young Men of *N. England*, as it was of old ſaid about the young Men of *Iſrael* in Pſal. 78. 63. *The Fire conſumed their young Men.* And as when the Earth ſwallowed up ſome young People in the Wilderneſs of old, it is ſaid, *The reſt fled at the cry of them, ſaying, Leſt the Earth ſwallow us up alſo.* Behold, O our young Folks, the Earth, and the Sea, and the Pit, have been terribly ſwallowing up your Brethren. Fly then, with affrighted Souls, Fly to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and ſay, *Lord, I am afraid, leſt thy* Judgments *do ſwallow me up alſo.* Young People, O that you would ſuitably lay to heart the dreadful Judgments of God, which are conſuming of your Generation among us. Behold, Vain Youths, Behold, how the waſting Judgments of God have been upon you, till we cry out, *The Curſe has devour'd our Land, and few young Men are left.*

Know you not, that when our young Men have been preſs'd into the Wars, they have been but *Number'd for the Slaughter*, and brought forth for the Murderer? Know you not that our young Men hoping to mend their Condition at Sea, have but ſail'd the ſooner to their long Home, in running abroad? Know you not, that the Angels of Death have ſtruck our young Folks with the

Ar-

Arrows of Death in *Epidemical Sickneſſes?* Know you not, that one ſtrange Caſualty after another, brings many of our moſt *Hopeful* young Folk to an untimely End? And Oh! how *doleful, doleful* Things have our young People ſeen, when they have been Captives in the Hands of barbarous *Infidels?* The *Cannibals* of the Eaſt have hideouſly tormented them; and as far off as the Scorching Tents of *Africa*, they have been fainting under the bitter Servitude of *Mahometans.*

Come then, Be *Afraid*, O our young People; *Job* could ſay, *Deſtruction from God was a Terror to me!* Be Terrified, young People, with a Fear, leſt a *Deſtruction from God* come upon you, in and for your Sins. Be *Afraid* of continuing eſtrang'd from the ſheltring Wings of your *Lord Redeemer*, leſt you lie open to the Storms of the Judgments of God. Be *Afraid* of neglecting the Great Salvation, which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſo often offer'd you, leſt the Judgments of God bring a great Deſtruction upon you. Be *Afraid* of all Filthineſs and all Prophaneneſs, and all Diſobedience, and all bad Company, and all the Courſes of Diſhoneſty, leſt by the Judgments of God, you die before your time, for your being wicked over-much. Oh! Fear and Flee *Youthful Luſts*; And now Remember your Creator in the Days of your Youth, leſt the Judgments of God, bring Evil Days upon you.

The Second Sermon.

BUT I intend all this Diſcourſe, as only an Introduction unto a more Entertaining Recapitulation of the Divine Judgments, which we have ſeen executed upon ſeveral Sorts of Sinners, among our ſelves. It cannot but be much for the Glory of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who from his *Glorious High Throne* diſpenſed theſe Judgments: It cannot but be a Satisfaction unto the Good Angels of the Lord, who are oftentimes the Executioners of theſe Judgments: It is an Holy Undertaking, and it cannot but ſerve the Intereſts of Holineſs, to make our modeſt Obſervations upon the Judgments of God, which have been executed among us. As far as it may be convenient in this *Diſcourſe*, I will now addreſs my ſelf unto this Undertaking.

Sirs, Give me your Attention.

When that great Man the Emperour *Mauritius* beheld his Family overwhelmed in terrible Calamities, and five hopeful Branches of his Family ſlain before his Eyes, he humbly recited thoſe Words of the Pſalmiſt in *Pſal.* 119. 137. *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and right are thy judgments.* My Neighbours, we have ever now and then thoſe calamitous Things before our Eyes in our Neighbourhood, which, if we are not blind, we muſt pronounce *The Right* Judgments *of a Righteous God.* And I muſt now ask you to take ſome notice of thoſe Judgments.

I do moſt readily grant, that *Lubricus hic locus ac difficilis*, 'tis no eaſie matter to obſerve the Judgments of God: We ſhall eaſily *fall* into the Extreams of being either too *Cenſorious* and *Fanciful*, or elſe too *Negligent* in our Obſervation of the divine Judgments.

And I am not altogether ignorant of the Jewiſh Maxim, *Non eſt curioſe quærendum poſt Opera Dei; omnia enim ſapienter fecit, tametſi abſcondita ſunt ab Oculis ſapientum.*

But yet the Judgments of God, ſometimes are ſo circumſtanced, that he who runs may read them; and our *Duty* thereupon is deſcribed, in Pſal. 64. 9. *All Men ſhall fear, and they ſhall declare the Work of God, for they ſhall wiſely conſider of his Doing.* Learned Men have complained of it, as a *Defect* in the Hiſtorical Part of Learning, that there is not extant an impartial and a well atteſted *Hiſtoria Nemeſeos*, or, Account of Remarkable Judgments on ſcandalous and notorious Offenders. Yea the *God of Heaven himſelf* complains of it, when Men do not regard his Works even the Operation of his Hands.

I will now therefore, with all *Faithfulneſs*, lay before you ſome of thoſe Remaks which I have made upon the *Judgments of God* which have been Executed in this Land. Sirs, the Lord has been known by his executing of theſe Judgments: Accompany them with your Meditations! You ſhall hear nothing but what has had ſufficient Evidence: And certainly, I ſhould be *Afraid of* ſpeaking wickedly for God, or talking deceitfully for Him!

The Firſt Remark.

Take a due and a deep Notice, I beſeech you, of the notable Judgments with which we have ſeen the Contempt of the glorious *Goſpel* reveng'd by the *God of Glory.* We have ſeen the Goſpel, or the Tidings of Salvation by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for miſerable Sinners graciouſly offered: We have ſeen the Offer of this Goſpel moſt *ungratefully refus'd*: But of this *Refuſal* what Event have we ſeen? Truly, a very terrible Event. I remember a Paſſage of Scripture, which runs thus in our Tranſlation, *Iſa.* 2. 22. *Ceaſe ye from Man*, whoſe Breath *is in his* Noſtrils; *for* wherein *is he to be accounted of?* But, if you pleaſe, you may thus underſtand it. The Prophet is denouncing the Judgments of God upon the Jews, for their deſpiſing of the Meſſiah; and the *Denunciation* is thus concluded: *Now forbear as to that Man* [or ceaſe from Offending and Provoking of Him,] *who is now very angry* [which the *Hebrews* expreſs by Breathe in the Noſtrils,] For none is able to de-

declare how high an Account is to be made of Him. Sirs, We have ſeen the *God of Heaven* very Angry; He has breath'd the Hot Lightnings of Death out of his *Noſtrils*; when People have made no account of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of his Goſpel. We have ſeen theſe Four or Five *Remarkables* amongſt the reſt.

For a Firſt Inſtance.

The Nation of the *Narraganſetts*, was one of the moſt populous and powerful among all the *Indians*, that once filled this mighty Wilderneſs. Unto that woful Nation, the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, was freely tendered; but they with much Affront and Contempt, rejected it. An Holy Man, then Famous throughout our Churches, hereupon utter'd a Speech to this purpoſe: *I ſpeak altogether without the Spirit of God, if this Nation be not quickly and ſtrangely deſtroyed.* It was not long before this Nation, much againſt the Advice of the more aged Men among them engaged in Acts of Hoſtility againſt our people. Whereupon, ours, with a Force much inferiour unto theirs, but with a marvellous Valour and Succeſs, in the depth of Winter, made a Deſcent upon 'em. The Glorious Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom they had ſlighted, was with our *Army*, and the Day was wonderfully carried againſt the tawny Infidels. Their City was laid in Aſhes. Above Twenty of their chief Captains were killed: a proportionable Deſolation cut off the Inferiour Salvages: Mortal Sickneſs, and Horrid Famine purſu'd the Remainders of 'em, So that we can hardly tell where any of 'em are left alive upon the Face of the Earth. Such was thy ſpeedy Vengeance, O *Bleſſed* JESUS, on the Heathen that would not know thee, nor call upon thy Name.

For a Second Inſtance.

That Renowned Evangeliſt of our *Indians*, the Reverend *ELIOT*, preached the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, unto *Philip*, the Prince of the *Wompanoags*; but that Monſter pulling off a Button on the good Man's Coat, ſaid, *He did not value what he preached, any more than that*: and he hindered his abject Subjects from embracing the Chriſtian Religion, that they might not become the Subjects of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. But what is become of 'em all? They raſhly precipitated themſelves into a rebellious War againſt the *Engliſh*; and at laſt *Philip* fell into all the Diſtreſſes that could be imagined. One of his own Vaſſals then ran away from him, and *informed* the Engliſh where he was. They came upon him in his Thicket juſt as he was telling his Counſellors his *Dream*, that he was fallen into our Hands. While he endeavoured an Eſcape, an *Indian* ſhot him thro' the Heart, whereof he died immediately: Nor is any Number of his People now left in the World. So do the Rejecters of thy Grace, periſh, O Lord!

For a Third Inſtance.

But the *Indian* Salvages are not the only Inſtances of the divine Revenges, which have enſued on Mens Undervaluing the Goſpel of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, among us. Travel with me, Sirs, to the Eaſtern Parts of this Province; *O come, and behold the Works of the Lord, the Deſolations he has made in thoſe Parts of the Earth!* Twice has that brave Countrey been occupied with hopeful *Settlements*. *Hopeful!* No, no; call them not *Hopeful*, inaſmuch as the *Ordinances* of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, were not ſettled among them. Hence, *Twice* has that Countrey now been made an *Aceldama*; and the Settlements have all been broken up for many ſcore Miles together. The Jealouſie of the neglected Lord Jeſus Chriſt, has *broke forth* like an Unquenchable Fire againſt thoſe Plantations; the Fiery *Wrath of Heaven* has brought a *Swift Deſtruction* upon them. A barbarous Enemy has once and again broke in upon thoſe Towns, like an irreſiſtible Torrent, carrying all *before* it, until they come to thoſe Towns, where the *Ordinances of the Goſpel* are more upheld; and behold, there they find a *Barriere*, which they cannot yet get over; *There the Spirit of the Lord lifts up a Standard againſt them.* In one of thoſe Plantations there had newly been very prodigious Diſcoveries of Enmity againſt the *Goſpel of* the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which had been ſometimes among them: And a bloody *Adverſary* ſoon ſurpriſed them, and captiv'd, and ſlaughter'd moſt of them, and laid their Habitations in Aſhes, and horribly roaſted alive ſome of the Inhabitants. *Tremble, O ye People of the South, when ye are told of this!*

For a Fourth Inſtance.

And there is another *Contempt of the* Goſpel, which we have often ſeen another way chaſtiſed among us. Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath ſaid concerning the *Faithful Miniſters of his Goſpel*, in Luk. 10. 16. *He that Deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me.* When the *Miniſters of the Goſpel*, are Holy, Prayerful, Painful, Watchful, and Fruitful *Servants of* the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and Men filled and acted with his Holy Spirit: We have ſeen the Judgments of God many a time, arreſting thoſe that have abuſed theſe *Ambaſſadors* from the *King of Heaven*. Thus there have been angry Men among us, who have ſat over their Cups, railing at ſuch or ſuch a *Miniſter of God*, and hoping e're long, to ſee the Death of him. In a little while they themſelves have died miſerably, and on their Death-Beds they have cried out for that very Miniſter to help them in their *Anguiſhes*. Yea, you may ſometimes mark it in our Churches: A Church has long enjoy'd an excellent Miniſter; but they grow at length full of unaccountable Prejudices againſt him: The *Son of God* ſeeing this their Forward Folly, ſends for that Miniſter away to Heaven preſently; and let 'em ſupply themſelves with ſuch another when they

they can find him. And, ſhall I venture to ſay one thing more? I will ſay it. Let the *Levites* of the Lord keep cloſe to their Inſtructions, and *God will ſmite thro' the Loins of theſe that riſe up againſt them.*

I will report unto you a Thing which many Hundreds among us know to be true.

The *Godly Miniſter* of a certain Town in *Connecticut*, when he had occaſion to be abſent on a *Lord's-Day* from his Flock, employ'd an honeſt *Neighbour* of ſome ſmall Talents for a *Mechanick*, to read a *Sermon* out of ſome *good Book* unto 'em. This *Honeſt*, whom they ever counted alſo a *Pious Man*, had ſo much conceit of his *Talents*, that, inſtead of *Reading a Sermon* appointed, he to the Surprize of the People, fell to *preaching one of his own.* For his Text he took theſe Words, *Deſpiſe not Propheſyings*; and in his Preachment he betook himſelf to bewail the *Envy of the Clergy* in the Land, in that they did not wiſh *all the Lord's People to be Prophets*, and call forth *Private Brethren* publickly to *propheſie.* While he was thus in the midſt of his Exerciſe, God ſmote him with horrible *Madneſs*; he was taken ravingly diſtracted: The People were forc'd with violent Hands to carry him home. And tho' in a few Weeks the Phyſician brought him to ſo much Compoſure, that he could jog on after ſome ſort in an obſcure *Privacy* the reſt of his Days; yet if any one began a Diſcourſe of any thing in *Religion* with him, he would ever fly out into a *Fit of Madneſs*, which would continue till the Diſcourſe *were laid aſide.*

I will not mention his Name: He was reputed a *Pious Man.*

If unto theſe things I ſhould add, That the Impoveriſhing Judgments of God upon our Land, have been very much for that *Abominable Sacrilege*, wherein the *Miniſters of Chriſt* almoſt all the Land over, have been as much defrauded of their *Dues*, as if you ſhould with-hold the *Wages of your Servants*, [which is a Sin that cries to God for Vengeance!] I could quote Scripture enough to give Authority unto that *Aſſertion. Scripture!* yea, and *Experience* too.

A Town in this Countrey, enrich'd with Two very *Eminent Miniſters*, did one Year paſs a *Town Vote*, That they could not allow their Miniſters above *Thirty Pounds* a-piece that Year, for their Salaries; and behold, the God, who will *not be mocked*, immediately cauſed the Town to loſe *Three Hundred Pounds*, in that *Specie* of their Cattle by one Diſaſter. But I forbear it; for though the Judgments of God go on to break *People in a Mortar* for it, this *Fooliſhneſs*, I know will never depart from them.

I paſs to

The Second Remark.

Men had need beware of *Raſh Speeches*, eſpecially of *Raſh Wiſhes*; For we have ſeen Sore Judgments fall out moſt agreeably thereunto. It was wholſome *Advice* once given by the Town-Clerk of *Epheſus*, *Ye ought to Do nothing Raſhly.* Truly, Nor ſhould we Speak any thing *Raſhly*, much leſs *wiſh* any thing *Raſhly*. Sirs, The *Angels of Death* over-hear what we ſay, and God often gives 'em Commiſſion to ſmite a Man, *Ex ore ſuo.* How often have we ſeen it, That a *Fool's Mouth is his Deſtruction, and his Lips are the Snare of his Soul!* There was once a very Godly Man, of whom 'tis reported in Pſal. 106. 32. *It went ill with him, becauſe they provoked his Spirit, ſo that he ſpoke unadviſedly with his Lips.* I'll tell you what I have met withal. I have heard a Vexed Father ſay, *He cared not whether he ever ſaw ſuch a Child again.* That Child has gone out of his Preſence, and through the Diſpatches of Death, he has never ſeen that Child again.

I have known a weary *Mother* ſay, *She hopes this is the laſt Child ſhe ſhall ever have*; and multiplied, and unhappy Miſcarriages, ever after, have given 'em cauſe to remind what they ſaid, with Bitterneſs of Soul.

Again, There was a Sailor in a Boat bound hither from the Northward, who being diſſwaded from taking a *Pipe of Tobacco*, becauſe they had a Barrel of Powder aboard, reply'd, *I will take it, though the Devil carry me away alive!* The Fire ſome how came at the Powder, which tore the Boat in pieces, and loſt all the Goods that were in it. All the Men, were to admiration preſerved; except that one Sailor, whom they long after *found* in the Woods, with his Body torn to pieces. Who *carried him away*, think you?

Once more; A Lewd Young Man, being diſſatisfied, with the Service wherein he lived, at the Houſe of an honeſt Man, in a Neighbouring Town, when they told him, That his bad Courſes would bring him to *Hell* at the laſt, he wickedly ſaid, *He had rather be in Hell than in his Maſters Houſe.* Immediately after this, he was in a very ſtrange manner drowned off a Little Bank in the River. Take one Example more.

There was an Old *Profeſſor* in one of our Churches, who being under the *Admonition* of the Church for ſome Offences, was by his Friends call'd upon, to *Repent*, and *Reform*, and *Humble* himſelf. But he flew into this outrageous Anſwer, *No, I will Burn, before I will Turn.* And Behold the Iſſue! This Man ſome time after *fell* into the Fire, and was Burnt to death. Take yet one more Example. 'Tis well known to all the Neighbours.

A Man in our *Narraganſett*-Country having ſet his Dog to *Miſchief* his Neighbours Cattel, deny'd the Fact with Imprecations *That he might never ſtir from the Place, if he had ſo done.* The Neighbour, to whom he deny'd it, expreſſing himſelf troubled at his Impudent Lying, this *Atheiſt* hereupon uſed the Name of the Great God in his Imprecations, *That God would never let him ſtir out of that place, if he did the Thing.* The Words were ſcarce out of his Mouth, but he ſunk down dead in the Place, and never ſtirr'd any more.

Credible Perſons in this Place have been able to teſtifie unto the Truth of another ſuch Paſſage.

A Fellow aboard a Veſſel commanded by one *Wollery*, being charged with ſome Deceit, horribly wiſh'd *That the Devil might put out his Eyes, if he had done as had been ſuſpected concerning him.* That very Night a Rheum fell into his Eyes, with which in a few Days, to the Aſtoniſhment of his Company, he became ſtark-blind, even as if he had forſworn himſelf, with waſhing his Eyes in the Fountains of *Sardinia*. And the Phyſicians hearing how he fell into his Blindneſs durſt not undertake the Cure of it.

And, as they who curſe themſelves, often ſmart for it, [conſider of this, ye hardy Wretches, who call upon the Almighty to *damn* you, which the *Devils* themſelves are not ſo hardy, as to do!] So they who Curſe others, do horribly wound themſelves in the Recoil. You ſhall hear an Example.

A debauch'd Fellow had curs'd that Excellent Man, Governour *Prince*. The Governour laid before the Tranſgreſſor, the great Sin he had committed; and with a Grave, Holy, Awful Admonition, beſought him to conſider of that Scripture in *Pſal.* 109. 17, 18. *As he loved Curſing, ſo let it come unto him, as he delighted not in Bleſſing, ſo let it be far from him. As he clothed himſelf with Curſing, like as with his Garment, ſo let it come into his Bowels, and like Oyl into his Bones.* Quickly after this, a direful *Cancer* ſmote this Man; the *Cancer* appear'd firſt in his Lip, and ſo it eat away his Fleſh, and his Jaw down to his Throat, where, with inexpreſſible Torments it kill'd him.

Behold, O Man, *If thou deſireſt Life, keep thy Tongue from Evil!*

The Third Remark.

There is a lying Proverb, *A Drunken Man gets no harm.* We have ſeen the Judgments of God upon *Drunkards* moſt wofully confuting that Lye. I am ſure 'tis not a Proverb of *Solomon*'s; for he ſays in Prov. 23. 29. *Who hath Wo? They who tarry long at the Wine.* Is it no harm for a Man to bring *Sickneſs* on his Body? We have ſeen *Drunkards* often periſhing in *Diſeaſes* contracted by their *Debauches*. Is it no harm, for a Man to bring *Diſgrace* on his Eſteem? We have often ſeen *Drunkards* become very Abjects, tho' they once were Folks of ſome Faſhion and Figure in the World. Is it no harm for a Man to bring *Poverty* on his Eſtate? We have often ſeen the Judgments of God fulfilling that Word, *The Drunkard ſhall come to Poverty.* Surely, 'tis no little Harm for Men to debaſe and confound their own Souls, and lay themſelves open unto the worſt of all the Temptations of the *Devil*, the worſt of all Impieties. But Sirs, how often have we ſeen woful *Drunkards* doing ſo? We have ſeen them turn *Beaſts*, yea, turn *Devils!* But more particularly,

A *Drunken* Man is in Old Engliſh as much as to ſay, a *Drowned* Man. To ſee then, a *Drunken* Man become a *Drowned* Man, is to ſee but a moſt *Retaliating Hand* of God. Why, we have ſeen this very Thing more than Threeſcore times in our Land. And I remember the drowning of one *Drunkard*, ſo odly circumſtanced; It was in the Hold of a Veſſel, that lay full of Water near the Shore. We have ſeen it ſo often, that I am amazed at you, O ye *Drunkards* of *New-England*, I am amazed, that you can *harden your Hearts* in your Sin,, without expecting to *be deſtroyed ſuddenly, and without Remedy.* Yea, and we have ſeen the *Devil* that has poſſeſs'd the *Drunkard*, throwing him into the Fire as well as into the Water. They have tumbled into the Fire, and then kept ſhrieking, *Fire! Fire!* till they have gone down to the Fire that never ſhall be quenched. Yea, more than one or two *Drunken* Women in this very Town, have, while in their Drink, fallen into the Fire, and ſo they have Tragically gone roaring out of one Fire into another. O ye *Daughters of Belial, Hear, and Fear, and do wickedly no more.*

The Fourth Remark.

It was a Thing once charged upon *Sabbath-breakers*, in Neh. 13. 18. *Ye bring Wrath upon Iſrael by profaning the Sabbath.* And have not we ſeen the Wrath of God correcting Profanations of the *Chriſtian Sabbath*, with Rebukes of *Thunder* and *Lightning*? And indeed ſome intelligent Perſons have noted it, That the dreadful Storms of *Thunder* and *Lightning*, which have kill'd many among us from Year to Year, as God overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; they have moſtly happened on or near the *Lord's-Day*; as an intimation, that Breaches of the *Lord's-Day* have procured the Firing of the great Artillery of Heaven upon us. However, our Land ſees little Reſt through the Judgments of God upon us for the Violations of the Sacred Reſt which he has appointed for us. And the many Diſaſters which happen on the Lord's-day among us, may be ſo many Judgments upon us for our not Sanctifying the *Day* unto the Lord. But all the more ſpecial Examples of Judgments coming for Sins againſt the *Sabbath*, I will wrap up in this one piece of Hiſtory.

I have been deſired by many Malefactors, to be with them at their Execution; and then, in thoſe laſt and ſad Minutes of their Lives, they have ſometimes cried out, *This, this, is a Judgment of God upon my* Sabbath-breaking! *I may thank my* Sabbath-breaking *for all this; 'Twas for my miſ-ſpending of the* Sabbath *with vain Perſons, and in vain Actions, that God has left me to that Wickedneſs which has brought upon me all of this* horrible Miſery! Think of this, you that ſtill ſay of the *Lord's-Day, What a Wearineſs is it?*

The

The Fifth Remark.

Diſobedient Children! My Heart akes for you; for I have ſeen the Judgments of God, making ſuch as you the moſt aſtoniſhing Monuments of his Indignation. It was a Cuſtom in *Iſrael*, that once a Year this Proclamation was made, from the Top of Mount *Ebal*, in Deut. 27. 16. *Curſed be he that ſets Light by his Father, or his Mother. And all the People ſhall ſay Amen.* As from the Top of that Mount, I do this Day proclaim it, That I have ſeen the Curſe of God making a Quick Work with ſuch as have not honoured their Parents; while I have alſo ſeen thoſe Children, who have honoured, and ſupported, and comforted their Parents, wonderfully proſpering under the manifold Bleſſings of God. And I pray all the People to mind it.

Very few have died on the Gallows in this place, but what have wrung their Hands upon the Ladder, with this Out-cry, 'This is a Judgment of God upon me for my Undutifulneſs unto my Parents. My Diſobedience to my Parents has brought me hither.

But this Article of *Diſcourſe* may not be diſmiſſed until we have ſingled out one particular Example of the ſtrange Puniſhments which Undutiful Children bring upon themſelves, from the Judgments of God.

A Reverend Miniſter of Chriſt, that often ſerved him, in that very Pulpit, where theſe Words are uttered, once obſerved a Son, to behave himſelf undutifully towards his Father, in the Ferry-boat, which was carrying them over the River. Whereupon that *Man of God* ſaid unto the Young Man, 'Young Man, I am ſorry to ſee you ſo little Regard your Father; I would ſeriouſly perſwade you to repent of your Undutifulneſs, or I will ſolemnly aſſure you, that I expect, the killing Judgments of God will overtake you, before a Year come to an End. And behold, before that Year was out, this young Man was miſerably murthered.

Hearken, my young Folks; and let not your Eye mock your Fathers, or deſpiſe to obey your Mothers, leſt the Ravens of the Valley do pick it out, and the young Eagles do eat it!

The Sixth Remark.

Unto the Contentious we have ſeen God recompence Indignation and Wrath, Tribulation and Anguiſh. Said the *Apoſtle* once in Rom. 16. 17. *I beſeech you Brethren, Mark them which cauſe Diviſions.* And I now ſay, *I beſeech you Brethren, Mark the Places and the Perſons, which by Diviſions have made themſelves Notorious: Mark, what* Judgments *of God have Signalized them.* Something of what I have marked, I will freely tell you.

I have marked it, That thoſe Places which have kept up *Diviſions* and *Strifes*, and *Schiſms*, have been direfully ſmitten with *Spiritual Plagues*, the *Plagues* which are of all the direfulleſt. The moſt Lively Saints in thoſe Places, have been ſoon ſnatch'd away by Death, one after another: The *Power of Godlineſs* hath been lamentably loſt among the Survivers, and a Leanneſs hath been ſent into their Souls: The Work of Converſion hath been at a deadly ſtand, and the Riſing Generation hath *pined away in their Iniquities.* Yea, there was one Church among us, wherein an uncomfortable Rupture happen'd; and a young Man in the Town was left unto an horrid Self-Murder; he drown'd himſelf: But he left behind him a Writing directed unto his *Father*, wherein there was this among other Paſſages; *Father, my Ruin was the Stubborneſs and Unfaithfulneſs of my tender Years; and evil Counſel and evil Company; and the Differences in the Church, by reaſon whereof I grew proud, and did not carry it in my Place, as I ought, which is the wide way to Ruine.* God make this young Man our *Warner:* His Name was *Warner.*

Again, I have marked it, That thoſe Perſons who have been the Grand Incendiaries in Diviſions, have been often branded with ſome Symptoms of the Diſpleaſure of God. Thoſe Perſons have been very induſtrious to blot the Names of other Men; and at laſt they themſelves have died with a Blot. This indeed is a Point wherein we muſt be ſparing; yet I may not forget, that a Counſel ſitting at a Town, for the Compoſing ſome Eccleſiaſtical Differences, our Venerable Old Mr. *Wilſon* ſaw one Man to be extreamly perverſe above the reſt, and moſt unreaſonably to diſturb the Peace of the Church. Whereupon, that zealous Man told the Counſel, he was confident, That the Jealouſie of God would ſet a Mark upon that Man, and that the ordinary Death of Men ſhould not befal him. It happened a little while after this, that the *Man* was barbarouſly murder'd by the Salvages.

Again, There was a quarrelſome Woman in a Church not far off; who having accus'd a *Man* in the Church of a Fault that ſhe could not prove, ſhe yet remain'd ſo irreconcilable, that ſhe would never come to the *Lord's Table* as long as that *Man* liv'd. He dying, ſhe bragg'd unto her Friends, That now ſhe would go to the Sacrament at the *Lord's Table.* One of them ſolemnly told her, That ſhe might yet fear a Teſtimony of the *Diſpleaſure of God* againſt her for her unchriſtian abſenting her ſelf ſo long from that Ordinance. And, lo, ſhe died ſuddenly, juſt before the next *Sacrament* was to be adminiſtred: [tho' ſhe had the Repute of a Godly Woman.] Don't then, don't ſow Diſcord any of you, leſt you be an *Abomination to the Lord.* Be not unpeaceable, or unplacable: God is not pleaſed with the Froward.

The Seventh Remark.

We are aſſured in 2 Pet. 2. 9, 10. *At the Day of Judgment ſhall be puniſhed, chiefly they that walk after the Fleſh in the Luſt of Uncleanneſs.* And it is no rare thing among us, to ſee Judgment in this World alſo overtaking them. Father *Latimer* once preſented unto a Great Man, a New Teſtament, with this Inſcription emboſſed on the

the Cover of it, *Whoremongers and Adulterers God will judge.* And indeed, how ſurpriſingly, how amazingly may we ſee God judging that ſort of Sinners!

A Famous *Bolognian* Phyſician in Publiſh'd Bills profeſs'd a Sovereign *Antidote* againſt an horrible *Diſtemper* which *Men* bring upon themſelves by their *Uncleanneſs.* But when Multitudes flock'd unto him for his *Antidote,* he only gave 'em the Picture of a *Gallant* with his Noſe eaten off. He bid 'em, that when they were going to debauch themſelves, they would look upon that Picture; and if that would not preſerve 'em, nothing would.

Not much unlike to *That,* is the Courſe which I am now taking, to preſerve you from *Unchaſtity.*

We have ſeen *many, many, many,* to *die in their Youth*; becauſe their Life has been among the unclean. We have ſeen 'em to mourn at the laſt, when their Fleſh and their Body has been conſumed. We have ſeen 'em getting a Wound, and a Diſhonour, and a Reproach that is never wip'd away. It may be, the Juſt God ſays upon the Unclean, *Write this Perſon Childleſs.* Or, it may be, the Lord ſays, *I will kill their Children with Death.* Or, 'tis poſſible, ſome very miſerable *Diſaſters* have attended their Offſpring; *Peccatum ſeminis punitur in ſemine.* Why? Becauſe that ſome old Acts of *Uncleanneſs* have not been enough repented of.

'Tis ſaid of *Uncleanneſs, By means thereof a Man is brought unto a Piece of Bread.* Some forlorn People have cried out unto me, of their deſperate Poverty; and anon, they have confeſſed, That they believ'd the Judgments of God made 'em, and kept 'em ſo poor, to revenge the ſecret, curſed, horrid Adulteries which they had wallowed in.

Yea, how many have Ripen'd themſelves for the moſt Capital Strokes of the Sword of Juſtice, by this Wickedneſs! I have known ſeveral who under a Sentence of *Death,* for other Crimes, wherein they thought themſelves hardly dealt withal, have cried out, *Oh! 'tis for my ſecret Adulteries, that the Holy God has brought all this upon me!* And how many *Young Women* have been executed among us for murdering of their *Baſtard-Infants!* But, at their Execution, this has been their Exclamation; *Oh, that all young people would beware of the Snares of Uncleanneſs. By continuing in thoſe woful Snares, without any ſpeedy Repentance, we have been ruined!* One of the firſt in this Land that came to ſuch an End [her Name was *Martin,*] had yielded unto a wicked *Man* ſoliciting her Chaſtity; but with ſuch Reluctances of Soul, that in her Prayers to God for Help, ſhe ſaid, *If ever ſhe were overtaken again, ſhe would leave her ſelf unto his Juſtice to be made an Example.* She remembred not her Vows, but was again overtaken. She Conceived, ſhe Travailed, ſhe privately Deſtroyed her Child, uſing Two ſeveral Attempts before ſhe could wholly diſpatch it. Afterwards, upon a Removal of the Family, the *Murder* ſtrangely came to light: God made the Infant bleed afreſh before her, for her Confuſion; She own'd the whole Truth, and ſhe dy'd for it: But ſhe was Twice turn'd off before her Expiration. Say then, ſay my Friends, to all the Temptations of Uncleanneſs, *How ſhall I do this Wickedneſs, and ſin againſt God?*

The Eighth Remark.

Let us a little Summ up the Gains of thoſe who have uſed irregular *Methods* of Oppreſſion, or of Diſhoneſty, to gain the World. I have done it; and I'll tell you what I have ſeen the Sum Total to be. The Judgments of God have brought it unto that in Jer. 17. 11. *He gets Riches, and not by right; at his End he ſhall be a Fool.* Father *Latimer* would ſpeak of a grievous *Cough* which would come upon them that ſwallow'd Unrighteous Gains. Truly, *Loſſes* have uſually follow'd upon ſuch *Gains,* like ſo many *Coughs,* and *Men* have cough'd and cough'd, until they vomited up all that they had got. It is the *Charge* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt upon us, That no *Man* go beyond, or oppreſs his Brother in a *Matter*; becauſe that the Lord is the Avenger of all ſuch. We are told, *If thou ſeeſt the Oppreſſion of the Poor, He that is higher than the higheſt, regards it.* We are told, *God conſiders all the Oppreſſions that are done under the Sun.* There was much notice taken of this in the Infancy of our *Plimouth* Colony, when the poor Planters had their dependance on certain *Adventurers* in *England.* The Adventurers taking their advantages of the extream Straits which thoſe poor Planters were in, ſent over Supplies unto them at the moſt extream Rates imaginable. The poor Planters made Return in *Peltry,* but the Veſſel was taken by a *Turks* Man of War, and carried into *Salley,* where they ſold the *Peltry* for Groats a-piece; as much too low, as the Goods for which they had been return'd, were too high, and the *Men* were made Priſoners into the Bargain, to the great Loſs of the Adventurers. But it would ſpend many Hours to relate the Notice which might have been ſince taken of many more ſuch evident Judgments of God on the Ways of the Oppreſſor. Oh! do not learn his Ways; God gives unto all ſorts of *Devourers,* Letters of Repriſal to take away his unjuſt Gains from him; very commonly it ſo falls out.

There are ſome that have us'd the groſſeſt ſort of Stealing and Robbing. But, have they enrich'd themſelves? I intreat you Sirs, to make our *New-Engliſh* Pirates the Subjects of your *Meditations.* That *Man* is blind unto Sun-ſhine, and blind before Lightning, who ſees not the Tremendous Judgments of God purſuing of thoſe wicked *Men.* Let no *Man* after this, run greedily after the Error of thoſe Children of Perdition. But if any of you have knowingly been Sharers with them in their Gains; for God's ſake repent of what you have done: You have carry'd Burning Coals into your Feather'd Neſts; don't put a Farthing of that *Money,* among the reſt of your Poſſeſſions; it will conſume all the reſt.

Others have had their finer Ways of cheating: but, what has come of them? The Eſtates gotten by cheating, have been but ſo many *Treaſures of Snow*; the Rains of the Wrath of God have wonderfully melted them;——at leaſt, *Vix gaudet Tertius Hæres.*

There are Perſons that have broken by their own *Extravagancies*; not meerly by ſad *Providences*, but their own *Extravagancies*: Theſe have uſed more *Fraudulence* than *Fair dealing*, in their *Compoſitions* with their Creditors: But have we not ſeen afterwards, that after This (as we ſay) *No Butter would ever ſtick upon their Bread.*

Widows, When the Eſtates of the Deceas'd Husbands have been Inſolvent, have not always given in true Accounts; They have held back a part, that they ſhould not have with-held: God has been offended at 'em; they have gone under the Scourges of God all their Days for that Offence.

Deſperate Gameſters, What hand have they made of it? I can tell what one of 'em did. He had play'd away about *Forty Pounds* in lewd Company, and then he fell into Horror of Conſcience, wherein he often cried out, *I am all on Fire under the Wrath of God! I am all on Fire under the Wrath of God!* And ſo he went and hanged himſelf,

Make all the Reſtitution you can, ye Cheats; or expect the Judgments of God upon you.—— *Diſcite Juſtitiam Moniti.*

The Ninth Remark.

Methinks the Publick Judgments, under which we have labour'd, have ſometimes very convictively intimated the Sins and Faults for which thoſe Judgments have been laid upon us. I will uſe a plain Dealing in this matter. When have the Judgments of God ever depriv'd us of any Good Thing, but we firſt of all have deſpiſed that Good?

We have been Senſual, Exceſſive, Unthankful, in our Enjoyment of the Fruits of our Harveſt. The Judgments of God have blaſted them.

We have made Idols of our Lands, and for the ſake thereof neglected almoſt all that is Holy, and Juſt and Good. There was a time, when thro' the Judgments of God, our Titles to them all were conteſted.

Litigious Law-Suits were ſcandalouſly multiply'd among us. The Judgments of God brought us into a time, when the Extortions of the Law made a Cry among us.

Drinking-Houſes have been a moſt undoing Stumbling-block of Iniquity, in the midſt of us. The Judgments of God brought us into a Time, when Unſufferable Villanies were perpetrated every where under the pretence of the Exciſe.

Thoſe Times are now over indeed. But our *Indian* Wars are not over yet: We have too far degenerated into *Indian* Vices. The Vices of the *Indians* are theſe; They are very lying Wretches, and they are very lazy Wretches; and they are out of meaſure indulgent unto their Children; there is no Family-Government among them. We have ſhamefully Indianized in all thoſe Abominable Things. Now, the Judgments of God have imploy'd *Indian* Hatchets to wound us, no doubt, for theſe our *Indian* Vices.

A Thouſand more ſuch things, may occur to a ſerious Obſervation. Sirs, Conſider the wondrous Works of God.

The Tenth Remark.

Many People have ſinned horribly, upon a preſumption that they ſinned ſecretly: but the Judgments of God, have been wondrouſly and prodigiouſly, and ſtupendouſly diſplay'd in the diſcovering of ſecret Sinners among us. *David* no doubt, promiſed himſelf an everlaſting Secreſie of his Tranſgreſſion. *Thou didſt it ſecretly*, ſaid the Prophet: And the Pſalmiſt, calling to mind that Word, own'd in *Pſal.* 51. 4. *Againſt Thee, Thee only have I ſinned: and the Evil I have done in Thy ſight.* None was privy to the Crime, except one Man, who was a Partner in it. Yea, but ſays the Lord, *I'll make all Iſrael hear of it:* The Sin-Confounding Judgments of God, made all the Sin to come out. Sirs, Thoſe Judgments of God have been ſo exemplified among our ſelves, That I cannot imagine how ſome guilty Wretches, whoſe Crimes are hitherto Secret, are able to walk about, having the Terrors of the Shadow of Death upon their Souls.

How many ſecret Murders have ſtrangely been diſcover'd among us! And, I believe, there are yet more to be diſcover'd.

There have been *Deviliſh Filthineſſes* committed among us: But, Oh, how ſtrangely have the Sins of Men found them out!

At the Southward there was a Beaſt, which brought forth a Creature, which might pretend unto ſomething of an Humane Shape. Now, the People minded that the *Monſter* had a Blemiſh in one Eye, much like what a profligate Fellow in the Town was known to have. This Fellow was hereupon examin'd; and upon his Examination, confeſs'd his infandous Beſtialties; for which he was deſervedly Executed.

But, I'll never confeſs, thinks many an hard-hearted Sinner. No! So thought another *Man*, whoſe Name I could mention. He was one, who had formerly and frequently derided other Perſons, as Fools, for confeſſing againſt themſelves. This *Man* liv'd in Adultery, eſpecially with one Vile Woman, until God ſtruck him with a *Dead Palſie*, and a Quick Conſcience. Then he that had laugh'd at others for not concealing their Sins, could not conceal his own. He reveal'd his Villanies with that Woman and others, and he acknowledg'd the Juſtice of God, in compelling him to reveal them. The Woman alſo made an Acknowledgment of her Enormities: and they both dy'd for their Iniquities.

What

What ſhall I ſay? There have been *Church-Members* among us, who have made no mean Profeſſion of Religion. Theſe have gone on from year to year, in a Trade of *Secret Filthineſs.* Even, *I know, and am a witneſs of it,* ſays the Lord. Some of theſe have died in very ſad Circumſtances, and the World has never heard any thing of the Lord's *Controverſie* with them. Yea, but many of them have been ſtrangely detected, before they have dy'd. They have been left unto ſome fooliſh and ſottiſh Action at laſt, which has occaſion'd the Publiſhing of their Vileneſs unto all the World. The Holy *Eyes* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which are like *a Flame of Fire,* have ſeen their damnable Hypocriſie and Impiety; and, he hath made all the *Churches to know, that he ſearches the Reins and Hearts of Men*: he hath made their *Wickedneſſes to be declared before the whole Congregation*; he hath brought the *Publick Cenſures* of his *Faithful People* upon them. He hath done *much* in theſe awful *Judgments*; and *I fear, I fear,* he hath yet more to do upon ſome, in the midſt of thee, O *Boſton, except they repent!*

The Eleventh Remark.

The *Judgments of God* among us, have not been more conſpicuous upon any *Sinners,* than upon thoſe that have made *others to ſin.* There are ſome whom the *Scriptures* call the *Chief of Sinners:* Thoſe who are *Chief* in drawing others on to be *Sinners.* Truly, the *Judgments of God* have often made theſe as *Exemplary in their Plagues,* as they have been in their *Sins.*

I have known ſome wretched *Young Men* in ſeveral Societies, who have been the *Chief Debauchers* of the Societies which they belong'd unto. But, Oh! What ſad things could I tell you, of the *deadly Judgments* that God hath ſhowred from Heaven upon the Heads of thoſe *infamous Youths!* God has made 'em the Sons of *Eli* with his *Deadly Judgments.*

Under this Head of the Divine *Judgments,* why ſhould I not mention the *Condition* of One whom I knew in this Place? The Man deny'd the *Immortality of the Soul*; and would go to debauch other Men with his Vile Opinion, *That we have no immortal Soul in us.* This poor Man came to lie on his Death-bed, and then the *Terrors of God* ſo Thunder-ſtruck his *Conſcience,* that his dying Out-cries were, *Oh! what ſhall I do for my immortal Soul: What will become of my immortal Soul for ever!*

And, when, alas, when will our *Indian* Traders apply themſelves to that Commination in *Heb.* 2. 15. *Wo to him that gives his Neighbour drink; that putteſt thy Bottle* [thy Rhum-Bottle] *to him, and makeſt him drunken alſo.* While there has been a moſt Obſervable *Bleſſing of God* upon the *Preachers of Truth* to the *Indians,* all the World may Obſerve a *Judgment of God* upon the *Sellers of Drink* to the *Indians.* I pray, what have the Eſtates of ſuch Men generally come to? Do; Trade on, ye Merchants of Souls, or more truly, ye Butchers of Souls; Trade on, till the *Judgments of God* have cauſed you to trade your ſelves into *Beggary* at the laſt! But know, that the *Blood of Souls* will be found on your Skirts. It is not very long ago, that an unuſual Accident in a Part of this Province did affright the Neighbours into ſome ſerious Thoughts of this Matter. Several *Indians* were made horribly Drunk by the *Drink* which the *Engliſh* had ſold unto them. Returning home over a Little Ferry, eight of them were Drown'd; and three Months after they were Drown'd [from *December* to *March*] one of their Dead Bodies came aſhore, very near the Place, where they had been ſupplied with their *Drink*; and lying on the *Shore,* it bled ſo plentifully, as to *diſcolour* the Water and Sand about it. Upon which the Conſiderate Spectators, thought of that Scripture, *The Stone ſhall cry out of the Wall,* againſt him that *gives his Neighbour Drink.* They thought there was a loud Cry of *Blood! Blood!* againſt ſome wicked *Engliſh* in this Matter.

The Twelfth Remark.

Finally, We have ſeen, we have ſeen, That by omitting their Prayers to God, Men beſpeak for themſelves the *Judgments of God.*

How many, that have liv'd Prayerleſs, have we ſeen to die Prayerleſs, or to die Hopeleſs?

We often miſcarry in our Enterprizes; now, if we would *Search and try our Ways,* it may be, we ſhould find, that we did not ſufficiently Pray over our Enterprizes before we reſolved upon them. How often, how often, have I ſeen this verify'd in the Judgments of God!

Yea, by a Prayerleſs Life we have ſeen Men pulling down the moſt Conſummate Judgments of God, upon their own Woful Heads.

It was a pathetical Paſſage in the laſt Prayer of a poor *Murderer* that was executed in this Place not long ago.

Oh! (ſaid he) *If I had gone to Prayer that Morning when I committed the Sin for which I am now to die, O Lord God! I believe thou wouldſt have kept back my Hands from that Sin!*

The Day, wherein *Men* have gone abroad without Prayer before they went, how often have the *Judgments of God* made it a Day of thick *Darkneſs* to the Prayerleſs People?

How remarkably has that Obſervation been confirmed in the Experience of Thouſands among us, *Negligentiam in orando ſemper aliqua notabilis Tranſgreſſio ſequitur.* Indeed the Inſtance of *Origen*'s Apoſtacy has been ſometimes brought with this Obſervation: But I do from the Univerſal Silence of the more ancient Writers, both before and after that ſcandalous Reporter *Epiphanius,* believe that whole Story of *Origen* to be a Sham, in After-ages invented by the Adverſaries of that excellent *Man*; and as falſe, as that *Origen* wrote the Diſcourſe, Entitul'd *Origen's Lamentation.*

Yea,

Yea, There was an aged Profeſſor, belonging to a Church in this Town, who after many years of good repute, with good People, became a *Drunken Sot*, for which he was Excommunicated. After his Excommunication, he fell into bitter Anguiſh of Soul, and at length dy'd in aſtoniſhing Circumſtances. But ſome of his Dying Words were; *I often pray'd unto God for a Mercy, which he ſtill deny'd me. At length I grew angry at God: Whereupon I grew ſlack in my Acquaintance with the Lord: Ever ſince which, He hath dreadfully forſaken me, and I know, that now he hath no Mercy for me.* Think of theſe things; and Oh! do not ſo *reject Fear*, as to *reſtrain Prayer* before the Lord.

Theſe are the moſt peculiar *Judgments of God*, unto which I have accounted it not amiſs to point you; That ſo you may *Tremble for fear of him, and be afraid of his Judgments.*

AN

APPENDIX,

Containing an Hiſtory of ſome Criminals *Executed in* New-England *for Capital Crimes; with ſome of their* Dying Speeches.

WE find in *Zuinger*, the mention of a City beſieg'd by a potent Enemy; where the Inhabitants took the *dead Bodies* of the ſtarv'd People, and ſet them in Armour on the Walls; at the Sight whereof the amazed Enemy fled.

One of the *New-Engliſh Miniſters*, beholding *Vice* beſieging his Countrey as an Enemy, ſingl'd out a Company of *dead Wretches* to ſet upon the Walls, in hopes that the horrible Sight would cauſe that worſt Enemy to fly before it. He publiſh'd unto the Countrey *An Hiſtory of Criminals*; which may be here over-again Publiſh'd, as a fit Appendix to *An Hiſtory of Remarkable Judgments:* For indeed in theſe *Criminals* the *Remarkable Judgments of God* were wonderfully *Exemplify'd.*

Pillars of SALT.

IT hath been thought, that the *dying Speeches* of ſuch as have been Executed among us, might be of ſingular Uſe to correct and reform the Crimes, wherein too many do live: And it has been wiſh'd, that at leaſt ſome Fragments of thoſe *dying Speeches*, might be preſerv'd and publiſh'd. Upon this Advice from ſome good Perſons, I have ſtollen an Hour or two, wherein I have collected ſome Accounts of ſeveral Ill Perſons, which have been cut off by the Sword of *Civil Juſtice* in this Land; and this Collection I ſuffer to go abroad, in hopes, that among many other Eſſays to ſuppreſs *growing Vice*, it may ſignifie ſomething with the Bleſſing of Heaven thereupon, to let the Vicious underſtand, what have been the Cries of our Miſerables, when paſſing into another World. Behold, an Hiſtory of Criminals, whom the Terrible Judgments of God have *Thunder-ſtrook* into *Pillars of of Salt.*

(I.)

ABout the Year 1646. here was one *Mary Martin*, whoſe Father going from hence to *England*, left her in the Houſe of a marry'd Man, who yet became ſo Enamour'd on her, that he attempted her Chaſtity.

Such was her Weakneſs and Folly, that ſhe yielded unto the Temptations of that miſerable Man; but yet with ſuch horrible Regret of Mind, that begging of God, for Deliverance from her Temptations, her Plea was, *That if ever ſhe were overtaken again, ſhe would leave her ſelf unto his Juſtice, to be made a publick Example.*

Heaven will convince the ſinful Children of Men, that the Vows which they make, relying on the Stability and Reſolution of their own Hearts, are of no Significancy. A Chain of Hell was upon her, and the forfeited Grace of Heaven was with-held from her; She fell a *Third* time, into the Sin, againſt which her Vows had been utter'd.

Afterwards going to Service in *Boſton*, ſhe found her ſelf to have conceiv'd: But ſhe lived with a Favourable Miſtreſs, who would admit and allow no Suſpicion of her Diſhoneſty.

A Queſtion like that Convincing One, of our Saviour's, unto the Woman of *Samaria*, was once odly put unto her; Mary, *Where is thy Husband?* And one ſaid alſo, *Did I not think thou*

thou wert an honeſt and ſincere Creature, I ſhould verily think thou wert with Child! Theſe Paſſages, which were Warnings from God unto her guilty Soul, did ſerve only to ſtrike her with Amazement, not with any true Repentance.

She conceal'd her Crime, till the time of her Delivery; and then being deliver'd alone by her ſelf in a dark Room, ſhe murdered the harmleſs and helpleſs Infant; hiding it in a Cheſt from the Eyes of all, but the Jealous GOD.

The Blood of the Child cried, when the Cry of the Child it ſelf was thus cruelly ſtifled. Some Circumſtance quickly occurr'd, which oblig'd her Friends to charge her with an Unlawful Birth. She deny'd it impudently. A further Search confuted her Denial. She then ſaid, The Child was dead born, and ſhe had burn'd it to Aſhes. With an Hypocritical Tear, ſhe added, *Oh, that it were true, that the poor* Babe *were any where to be ſeen!* At laſt, it was found in her Cheſt; and when ſhe touch'd the Face of it before the Jury, the Blood came freſh into it. So ſhe confeſſed the whole Truth concerning it.

Great Endeavours were uſed that ſhe might be brought unto a true Faith in the Blood of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt for the Pardon of her Blood-guiltineſs; and it may be, none endeavour'd it more than that Reverend Man, Old *Mr. Wilſon*, who wrote ſeveral Sheets of pathetical Inſtructions to her while ſhe was in Priſon. That Renown'd Man, Old *Mr. Cotton* alſo, did his part in endeavouring that ſhe might be Renew'd by Repentance; and preach'd a Sermon, on *Ezek.* 16. 20, 21. *Is this of thy Whoredoms a ſmall matter, that thou haſt ſlain my Children?* Whereof great Notice was taken. It was hoped, that theſe Endeavours were not loſt: Her Carriage in her Impriſonment, and at her Execution, was very Penitent. But there was this Remarkable at her Execution: She acknowledged her *Twice* eſſaying to kill her Child before ſhe could make an End of it: And now, through the Unſkilfulneſs of the Executioner, ſhe was turned off the Ladder Twice before ſhe died.

(II.)

THere was a miſerable Man at *Weymouth*; who fell into very ungodly Practices; but would particularly ſignalize his Ungodlineſs, by flouting at thoſe Fools (as he call'd 'em) who would ever confeſs any Sins, laid unto their Charge.

This Man liv'd in abominable Adulteries; but God at length ſmote him with a Palſie. His Dead Palſie was accompany'd with a Quick Conſcience, which compell'd him to confeſs his Crimes: But, he confeſs'd them ſo indiſcreetly, that by their Divulgation, they reach'd the Ears of the Authority: And in this Confeſſion, there was involv'd and concern'd, the Wretched Woman, who chiefly had been concern'd with him in the Tranſgreſſion.

By the Law of this Countrey, Adultery was then a Capital Tranſgreſſion, as it hath been in many other Countries: And this poor *Adulterer* could not eſcape the Puniſhment which the Law provided.

(III.)

ON *June* 6. 1662. at *New-haven* there was a moſt Unparallel'd Wretch, one *Potter*, by Name, about ſixty years of age, Executed for damnable Beſtialities; although this Wretch had been for now Twenty Years a Member of the Church in that place, and kept up among the Holy People of God there, a Reputation, for ſerious Chriſtianity. It ſeems that the Unclean Devil, which had the poſſeſſion of this *Monſter*, had carry'd all his Luſts with ſo much Fury into this one Channel of Wickedneſs, that there was no notice taken of his being wicked in any other. Hence 'twas, that he was Devout in Worſhip, Gifted in Prayer, Forward in Edifying Diſcourſe among the Religious, and Zealous in Reproving the Sins of the other People; Every one counted him a *Saint*: And he Enjoy'd ſuch a Peace in his own *Mind*,' that in ſeveral Fits of Sickneſs, wherein he ſeem'd *Nigh unto Death*, he ſeem'd *Willing to die*; Yea, *Death* (he ſaid) *Smiled on him*. Nevertheleſs, this Diabolical Creature, had liv'd in moſt infandous Buggeries for no leſs than Fifty Years together; and now at the Gallows there were kill'd before his Eyes a *Cow*, two *Heifers*, three *Sheep*, and two *Sows*, with all of which he had committed his Brutalities. His Wife had ſeen him confounding himſelf with a *Bitch* Ten Years before; and he then excus'd his Filthineſs as well as he could unto her, but conjur'd her to keep it ſecret: but he afterwards hang'd that *Bitch* himſelf, and then return'd unto his former Villanies, until at laſt his Son ſaw him hideouſly converſing with a *Sow*. By theſe means the burning Jealouſie of of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at length made the Churches to know, that he had all this while ſeen the Cover'd Filthineſs of this Helliſh Hypocrite, and expos'd him alſo to the juſt Judgment of Death, from the Civil Court of Judicature. Very remarkable had been the Warnings which this Hell-hound had receiv'd from Heaven, to repent of his Impieties. Many Years before this he had a Daughter who dreamt a *Dream*, which caus'd her in her Sleep, to cry out moſt bitterly; and her Father then with much ado, obtaining of her to tell her *Dream*, ſhe told him, ſhe dreamt, that ſhe was among a Great Multitude of People to ſee an Execution, and it prov'd her own Father that was to be hang'd, at whoſe Turning over, ſhe thus cry'd out.

This happen'd before the time that any of his Curs'd Practices were known unto her.

At another time, when there was a *Malefactor* adjudg'd in thoſe Parts to die, for the very ſame Tranſgreſſions which this Rotten Fellow was guilty of, the Governour, with ſome of the *Magſtrates*, moſt unaccountably, without any manner of Reaſon for their ſo doing, turn'd about unto

unto this Fellow, and ſaid, *What think you? is not this Man worthy to die?* He now confeſſed, That theſe Warnings did ſo awaken his Conſcience, as to make him for a time leave off his Infernal Debauches; and ſo he ſaid, *He thought all was pardon'd, all was well with him.* Nevertheleſs he return'd unto his Vomit, and his Quagmire, until the Sentence of Death at laſt fell upon him; and then he acknowledg'd, That he had liv'd in the Sin of *Beſtiality*, ever ſince he was Ten Years old, but had ſometimes intermitted the Perpetration of it for ſome Years together. During his Impriſonment, he continu'd in a Sottiſh and Stupid Frame of Spirit, and marvellouſly ſecure about his *Everlaſting Pardon* and *Welfare*; but the Church whereto he belonged, kept a Solemn Day of *Humiliation* on this Occaſion, wherein *Mr. Davenport* preach'd on Joſh. 22. 20. *Did not* Achan *commit a Treſpaſs in the Accurſed Thing, and Wrath fell on the Congregation of* Iſrael? And in the Cloſe of the Faſt, that *Faithful* People of God Excommunicated this *Accurſed Achan* from their own Society. But, as I have ſeen *Bewitch'd Self-Poiſoners* under a ſingular Energy of ſome *Devil*, obſtinately refuſe all offer'd *Relief*, until the Poiſons had prevail'd ſo far, that all *Relief* was too late, and then with *Roaring Agonies* they would have given Ten Worlds for it; So this *Bewitched Beaſt*, that had not been afraid of Dying till he came to the *Place of Execution*, when he came there, he was *awaken'd* into a moſt Unutterable and Intolerable Anguiſh of Soul, and made moſt lamentably deſperate Out-cries; among which Out-cries, he warn'd *Men* particularly to *Take heed of neglecting Secret Prayer*; which, he ſaid *had been his Bane*. He ſaid, he never us'd *Secret Prayer* in his Life, and that he *frequently* omitted *Family Prayer* too; Yet, he ſaid, he had *Pray'd* and *Sinn'd*, and *Sinn'd* and *Pray'd*; namely, by *Ejaculations*, with which he contented himſelf, throwing *Set Prayer* aſide. But ſo he periſh'd!

(IV.)

AN *Engliſh* Ship (in the year 1673,) Sailing from ſomewhere about the *Mouth of the Streights*, was mann'd with ſome *Cruel Miſcreants*, who quarrelling with the *Maſter* and ſome of the Officers, turn'd them all into the *Long Boat*, with a ſmall Quantity of Proviſions, about an Hundred *Leagues* to the Weſtward of the *Spaniſh Coaſt*.

Theſe Fellows, in the mean time ſet Sail for *New England*; where, by a Surprizing Providence of God, the *Maſter*, with his Afflicted Company in the Long Boat, alſo arriv'd; all, except One, who died of the Barbarous Uſage.

The Countenance of the *Maſter* was now come Terrible to the Rebellious Men, who, though they had Eſcap'd the Sea, yet *Vengeance would not ſuffer to live a-ſhore.* At his Inſtance and Complaint, they were Apprehended; and the Ringleaders of this murderous Piracy had a *Sentence of Death* Executed on them in *Boſton*.

Under that *Sentence*, there was heard among them a grievous Lamentation for this; *Their Education had been under the Means of Grace, and the faithful Preaching of the Goſpel in* England; *but they had ſinned againſt that Education.*

And one of them ſadly cry'd out, *Oh! 'tis my Drunkenneſs, 'tis my Drunkenneſs, that hath brought me to this lamentable End!*

The Horrors which attended the Chief of theſe Malefactors (one *Forreſt*) in the laſt Hours of his Life, were ſuch as exceedingly aſtoniſh'd the Beholders. Though he were a very ſtout Man; yet now his Trembling Agonies and Anguiſhes were inexpreſſible.

One Speech let fall by him, was, *I have been among drawn Swords, flying Bullets, roaring Cannons amidſt all which, I knew not what Fear meant; but now I have dreadful Apprehenſions of the dreadful Wrath of God in the other World, which I am going into, my Soul within me is amazed at it.*

(V.)

ON *March* 18. 1674. two *Men*, whoſe Names were *Nicholas Feavour* and *Robert Driver*, were Executed at *Boſton*.

The Crime for which they were Executed, was the *Murder* of their *Maſter*; whom, upon the Provocation of ſome Chaſtiſement, which he had given them, they knock'd on the Head with an Ax, in their bloody Rage.

After they were condemn'd, they beſtowed their Lamentations not only on the Particular Crime, which had now brought them to their untimely End, but alſo on ſome others, for which their Conſciences told them, that the Righteous God had left 'em unto *This*.

One of 'em ſaid, *His Pride had been his Bane*; For, he thought much of it, that ſuch a one as *he*, ſhould be a Servant; and he would ſometimes utter ſuch Words as theſe, *I am Fleſh and Blood as well as my Maſter; and therefore I know no reaſon, why my Maſter ſhould not obey me, as well as I obey him.* And now, ſaid he, *See what my Pride has brought me to!*

One of them alſo ſaid, That his Idleneſs had ruin'd him: He would not Induſtriouſly follow his Calling, but live an Idle, Slothful Vagrant Life. This, he ſaid, had undone him.

And one of them ſaid, That his Diſobedience to his Parents, had brought this *Miſery* upon him. His Father, he ſaid, gave him good Inſtructions when he was a Child: But he regarded them not. He would not go to a *School*, when his Father would have ſent him to it. He would not go to a Trade, when his Father would have put him to one. After his Father was dead, he would not be Subject unto them that had the Charge of him: He ran away from them; and after that he ran away from ſeveral *Maſters*. Thus he ran into the Jaws of Death.

Theſe things are particulariz'd in the Sermon preach'd juſt before their *Execution*; and afterwards printed under the Title of, *The Wicked Man's Portion.*

(VI.)

ON *Sept.* 22. 1681. One *W. C.* was Executed at *Boſton* for a Rape committed by him, on a Girl that liv'd with him; though he had then a Wife with Child by him, of a Nineteenth or Twentieth Child.

This Man had been *Wicked overmuch*. His *Parents*, were godly Perſons; but he was a *Child of Belial*. He began early to ſhake off his Obedience unto them; and early had Fornication laid unto his charge: After which, he fled unto a diſſolute Corner of the Land, a Place whereof it might be ſaid, *Surely the Fear of God is not in this Place:* He being a Youth under the Inſpection of the Church at *Roxbury*, they, to win him, invited him to return unto his Friends, with ſuch Expreſſions of Lenity towards him, that the Reverend Old Man their Paſtor, in a Sermon on the Day when this Man was Executed, with Tears bewail'd it.

After this, he liv'd very Diſſolutely in the Town of *Dorcheſter*; where, in a Fit of Sickneſs, he Vow'd, That if God would ſpare his Life, he would live as a new *Man*: but he horribly forgot his Vows. The Inſtances of his Impiety grew ſo Numerous and Prodigious, that the Wrath of God could bear no longer with him; he was ripen'd for the Gallows.

After his Condemnation, he Vehemently proteſted his *Innocency* of the Fact, for which he was condemn'd; but he confeſs'd, *That God was Righteous, thus to bring Deſtruction upon him, for ſecret* Adulteries.

A *Reprieve* would have been obtain'd for him, if his fooliſh and froward Refuſing to hear a Sermon on the Day appointed for his Execution had not hardned the Hearts of the Judges againſt him. He, who had been a great *Scoffer* at the Ordinances of God, now expos'd himſelf, by being left unto ſuch a Sottiſh Action!

He had horribly ſlighted all Calls to *Repentance*, and now, through ſome Wretches overperſwading of him that he ſhould not die according to the Sentence and Order of the Court, he hardened himſelf, ſtill in his unrepentant Frame of Mind.

When he came to the Gallows, and ſaw Death (and a Picture of *Hell* too in a *Negro* then burnt to Death at the Stake, for burning her *Maſter*'s Houſe, with ſome that were in it,) before his Face, never was a Cry for *Time! Time! A World for a little Time! The Inexpreſſible worth of Time!* utter'd with a more unutterable Anguiſh.

He then declar'd, *That the Greateſt* Burden *then lying upon his miſerable Soul, was his having lived ſo unprofitably under the* Preaching of the Goſpel.

(VII.)

ON *March* 11. 1686. was Executed at *Boſton*, one *James Morgan*, for an Horrible Murther. A *Man*, finding it neceſſary to come into his Houſe, he ſwore he would run a Spit into his Bowels; and he was as bad as his Word.

He was a paſſionate Fellow; and now, after his Condemnation, he much bewail'd his having been given to Curſing in his Paſſions.

The Reverend Perſon, who preach'd unto a great Aſſembly, on the Day of this poor *Man's* Execution, did in the midſt of his Sermon, take occaſion to read a Paper which he had receiv'd from the *Malefactor* then preſent in the Aſſembly. It was as followeth.

'I *James Morgan*, being condemn'd to die, 'muſt needs own, to the Glory of God, that 'He is Righteous, and that I have by my Sins 'provok'd him to deſtroy me before my time. 'I have been a great Sinner, guilty of Sabbath-'breaking, of Lying, and of Uncleanneſs; but 'there are eſpecially two Sins whereby I have 'offended the Great God; one is that Sin of 'Drunkenneſs, which has cauſed me to commit 'many other Sins; for when in Drink, I have 'been often guilty of Curſing and Swearing, and 'Quarrelling, and ſtriking others. But the Sin, 'which lies moſt heavy upon my Conſcience, is 'That I have deſpiſed the Word of God, and 'many a time refuſed to hear it preach'd. For 'theſe things, I believe God has left me to that, 'which has brought me to a ſhameful and miſerable Death. I do therefore beſeech and 'warn all Perſons, young Men eſpecially, to take 'heed of theſe Sins, leſt they provoke the Lord 'to do to them as he has juſtly done by me. And, 'for the further Peace of my own Conſcience, 'I think my ſelf oblig'd to add this unto my 'foregoing Confeſſion, *That I own the Sentence 'which the Honour'd Court has paſs'd upon me, to be* 'Exceeding Juſt: inaſmuch as (though I had no 'former Grudge and Malice againſt the man 'whom I have kill'd, yet) my Paſſion at the time 'of the Fact, was ſo outragious, as that it hurried 'me on to the doing of that which makes me now 'juſtly proceeded againſt as a Murderer.

After the Sermon, a Miniſter, at his Deſire, went unto the Place of Execution with him. And of what paſſed by the way, there was a Copy taken, which here enſueth.

The Diſcourſe of the Miniſter *with* James Morgan, *on the way to his Execution.*

Min. I'm come hither to anſwer your Deſires, which juſt now you expreſs'd to me in the Publick, that I would give you my Company at your Execution.

Mor.

Mor. *Dear Sir, how much am I beholden to you! You have already done a great deal for me. O, who am I, that I have been ſuch a vile Wretch, that any Servants of God ſhould take notice of me!*

Min. I beſeech you to make this uſe of it; I believe there is not one Chriſtian this day beholding you, who would not willingly be at the greateſt pains they could deviſe to ſave your precious Soul: how merciful then is that *Man*, who is *God* as well as *Man*! how unſpeakably ready is the Lord Chriſt to ſave the Souls of Sinners that affectionately look unto him! The Goodneſs and Pitifulneſs of the moſt tender-hearted Man in the World is but a Shadow of what is in Him. The Compaſſions of any Man compar'd with the Bowels of a merciful *JESUS* are but as the painted Sun, or the painted Fire, in compariſon of the real.

Mor. *Oh that I could now look unto him as I ought to do! Lord, help me.*

Min. Well; you are now a dying Man; the laſt Hour or two of your Life is now running. You know your ſelf now to ſtand juſt on the Brink of Eternity; You ſhall preſently be in a State of wonderful Happineſs or of horrible Miſery which muſt endure forever: Which of thoſe Eſtates do you now count your ſelf ſtepping into?

Mor. *Oh Sir, I am afraid, but I am not without hope that God may have mercy on me.*

Min. What's your ground for that Hope? O ſee that your Confidences be not ſuch as God will by and by reject.

Mor. *I don't know well what to ſay, but this I hope is a good Sign, I have lived in many grievous Sins, in* Lying, Drinking, Sabbath-breaking *and evil* Company-keeping; *God has made now theſe ſo bitter to my Soul, that I would not commit them again, might I have my Life this Afternoon by doing it.*

Min. That's a great Word; God grant it may not be a Word only, the good Word of a good Pang, without ſuch a thorough Change of Heart as you muſt have if you would not periſh everlaſtingly. You are not like to have any longer time in this World to try the Sincerity of your Profeſſion.

Mor. *I know it, and I beſeech you Sir to help me what you can: I hope the Means uſed with me ſince my Condemnation has not been loſt.*

Min. I would not have the ſenſe of the Pain and Shame which your Body is about to undergo any ways hinder your mind from being taken up about the Soul-matters which I ſhall endeavour to ſet before you.

Mor. *Sir, as for the Pain that my Body muſt preſently feel, I matter it not: I know what Pain is; but what ſhall I do for my poor Soul? I'm terrified with the Wrath of God: This, this terrifies me, Hell terrifies me: I ſhould not mind my Death, if it were not for that.*

Min. Now, the Lord help me to deal faithfully with you, and the Lord help you to receive what he ſhall enable me to offer unto you. *Mark* what I ſay: You were born among the Enemies of God; you were born with a Soul as full of Enmity againſt God, as a Toad is full of Poiſon. You have liv'd now, how many Years?

Morg. *I think about thirty.*

Min. And all theſe Thirty Years have you been ſinning againſt the Holy God. Ever ſince you knew how to do any thing, you have every day been guilty of innumerable Sins; You deſerve the dreadful Wrath and Curſe of the infinite God. But God has brought you here, to a place where you have enjoy'd the means of Grace. And here you have added unto your old Sins moſt fearful Iniquities: You have been ſuch a matchleſs, prodigious Tranſgreſſor, that you are now to die by the Stroke of Civil Juſtice; *to die before your time, for being wicked overmuch.* There is hardly any ſort of Wickedneſs which you have not wallow'd in. That Sin particularly which you are now to die for, is a moſt monſtrous Crime. I can't poſſibly deſcribe or declare the Sins whereby you have made your ſelf an aſtoniſhing Example of Impiety and Puniſhment.

Mor. *O Sir, I have been a moſt helliſh Sinner. I am ſorry for what I have been.*

Min. Sorry, you ſay: well, tell me which of all your Sins you are now moſt ſorry for, which lies moſt heavy.

Mor. *I hope I am ſorry for all my Sins, but I muſt eſpecially bewail my Neglect of the means of Grace. On Sabbath-days I us'd to lie at home, or be ill employ'd elſewhere when I ſhould have been at Church.* This has undone me!

Min. And let me ſeriouſly tell you, your deſpiſing of Chriſt is a moſt dreadful Sin indeed: You have for whole Years together had the Call of Jeſus Chriſt to ſeek an Intereſt in him; and you would now give all the World for that Intereſt, but you would take no notice of him. The Jews of old put him to a worſe Death than yours will be this Afternoon, and by your Contempt of Chriſt, you have ſaid, the Jews did well to do ſo. How juſtly might he now laugh at your Calamity? And for theſe Sins of yours, beſides the direful Woes and Plagues that have already come upon you, you are now expos'd unto the Vengeance of Eternal Fire. You are in danger of being now quickly caſt into thoſe exquiſite amazing Torments; in compariſon of which, the Anguiſhes which your Body ever did feel, or ſhall feel before Night, or can ever feel, are juſt nothing at all: And theſe dolorous Torments are ſuch as never have an End. As many Sands as could lie between this Earth and the Stars in Heaven, would not be near ſo many as the Ages, the endleſs Ages of theſe Torments.

Morg. *But is there not Mercy for me in* Chriſt?

Min. Yes; and it is a wonderful Thing, that I have now further to tell you. Mind, I entreat you. The Son of *God* is become the Son of *Man*; the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is both *God* and *Man* in one Perſon; and he is both ſufficiently able and willing alſo, to be your Saviour. He lived a moſt Righteous Life; and this was, that ſuch as you and I might be able to ſay before God, *Lord, accept*

accept of me, as if I had lived righteouſly. He died at length a moſt curſed Death ; and this was, that we might be able to ſay unto God, *Lord, let me not die for Sin, ſince thy Son has died in my room.* This glorious Redeemer is now in the higheſt Heaven, pleading with God for the Salvation of His choſen Ones.—And he pours out his Spirit continually upon them that do believe on him : might you then be enabled by his Grace to carry your poor, guilty, condemn'd, enſlav'd, ignorant Soul unto Jeſus Chriſt, and humbly put your truſt in him for Deliverance from the whole bad State which you are brought into. O then his Voice is to you the ſame that was to the penitent Thief, *This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.*

Mor. *Oh! that I might be ſo ! Sir, I would hear more of theſe things : I think I cant better fit my ſelf for my Death, than by hearkening to theſe things.*

Min. Attend then: The never dying Spirit that lodges within you, muſt now within a few minutes appear before the Tribunal of the Great GOD ; in what, or in whoſe Righteouſneſs will you then appear ? Will you have this to be your Plea, *Lord, I experienc'd many good Motions and Deſires in my Soul, and many ſorrows for my Sin before I dy'd*: or, will you expect to have no other Plea but this, *Lord, I am vile, but thy Son is a Surety for the worſt of Sinners that believe on Him ; For his ſake alone, have MERCY on me.*

Mor. *I thank God for what he has wrought in my Soul.*——

Min. But be very careful about this Matter : If you build on your own good Affections inſtead of Jeſus Chriſt the only Rock, if you think they ſhall recommend you to God, *He that made you, will not have mercy on you.*

Mor. *I would be cloathed with the Righteouſneſs of* JESUS CHRIST.

Min. But you can't ſincerely deſire that *Chriſt* ſhould juſtifie you, if you don't alſo deſire that He ſhould ſanctifie you: Thoſe Two always go together. Is every Luſt that has hitherto had poſſeſſion of your Heart become ſo loathſome to you, that it would fill your Soul with Joy to hear Jeſus Chriſt ſay, *I will ſubdue thoſe Iniquities of thine ; I will make a holy, an heavenly, a ſpiritually minded Perſon of thee.*

Mor. *I would not Sin againſt God any more.*

Min. But I muſt deal plainly with you : You have made it ſadly ſuſpicious that your Repentance is not yet as it ought to be. When Men truly and thoroughly repent of Sin, they uſe to be in a ſpecial manner watchful againſt that Sin which has been their chief Sin ; One of your principal Sins, which has indeed brought you to the Death of a *Murderer*, is Paſſion, unmortify'd and outragious Paſſionateneſs: Now, I have been this Day inform'd, that no longer ſince than the laſt Night, upon ſome Diſſatisfaction about the Place which the Authority hath order'd you by and by to be bury'd in, you did expreſs your ſelf with a moſt unruly Paſſionateneſs.

Mor. *Sir, I confeſs it, and I was quickly ſorry for it, though for the preſent I was too much diſturb'd: 'Twas my Folly to be ſo careful about the Place where my Body ſhould be laid, when my precious Soul was in ſuch a Condition.*——

Min. Truly, you have cauſe to mourn for it. Secure the Welfare of your Soul, and this (now) pinion'd, hang'd, vile Body of yours will ſhortly be rais'd unto Glory, Glory for evermore. And let me put you in mind of one thing more; I doubt you have not yet laid aſide your unjuſt Grudges againſt the Perſons concern'd in your Conviction and Condemnation : You have no Cauſe to complain of them : And you are not fit to pray, much leſs are you fit to die, till you heartily wiſh them as well as your own Soul : If you die malicious, you die miſerable.

Mor. *I heartily wiſh them all well ; I bear Ill-will to none. What a lamentable thing is this ? Ah this is that which has brought me hither !*

Min. What do you mean ?

Mor. *I over-heard a Man mocking and Scoffing at me when I ſtumbled juſt now, he does very ill. I have done ſo my ſelf. I have mock'd and ſcoff'd like that Man, and ſee what it hath brought me to : He may come to the like.*

Min. The Lord forgive that fooliſh hard-hearted Creature. But be not too much diſturb'd.

Mor. *Yonder ! I am now come in ſight of the Place where I muſt immediately end my Days. Oh, what a huge Multitude of People is come together on this occaſion. O Lord, O Lord, I pray thee to make my Death profitable to all this Multitude of People that they may not ſin againſt thee as I have done.*

Min. Amen, Amen, ten thouſand times; the Lord God Almighty ſay Amen to this Prayer of yours ! It would indeed be an Excellent Thing, if you would now come to receive your Death, with ſome Satiſfaction of Soul in this Thought, that much Glory is like to come to God by it: I am verily perſwaded God intends to do Good to many Souls by means of your Execution. This is a greater *Honour* than you are worthy of.

[After the Diſcourſe had been intermitted about a Minute or Two by reaſon of the mirey Way.]

Mor. *I beſeech you, Sir, ſpeak to me. Do me all the Good you can : My time grows very ſhort : Your Diſcourſe fits me for my Death more than any thing.*

Min. I am ſorry ſo ſmall a thing as a plaſhy Street ſhould make me loſe One minute of this more than ordinary precious time ; a few paces more bring you to the Place which you have now in your Eye, from whence you ſhall not come back alive. Do you find your ſelf afraid to die there ?

Mor. *Sir, if it were not for the Condition that my Soul muſt by and by be in, I ſhould not fear my death at all ; but I have a little Comfort from ſome of God's Promiſes about that.*

Min.

Min. And what ſhall I now ſay? Theſe are among the laſt Words that I can have liberty to leave with you. Poor man, thou art now going to knock at the Door of Heaven, and to beg and cry, *Lord, Lord, open to me*! The only way for thee to ſpeed, is to open the Door of thy own Soul now unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Do this, and thou ſhalt undoubtedly be admitted into the Glories of his Heavenly Kingdom: You ſhall fare as well as *Manaſſeh* did before you; Leave this undone, and there is nothing remains for you, but the *Worm which dieth not, and the Fire which ſhall not be quench'd.*

Mor. *Sir, ſhew me then again, what I have to do.*

Min. The Voice, the ſweet Voice of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (who was once hang'd on a Tree, to take away the Sting and Curſe of even ſuch a Death as yours) unto all that cloſe with him, His heavenly Voice now is, O that I and my ſaving Work might be entertained, kindly entreated, in that poor periſhing Soul of thine! Are you willing?

Mor. *I hope I am.*

Min. His Voice further is, If I am lodg'd in thy Soul, I'll ſprinkle my Blood upon it; and on my account thou ſhalt find favour with God. Do you conſent to this?

Mor. *This I want.*

Min. But this is not all that he ſaith; his Voice further is, If I come into thy Soul, I will change it, I will make all Sin bitter to it: I will make it an holy heavenly Soul. Do you value this above the Proffers of all the World?

Mor. *I think I do,——and now Sir, I muſt go no further. Look here——- what a ſolemn ſight is this! Here lies the Coffin which this Body of mine muſt preſently be laid in. I thank you, dear Sir, for what you have already done for me.*

Min. When you are gone up this Ladder, my laſt Service with you before you are gone off, will be to pray with you: But I would here take my leave of you. Oh, that I might meet you at the Right Hand of the Lord Jeſus in the laſt Day. Farewel, poor Heart, Fare thee well. The Everlaſting Arms receive thee' The Lord Jeſus, the merciful Saviour of Souls take poſſeſſion of thy Spirit for himſelf. The Great God, who is a great Forgiver, grant thee Repentance unto Life; and glorifie himſelf in the Salvation of ſuch a wounded Soul as thine for ever. With Him, and with his Free, Rich, Marvellous, Infinite Grace, I leave you.

Farewel.

Being arrived unto the Place of Execution, his Laſt Speech upon the Ladder, then taken in Short-Hand, was that which is here inſerted.

I Pray God that I may be a Warning to you all, and that I may be the laſt that ever ſhall ſuffer after this manner. In the fear of God I warn 'you to have a care of taking the Lord's Name in 'vain. Mind, and have a care of that Sin of 'Drunkenneſs: For that Sin leads to all manner 'of Sins and Wickedneſs: (mind, and have a 'care of breaking the ſixth Commandment, 'where it is ſaid, *Thou ſhalt do no Murther*) for 'when a Man is in Drink, he is ready to commit 'all manner of Sin, till he fill up the Cup of the 'Wrath of God, as I have done by committing 'that Sin of Murder.

'I beg of God, as I am a dying Man, and to 'appear before the Lord within a few Minutes, 'that you may take notice of what I ſay to you. 'Have a care of Drunkenneſs, and ill Company, 'and mind all good Inſtruction; and don't turn 'your Back upon the Word of God, as I have 'done. When I have been at Meeting, I have 'gone out of the Meeting-houſe to commit Sin, 'and to pleaſe the Luſt of my Fleſh. Don't 'make a mock at any poor Object of Pity; but 'bleſs God that he has not left you as he has juſt'ly done me, to commit that horrid Sin of Mur'der.

'Another thing that I have to ſay to you, is, 'to have a care of that Houſe where that Wic'kedneſs was committed, and where I have been 'partly ruin'd by. But here I am, and know not 'what will become of my poor Soul, which is 'within a few moments of Eternity. I have 'murder'd a poor *Man*, who had but little time 'to repent, and I know not what is become of 'his poor Soul. O that I may make uſe of this 'Opportunity that I have! O, that I may 'make Improvement of this little, little time, 'before I go hence and be no more. O, let all 'mind what I am a ſaying now I am going out 'of this World. O, take Warning by me, and 'beg of God to keep you from this Sin, which has been my Ruine.

[His laſt Words were,] *O Lord receive my Spi'rit: I come unto thee, O Lord; I come unto thee, 'O Lord, I come, I come, I come.*

(VIII.)

ONE *Hugh Stone*, upon a Quarrel, between himſelf and his Wife, about ſelling a Piece of Land, having ſome Words, as they were walking together on a certain Evening, very barbarouſly reach'd a ſtroke at her Throat, with a ſharp knife; and by that one Stroke fetch'd away the Soul of her, who had made him a Father of ſeveral Children, and would have brought yet another to him if ſhe had liv'd a few Weeks longer in the World.

The Wretched Man was too ſoon ſurpriz'd by his Neigbours, to be çapable of denyiug the Fact: And ſo he pleaded Guilty, upon his Tryal.

There was a *Miniſter* that walk'd with him to his Execution; and I ſhall inſert the principal Paſſages of the Diſcourſe between 'em; in which which the Reader may find or make ſomething Uſeful to himſelf, what ever it were to the Poor Man, who was more immediately concerned in it.

Min-

Miniſter. I am come to give you what Aſſiſtance I can in your taking of the Steps, which your Eternal *Weal* or *Wo*, now depends upon the well or ill taking of.

Hugh Stone. *Sir, I thank you, and I beg you to do what you can for me.*

Min. Within a very few Minutes your Immortal Soul muſt appear before God, the Judge of all. I am heartily ſorry you have loſt ſo much time ſince your firſt Impriſonment: You had need uſe a Wonderful Husbandry of the little piece of an Inch which now remains. Are you now prepar'd to ſtand before the Tribunal of God?

H. S. *I hope I am.*

Min. And what Reaſon for that Hope?

H. S. *I find all my Sins made ſo bitter to me, that if I were to have my Life given me this Afternoon, to live ſuch a Life as I have liv'd heretofore, I would not accept of it. I had rather die.*

Min. That is well, if it be True. But ſuffer me a little to ſearch into the Condition of your Soul. Are you ſenſible, That you were born a Sinner? That the Guilt of the Firſt Sin committed by *Adam*, is juſtly charged upon you? And, that you have hereupon a Wicked Nature in you, full of Enmity againſt all that is Holy, and Juſt, and Good? For which you deſerved to be deſtroy'd as ſoon as you firſt came into this World?

H. S. *I am ſenſible of this.*

Min. Are you further ſenſible, that you have liv'd a very ungodly Life? That you are guilty of thouſands of Actual Sins, every one of which *deſerves the Wrath and Curſe of God, both in this Life, and that which is to come?*

H. S. *I am ſenſible of this alſo.*

Min. But, are you ſenſible that you have broken all the Laws of God? You know the Commandments. Are you ſenſible that you have broken every one of them?

H. S. *I cannot well anſwer to that. My Anſwer may be liable to ſome Exceptions. ——This I own, I have broken every Commandment on the account mention'd by the Apoſtle* James; *That he who* breaks one, is guilty of all; *but not otherwiſe.*

Min. Alas, That you know your ſelf no better than ſo! I do affirm to you, that you have particularly broken every one of the Commandments; and you muſt be ſenſible of it.

H. S. *I cannot ſee it.*

Min. But you muſt remember, *That the Commandment is exceeding broad*; It reaches to the Heart as well as the Life: it includes Omiſſions as well as Commiſſions; and it at once both requires and forbids. But I pray, make an Experiment upon any one Commandment, in which you count your ſelf moſt innocent: and ſee whether you do not preſently confeſs your ſelf guilty thereabout. I may not leave this Point ſlightly paſs'd over with you.

H. S. *That Commandment*, Thou ſhalt not make to thy ſelf any graven Image; *How have I broken it?*

Min. Thus: You have had undue Images of God in your Mind a thouſand times. But more than ſo; that Commandment not only forbids our uſing the Inventions of Men in the Worſhip of God, but it alſo requires our uſing all the Inſtitutions of God. Now have not you many and many a time turn'd your Back upon ſome of thoſe glorious Inſtitutions?

H. S. *Indeed, Sir, I confeſs it: I ſee my Sinfulneſs greater than I thought it was.*

Min. You ought to ſee it. God help you to ſee it! There is a *boundleſs Ocean* of it. And then for that SIN, which has now brought a ſhameful Death upon you, 'tis impoſſible to declare the Aggravations of it; hardly an Age will ſhew the like. You have profeſſed your ſelf ſorry for it!

H. S. *I am heartily ſo.*

Min. But your Sorrows muſt be after a *Godly ſort*. Not meerly becauſe of the Miſeries which it has brought on your Outward Man, but chiefly for the *Wrongs* and *Wounds* therein given to your own Soul; and not only for the Miſeries you have brought on your ſelf, but chiefly for the Injuries which you have done to the Bleſſed God.

H. S. *I hope my Sorrow lies there.*

Min. But do you mourn without Hope?

H. S. *I thank God I do not.*

Min. Where do you ſee a *Door of Hope?*

H. S. *In the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has died to ſave Sinners.*

Min. Truly, *There is no other Name by which we may be ſaved?* The Righteouſneſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is that alone, in which you may ſafely anon appear before the Judgment-ſeat of *God*. And that Righteouſneſs is by the marvellous and infinite *Grace of* GOD, offered unto you. But do you find, that as you have no Righteouſneſs, ſo you have no Strength? that you cannot *of your ſelf* move or ſtir, towards the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; though you juſtly periſh if you do not run unto Him? That it is the *Grace of GOD* alone which muſt enable you to accept of *Salvation* from the Great Saviour?

H. S. *Sir, my Caſe, in ſhort, is This; I have laid my ſelf at the Feet of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt for my Salvation; And, had it not been for his meer Grace and Help, I had never been able to do That. But there I have laid and left my ſelf; I have nothing to plead, why He ſhould accept of me. If He will do it,* I am happy; *but if He will not,* I am undone *for ever: it had been good for me that I had never been born.*

Min. And you muſt juſtifie Him, if he ſhould reject you. You ſurprize me with at once giving me ſo much of the *Diſcourſe*, which all this while I have been labouring for. I can add but this: *The good Lord make you ſincere in what you ſay!* ——Your Crime lay in *Blood*; and your Help alſo, That lies in *Blood*. I am to offer you the *Blood* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as that in which you may now have the Pardon of all your Sins. Now you may try the ſincerity of your Faith in the *Blood* of the Lord Jeſus for a Pardon, by this.

H. S.

H. S. *Do Sir.*

Min. The *Blood* of the Lord Jeſus is not only Sin-pardoning *Blood*, but alſo Soul-purifying and Heart-ſoftening *Blood*. It embitters all Sin unto the Soul, that it is applied unto, and mortifies every Luſt in ſuch a Soul: Are you deſirous of this?

H. S. *With all my Heart.*

Min. The Lord make you ſo. The *Lord ſeal your Pardon*, in that *Blood*, which is worth Ten Thouſand Worlds! But what will you do for that GOD, who has given you theſe Hopes of a *Pardon*? You muſt with a Holy Ingenuity now do ſomething for the *Honour of that* GOD whom you have ſinned ſo much againſt.

H. S. *What ſhall I do?*

Min. Why; Confeſs and bewail the Sins that have undone you, and publickly adviſe, and exhort, and charge all that you can, to take heed of ſuch evil Ways,

H. S. *I will endeavour to do it, as GOD ſhall help me.*

Min. I pray, tell me plainly what ſpecial Sin, do you think it was, that laid the firſt Foundation of your Deſtruction? Where did you begin to leave GOD, and ruine your ſelf?

H. S. *It was Contention in my Family. I had been uſed unto ſomething of Religion: And I was once careful about the Worſhip of God, not only with my Family, but in ſecret alſo. But upon Contention between me and my Wife, I left off the Ways of GOD, and you ſee what I am come to.*

Min. I would pray you to vomit up all Sin, with a very hearty Deteſtation. You are going (if I may ſo ſpeak) to diſgorge your SOUL; if you do not firſt caſt up your Sin, if your SOUL and your Sin come away together, you cannot but know ſomething of the diſmal Condition which it muſt paſs into. O what Cauſe have you to fall out with Sin for ever? It has been been your only Enemy. Here is the only Revenge which you may allow in your ſelf. You muſt not now bear any Malice againſt any one Man in the World, but forgive even thoſe that have done you the greateſt Injuries. Only upon Sin, be as revengeful as you can; I would have you like *Sampſon*, ſo to die, taking of a Juſt Revenge.

H. S. *I hope I ſhall.*

Min. Well, we are now but a very few Paces from the Place where you muſt breathe your laſt. You are juſt going to take a moſt Awful Step, which has this moſt Remarkable in it. *That it cannot be twice taken.* If you go wrong now, it cannot be recalled throughout the Days of Eternity. I can but commit you into the Arms of a Merciful Redeemer, that he may keep you from a Miſcarriage which cannot be recalled and redreſſed throughout Eternal Ages. The Lord ſhew unto you the Path of Life; Attend unto theſe as the laſt Words that I may ſpeak before the Prayer, with which I am immediately to take a long Farewel of you. You are now juſt going to be confirmed for ever. If the great God preſently find you under the Power of Prejudice againſt any of his Truths and Ways, or of *Enmity* againſt what has his bleſſed Name upon it, you ſhall be fix'd, and ſettl'd, and confirmed in it, until the very Heavens be no more. But they are very terrible *Plagues* and *Pains*, which you may be ſure will accompany this everlaſting Diſpoſition of your *Soul*. On the other ſide, If GOD now find your *Soul* under the Power of Inclination to *Love Him*, *Fear Him*, *Serve Him*; and to eſteem the Lord Jeſus Chriſt above a *thouſand Worlds*; You ſhall then be confirmed in the perfection of ſuch a Temper, and of all the *Joy*, that muſt accompany it. Which of theſe is the *Condition* that I now leave you in?

H. S. *Sir, I hope the latter of them.*

Min. The *Good GOD* make it ſo; and grant that I may find you at the Right hand of the Lord Jeſus, *in the Day of his Appearing*. May this Ladder prove as a *Jacob's* Ladder for you, and may you find the Angels of the Lord Jeſus ready here to convey your *departing Soul* into the Preſence of the *Lord*.

After this Diſcourſe, aſcending the Ladder, *he made the following Speech.*

Young Men and Maids,

'OBſerve the Rule of Obedience to *your Parents*; and Servants to your Maſters, according to the Will of GOD, and to do the Will of your Maſters: If you take up wicked Ways, you ſet open a Gate to your Sins, to lead in bigger afterwards: Thou canſt not do any thing but *God will ſee thee*, although thou thinkeſt thou ſhalt not be catch'd, thou thinkeſt to hide thy ſelf in ſecret, when as GOD in Heaven can ſee thee, though thou haſt hid it from Man. And when thou goeſt to Thievery, thy Wickedneſs is *diſcover'd*, and thou art found Guilty. O *Young Woman*, that is married, and *Young Man*, look on me here: Be ſure in that *ſolemn* Engagement you are *obliged* to one another; Marriage is an Ordinance of *God*, have a care of breaking that Bond of *Marriage-Union*: If the Husband *provoke* his Wife, and cauſe a Difference, he ſins againſt GOD: and ſo does ſhe, in ſuch Carriage; for ſhe is bound to be an *Obedient Wife*. O you Parents that give your Children in Marriage, remember what I have to ſay, you muſt take notice when you give them in Marriage, you give them freely to the Lord; and free them from that Service and Command *you ought to have*; yet *you ought to have* a tender Regard to them.

'O thou that takeſt no care to lead thy Life civilly and honeſtly, and then committeſt that *Abominable Sin* of Murder; here is this Murderer, *look upon* him; and ſee how many are *come*, with their Eyes to *behold* this Man, that abhors himſelf *before GOD*; that is the Sin that I abhor my ſelf for, and deſire you, take Example by *me*. There are here a great many *Young People*, and O Lord, *that they may be thy Servants!*

'Have

'Have a care; don't ſin; I will tell you, that 'I wiſh I never had had the Opportunity to do 'ſuch a *Murder*. If you ſay, when a Perſon has '*provok'd* you, *I will kill him*; 'tis a *thouſand to one* 'but the next time you will do it.

'*Now I commit my ſelf into the Hands of Almigh* '*ty GOD.*

His Prayer.

'O LORD our *good GOD*, thou art a merciful 'GOD, and a gracious and loving Father; 'Alas, that thou ſhouldeſt *nouriſh up Children that* '*have rebell'd againſt Thee!* O Lord, I muſt con-'feſs, thou gaveſt me Opportunity to read thy '*Written Word*; Thou art alſo my Creator and 'Preſerver: But, *Lord* I have not done accord-'ing to the Offers of thy Grace; Thou haſt not '*bid from* me the *Opportunities* of the *Good* Things 'and Liberty of thy *Houſe* and *Ordinances*, but I 'have waxed wanton under the Enjoyment of 'them. I have given thee juſt Cauſe to *provoke* 'thee to Anger, and thou haſt left me to Shame, '*not only on* my ſelf, *but on* my Relations. O *Lord* '*God*, I do confeſs, that I have ſinned againſt 'Thee, and done all theſe Iniquities againſt 'Thee, and before thine Eyes. *Lord*, I have ſin-'ned eſpecially againſt Thee; pardon my Sins of '*Youth*; Lord, pardon this *Bloody Sin* I ſtand here 'guilty of. O Lord, hide not thy Face from me, 'I humbly beg it of Thee: For there is no Man 'can redeem his *Brother's Soul*, but only the *Blood* 'of Jeſus Chriſt muſt do it. Let it be ſufficient 'to ſatisfie for my *poor Soul*. I have not done a-'ny thing that Thou ſhould'ſt be pleaſed to ſhew 'me thy LOVE; or that I ſhould have any thing 'from thee, but only *Everlaſting Miſery*. I am 'unworthy *to come to* Thee; yet Lord, for thy 'Mercy's ſake have pity on me. Now I am com-'ing to Judgment, *Lord*, let the Arms of thy 'Mercy receive my Soul, and let my Sin be re-'mitted: *Good LORD*, let not my Sins which 'condemn me here in this World, riſe up to con-'demn me in the World to come; though they 'have condemned me in this World, ſhew mercy, 'Lord, when I come before thy Judgment Seat. 'If my Soul be not humbled, Lord humble it: 'Let my Petition be acceptable in Heaven, thy 'Holy Mountain. I am unworthy to come into 'thy Preſence; yet, O let me come into thy 'Kingdom; and deliver my Soul from *Blood-* '*guiltineſs*, in the *Blood* of Jeſus Chriſt. O let 'my wounded Soul mourn for my Sin that hath 'brought me here. *Sin* brings Ruin to the poor 'Soul; Wo is unto me for mine Iniquity. *If I had* '*gone to prayer in the morning when I committed this* '*Sin, Lord God, thou wouldeſt have kept back my* '*hands from ſhedding innocent Blood.* O gracious *God*, 'remember thou me in *Mercy*; let me be an Object 'of thy Pity, and not of thy Wrath: the Lord hear 'me, and pardon my Sins. Take care of my 'poor Children. I have ſcattered them like 'ſtragling Sheep flying before the Wolf: Pity 'the poor Children, that go like ſo many Lambs 'that have loſt their Keeper; that they may not 'come to ſuch a Death as I do! Lord, for the 'ſake of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Righteouſneſs of 'thy Son, accept my Soul, and receive me into 'the Arms of thy mercy, that I may enjoy E-'verlaſting Reſt. Pardon all my Sins; and let the 'Prayers of all thoſe that put up their Petitions 'for me, be accepted, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. 'Now I am coming, now I am coming; Thou 'mayeſt ſay, *I called to thee, and thou wouldeſt not* '*come.* I muſt ſay, my Sin brought me here; O 'the World, and the corrupt Nature of *Man*, that 'has proved my Ruine! O LORD, good 'LORD, let me enjoy Reſt for my Soul. The 'Deſire of my Soul, is to be with thee in thy 'Kingdom; let me have a Share in that King-'dom. Now is the Time, Lord Jeſus; the Grave 'is opening its mouth. I am now living, tho' 'dead in Sin; let my Prayers be heard in Hea-'ven, thy Holy Place: Thy Hands have made 'me, and I know thou canſt ſave me: Hide not 'thy Face from me; and affect the Hearts of 'thy People with this ſad Object, that they may 'labour to ſerve thee betimes, and may not give 'themſelves up to Prophaneneſs and Wickedneſs, 'eſpecially that Sin of Drunkenneſs, which is an 'In-let of all Abominations.

[When thou haſt thy Head full of Drink, the 'Remembrance of GOD is out of thy Heart; 'and thou art unprepared to commit thy ſelf 'and Family unto GOD; thou art unfit to 'come into GOD's Preſence. I have Cauſe 'to cry out, and be aſham'd of it, that I am 'guilty of it, becauſe I gave way to that Sin 'more than any other, and then God did leave 'me to practiſe Wickedneſs, and to murder 'that dear Woman, whom I ſhould have taken a 'great deal of Contentment in, which if I 'had done, I had not been here to ſuffer this Death.]

'Thou art Holy, Juſt, and Good, and there-'fore, O Lord, have mercy on me, for the ſake 'of thy Son pity me, now, LORD, I am 'coming. O that I could do thee better Ser-'vice.

[Many of you that behold me, I know, wiſh you never had ſeen me here.

'Lord, receive my Soul into a better Place if 'it be thy Bleſſed Will: 'Tis a Day of great 'Trouble with me; my Soul is greatly troubled: 'give me one Glimpſe of Comfort in thy King-'dom: By and by let me have one Dram of thy 'Grace. Accept of me now at this time; 'Tis 'the laſt time: Good Lord, deny me not; Give 'me, as the Woman of *Samaria*, a Taſte of that 'Living Water, that my Soul may Thirſt no 'more. I beg it for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt '*Amen.*

After this, he was by the Prayers of a Miniſter then preſent, recommended unto the Divine Mercy. Which being done, the poor man pour-

red out a few broken Ejaculations in the midſt of which he was turned over, into that Eternity, which we muſt leave him in.

The Speech *of* Hugh Stone *in the Priſon, the Morning before his Execution.*

WHEN Young People are marry'd, they make uſe of Prayer in their Families, and when they pray, they do believe there is Sincerity and Affection in their Prayer: But when Difference between a Man and his Wife doth ariſe, then that doth occaſion Hindrance of Prayer in their Family: And when Prayer is wholly omitted, it lets in all Confuſion, and every evil Work. He ſaid 'That he uſed to pray 'in his Family; but when he did pray, it was in 'a formal manner; but now, from the Conſide'ration of Eternity that he was going into, he 'was made the more conſiderate in his Prayers 'that he made, and did hope, that now he had 'the Spirit of Prayer in his Praying.

(IX.)

ON *June* 8. 1693. Two Young Women, (the one *Engliſh*, the other *Negro*) were Executed at *Boſton* for murdering their Baſtard-Children.

The *Engliſh* Young Woman gave to the Miniſter who preach'd that Afternoon, the following Paper of Confeſſions; which he took occaſion in his Sermon, to publiſh unto the Congregation, where ſhe alſo was then preſent before the Lord.

I Am a miſerable Sinner; and I have juſtly provok'd the Holy GOD to leave me unto that Folly of my own Heart, for which I am now condemned to die. I cannot but ſee much of the Anger of GOD againſt me, in the Circumſtances of my woful Death. He hath fulfilled upon me, that Word of his, *Evil purſueth Sinners.* I therefore deſire humbly to confeſs my many Sins before GOD and the World; but moſt particularly my *Blood guiltineſs.*

Before the Birth of my Twin-Infants, I too much parlied with the Temptations of the Devil, to ſmother my Wickedneſs by murthering of them. At length, when they were born, I was not unſenſible, that at leaſt, One of them was alive; but, ſuch a Wretch was I, as to uſe a murderous Carriage towards them, in the Place where I lay, on purpoſe to diſpatch them out of the World. I acknowledge that I have been more hard hearted than the Sea Monſters: And yet for the pardon of theſe my Sins, I would fly to the *Blood* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which is the Only *Fountain ſet open for Sin and Uncleanneſs.* I know not how better *to glorifie* GOD, for giving me ſuch an Opportunity as I have had, to make uſe of his Mercy, than by adviſing and entreating the Riſing Generation here to take warning by my Example; and I will therefore tell the Sins that have brought me to my ſhameful End. I do warn all People, and eſpecially *Young People*, againſt the Sin of *Uncleanneſs* in particular: 'Tis that Sin that hath been my Ruine. Well had it been for me, if I had anſwered all Temptations to that Sin, as *Joſeph* did, *How ſhall I do this Wickedneſs, and ſin againſt God?* But, I ſee, Bad Company is that which leads to that, and all other Sins: And I therefore beg all that love their Souls to be familiar with none but ſuch as fear GOD. I believe the chief thing that hath brought me into my preſent Condition, is my *Diſobedience to my Parents*: I deſpiſed all their Godly Counſels and Reproofs; and I was always of an haughty ſtubborn Spirit. So that now I am become a dreadful Inſtance of the Curſe of GOD belonging to *Diſobedient Children.* I muſt bewail this alſo, that although I was baptized, yet when I grew up, I forgot the Bonds that were laid upon me to be the Lord's. Had I given my ſelf to GOD, as ſoon as I was capable to conſider that I had been in Baptiſm ſet a-part for him, How happy had I been! It was my Delay to repent of my Former Sins, that provoked God to leave me unto the Crimes for which I am now to die. Had I ſeriouſly repented of my Uncleanneſs the firſt time I fell into it, I do ſuppoſe I had not been left unto what followed. Let all take it from me: they little think what they do, when they put off turning from Sin to God, and reſiſt the Strivings of the Holy Spirit. I fear 'tis for this, that I have been given up to ſuch *Hardneſs of Heart*, not only ſince my long Impriſonment, but alſo ſince my juſt Condemnation. I now know not what will become of my diſtreſſed periſhing Soul. But I would humbly Commit it unto the Mercy of *GOD* in Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

(X.)

IN the Year 1694. a miſerable *Indian*, called *Zachary*, was Executed for Murder.

He underſtood ſo very little Engliſh, that it put the Engliſh *Miniſter*, who after his Condemnation, viſited him, unto an inexpreſſible deal of Trouble to convey unto him the Principles and the Directions of our Holy Religion. But the Lord ſo ſucceeded the Endeavours uſed upon the wretched Salvage, that within a little while, he could give a ſenſible, tho' a ſhattered Account, of the Fundamentals in Chriſtianity. And ſuch an Impreſſion had the *Doctrines* of Grace upon him, that he profeſſed himſelf deſirous rather to die, than to live at his own ſinful rate. He ſeemed even to long for his Execution, that ſo he might be delivered from all diſpoſition to Sin againſt God. But all his Hopes of Everlaſting Salvation he ſeemed very ſuitably to place on the Obedience which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, had yielded unto God in the room of Sinners.

Of this poor Creature, nothing had been here mentioned, if it had not been to introduce the mention of this one Paſſage.

He ſaid, that the Thing which undid him was this: He had begun to come and hear the Preaching of the *Goſpel* among the *Indians*: but he minded the *Indian* Preacher, how he liv'd; and he ſaw plainly that the Preacher minded his Bottle, more than his Bible: He lov'd *Rhum* too well; and when his *Rhum* was in him, he would quarrel with other People, and with himſelf particularly. This (he ſaid) prejudic'd him againſt the Goſpel. So he liv'd as a Pagan ſtill, and would be drunk too; and his Drunkenneſs had brought all this Miſery upon him.

(XI.)

IN the Year 1698. Was Executed at *Springfield*, one *Sarah Smith.*

Her deſpiſing the continual Counſels and Warnings of her godly Father-in law laid the Foundation of her Deſtruction. When ſhe was married, ſhe added unto the Crime of *Adultery*, that of *Stealing*; which latter Crime occaſioned her to fly unto *New-Jerſey.* Afterwards coming to reſide in *Deerfield*, her (ſecond) Husband, was carry'd Captive unto *Canada*: But the Woman, in grievous Horror of mind for the Breaches of the Seventh and Eighth Commandment, received many moſt ſuitable Counſels from Mr. *Williams*, the worthy Miniſter of that Place. In *Conformity* to his Counſels and Warning, for a while, ſhe led a reformed Life, and ſeem'd much affected with the *Word of God*, in the publick Diſpenſations of it. But, e're it was long, ſhe loſt her *Serious neſs*, her *Tenderneſs*, her *Convictions*; and relapſed into that Sin of *Adultery*. Her firſt Relapſe into that Sin, was attended with a *Conception*, which, tho' ſhe endeavour'd to render it an *Abortive*, the *Holy Providence of GOD* would not ſuffer it to be ſo.

She did with much Obſtinacy deny and conceal her being with Child: And when the *Child* was born, ſhe ſmother'd it: But the Neighbours found it out immediately. She then owned the matter, but made the uſual Pretence, *That the Child was dead born*: and remain'd as *poor Sinners* undone by the Sins of *Unchaſtity* uſe to be, under extream Hardneſs of Heart. Mr. *Williams* rarely viſited her, but found her guilty of *New Lies*; tho' ſometimes violent Pangs of *Horror* would come upon her, wherein ſhe detected her own Lying, and ſeem'd greatly to bewail it. The *Honourable Judges* deſired Mr. *Williams* to go down unto *Springfield* (which was the Place,) at the time of her Execution; who then found her under an aſtoniſhing Stupidity of Soul; and yet not pretending to Hopes of Happineſs in another World. He found her guilty of *more Lyes!* which afterward ſhe confeſſed ſo to be: She ſlept both at the *Prayer* and the *Sermon*, in the publick Aſſembly on the Day of her Execution: And ſeem'd the moſt unconcern'd of any in the Aſſembly; profeſſing therewithal, That ſhe could not but wonder at her *own Unconcernedneſs.* At her Execution ſhe ſaid but little, only, That ſhe deſir'd to give *Glory* unto *GOD*, and to take Shame unto her ſelf, and that ſhe would warn all others to beware of the Sins that had brought her unto this miſerable End; eſpecially Stealing, Uncleanneſs, Lying, Neglecting to read the Scriptures, and Neglecting to pray unto *GOD.* She had abſented her ſelf much from the Word of *GOD* on *Lords Days* and *Lecture Days*; and ſtaid at home, till ſhe had fallen into this capital Tranſgreſſion: Then ſhe would come unto the Meetings, with ſome ſeeming *Devotion.* She had ſinned away great Convictions and Awakenings; and Satan with ſeven more unclean Spirits, entred into her; and GOD ſeemed then to with-hold from her, the Efficacy of the means of Grace and Good, which his Faithful Servants in the Neighbourhood, uſed with her.

(XII.)

ON *November* 17. 1698. there was Executed in *Boſton*, a miſerable Young Woman, whoſe Extraordinary Circumſtances rung throughout all *New-England.* On this day of her Execution, was preached a Sermon: And becauſe the laſt Paſſages of that Sermon gave a ſummary Narrative, of what it is fit the Publick ſhould know concerning that Criminal, I have Transferr'd 'em into this Place. The Sermon concluded in theſe Words:

'Be aſtoniſh'd, O Congregation of GOD; 'Stand aſtoniſhed at the horrible Spectacle that is 'now before You. This Houſe, and perhaps this 'Land, never had in it a more Aſtoniſhing Spe-'ctacle.

'Behold a Young Woman, but an Old Sinner, 'going this Day to die before her time, for being 'wicked over-much! Behold, One juſt Nineteen 'years old, and yet found ripe for the Vengeance 'of a Capital Execution. Ah, miſerable Soul, 'with what a ſwift Progreſs of Sin and Folly, 'haſt thou made haſte unto the Congregation of 'the Dead! Behold a Perſon, whoſe unchaſte '*Converſation* appear'd by One baſe born Child 'many Months ago! God then gave her a Space 'to repent, and ſhe repented not: She repeated 'her Whoredoms, and by an Infatuation from 'God upon her, She ſo managed the matter of 'her next baſe born, that ſhe is found Guilty of 'its *Murder.* Thus the *GOD*, whoſe Eyes are like 'a Flame of Fire, is now caſting her into a Bed 'of burning Tribulation: And, ah, Lord, where 'wilt thou caſt thoſe that have committed Adul-'tery with her, except they repent! Since her 'Impriſonment, ſhe had declared, that ſhe be-'lieves, God hath left her unto this undoing Wic-'kedneſs, partly for her ſtaying ſo prophanely 'at home, ſometimes on *Lords Days*, when 'ſhe ſhould have been hearing the Word of 'Chriſt, and much more for her not minding that 'Word, when ſhe heard it.

'And ſhe has confeſſed, That ſhe was much 'given to Raſh Wiſhes, in her mad Paſſions, par-'ticularly uſing often that ill Form of ſpeaking, '*I'll be hang'd*, if a thing be not thus or ſo; and, '*I'll be hang'd*, if I do not this or that: Which E-'vil now, to ſee it, coming upon her, it amazes

'her! But this *Chief Sin* of which this *Chief of Sinners* now cries out, is, her undutiful Carriage towards her Parents. Her Language and her Carriage towards her Parents, was indeed ſuch that they hardly durſt ſpeak to her; but when they durſt, they often told her, *It would come to this.* They indeed, with bleeding Hearts, have now forgiven thy Rebellions. Ah, *Sarah*, mayeſt thou cry unto the *God of Heaven* to forgive thee! But under all the doleful Circumſtances of her *Impriſonment*, and her *Impiety*, ſhe has been *given over*, to be a *Prodigy* of ſtill more Impenitent Impiety.

'A little before her *Condemnation*, ſhe renewed the Crimes of her Unchaſtity; ſhe gave her ſelf up to the filthy Debauches of a Villain, that was her Fellow Priſoner: And after her *Condemnation*, her *Falſhoods* and her *Furies* have been ſuch, as to proclaim, That *under Condemnation ſhe has not feared God.* Was there ever ſeen ſuch an Heighth of Wickedneſs! God ſeems to have hang'd her up in Chains, for all the *Young People* in the Country to ſee what Prodigies of Sin and Wrath it may render them, if once they ſell themſelves thereunto.

'Behold, O *Young People*, what it is to vex the *Holy Spirit of God*, by rebelling againſt Him. This, this 'tis to be *given over of God!* And yet, after all this Hard hearted Wickedneſs, is it not poſſible for the Grace of Heaven to be triumphantly Victorious in converting and pardoning ſo unparallel'd a Criminal? Be aſtoniſh'd, miſerable *Sarah*, and let it now break that Stony Heart of thine, to hear it: *It is poſſible! it is poſſible!* But *Oh, thou Almighty Spirit of Grace, do thou graciouſly Touch, and melt this obſtinate Soul; and once at laſt, mould her Heart into the Form of thy Glorious Goſpel.* The *Glorious Goſpel of GOD*, now utters unto thee, Undone *Sarah*, that Invitation, *Tho' thou haſt horribly gone a whoring; yet Return unto me, ſaith the Lord, and I will not cauſe my Anger to fall upon thee.* The Leſſons of this Goſpel have been both privately and publickly ſet before thee, with a vaſt Variety of Inculcation. If all the extraordinary Pains that have been taken for the ſoften'ng of thy Stony Heart, be loſt, *God* will diſpenſe the more terrible Rebukes unto thee, when he anon breaks thee between the Millſtones of his Wrath.

'O, give now a great Attention to ſome of the laſt Words that can be ſpoken to thee, before thy paſſing into an aſtoniſhing Eternity.

'The Bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath been made a Curſe for us: There has been a moſt acceptable Offering and Sacrifice, preſented by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto God, for all his choſen: There is a Fountain ſet open for Sin and for Uncleanneſs: And thou, O bloody Sinner, art invited unto that *Open Fountain.* Such is the infinite Grace of God, that thou mayeſt come as freely to the *Blood* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the Forgiveneſs of thy Sins, as they that have never ſinned with a thouſandth Part of ſo much Aggravation; Come and Welcome (ſays the Lord) who receiveth Sinners. If God enable thee now to lay hold on the Righteouſneſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; tho' thy Faults are infinite, thou wilt yet *before* Sun-ſet, ſtand without Fault *before the Throne of GOD.* Thy Soul is juſt ſinking down into the fiery Ocean of the *Wrath of GOD*; but the Righteouſneſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is caſt forth unto thee once more for thee to lay hold upon. O, lay hold upon it and live! If God help thee to do ſo, then (as it was ſaid) The *Mary* whoſe Sins are many, has them *forgiven* her; So it ſhall be ſaid, The *Sarah* whoſe Sins are many, has them *forgiven her!* Then (as it was ſaid) *Rahab*, the Harlot periſhed not; ſo it ſhall be ſaid, *Sarah* the Harlot periſhed not! Tho' the *Blood* of thy murdered Infant, with all thy other Bloody Crimes, horribly cry to God againſt thee; yet a louder and better Cry from the *Blood of thy Saviour*, ſhall drown that Formidable Cry. Yea, then there will be Joy in Heaven this Afternoon among the *Angels of God*; the *Angels of Heaven* will ſtand amazed and ſay, *O the Infinite Grace that can bring ſuch a Sinner unto Glory!* But if ever the *Blood* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be applied unto thy Heart, it will immediately diſſolve that *Heart of thine*; it will cauſe thee to mourn for every *Sin*, to turn from every *Sin*, to give *thy ſelf* entirely unto God. It will be impoſſible for thee to go on in any *Known Sin*, or to die with a Lye in thy Mouth: No, thou wilt rather die than commit any *Known Sin* in the World. If this Diſpoſition be not produced in thee before three or four ſhort Hours more are expir'd, thy immortal Spirit will anon paſs into Eternal Torment. Thou wilt *before* to morrow morning be a Companion of the Devils and the Damned. The Everlaſting *Chains of Darkneſs* will hold thee for the Worm that never dies, and the Fire that never ſhall be quenched: Thou ſhalt fall into the Hands of the Living God; and become as a glowing Iron poſſeſſed by his Burning Vengeance throughout Eternal Ages; the God that made thee will not have mercy on thee; and he that Form'd thee will ſhew thee no Favour. But for his Mercy and Favour, while there is yet Hope, we will yet cry unto him.

A

Brief Narrative

OF THE

Succeſs which the Goſpel hath had among

THE

INDIANS

OF

MARTHA's VINEYARD, and the Places Adjacent, in *New England*: With ſome Remarkable Curioſities, concerning the Numbers, the Cuſtoms, and the preſent Circumſtances of the *Indians* on that Iſland: Further Explaining and confirming the Account given of thoſe Matters by Mr. *Cotton Mather* in the Life of the Renowned Mr. *John Eliot*. Written by an Inhabitant of *Martha's-Vineyard*.

Whereto is Added

An Account concerning the *Preſent State of Chriſtianity* among the *Indians* in the other Parts of *New-England*; expreſſed in the Letters of ſeveral Worthy Perſons beſt acquainted therewithal.

CHAP. VI. SECT. I.

The Triumphs of GRACE.

TO ſpeak more of the Original of this People, than that they are deſcended from the Loins of their great Grandfather *Adam*, however divers worthy Men have their Sentiments, I ſhall not pretend; but that *Language.* they are originally of one *Language* is moſt evident: Nor is the admired Knowledge of thoſe Ancients ſo admirable, for their ready ſpeaking more than *Twenty Languages* which may rationally be ſuppoſed to have been but *One* originally; though ſuffering ſome Change, by occaſional Accidents: We know the diverſe pronouncing of the ſame Words, without difference in Dialect, may render the Speaker hardly intelligible to him that writes alike with him: Nor do I think the Speech of theſe *Americans* ſo divers, but that an *Indian*, who is well acquainted with *His own*, may by converſing with thoſe, ſuppos'd of a *different* and other *Speech*, promptly expreſs himſelf in very few Years, ſo as to be well *underſtood* by Forty of theſe Nations; who by reaſon of Wars, the want of *Traffick* and the Advantage other *Nations* have had by Literature; have ſeverally ſuffered much Alteration of that Language, at firſt indifferently ſpoken by all, which yet is not more differing than the preſent Language of the *Engliſh*, from their Speech not many hundred years ſince; which altho' it would not readily be underſtood, by a preſent *Londoner*, if he ſhould ſpeak with his great Grandfather, who then lived, yet hath not ſo altered, but no long Converſe might render them mutually intelligible. Of Words not unlike in the *Indian* Tongue hardly intelligible without cuſtomary Diſcourſe of Nation with Nation, I might inſtance in above an hundred; ſuch as *Nuppaw*, *Duppaw*, *Ruppaw*, the Sun; *Attik*, *Abtooque*, &c. a Deer; *Winnit*, *Wirrit*, Good; and the like; *Pum*, *Pum-me*, *Pim*, Oil or Fat: Theſe and the like, were doubtleſs, the ſame Words little altered. Beſide which, the alone Difference in pronouncing the ſame Word, might ſeem a great Difference in the Speech or Language. For Example; *Wirrit* pronounced ſhort, ſounds *Writ*, and might be not leſs readily underſtood, by differently accenting the

ſame Word ; To which I might add Words, as ſuch, Expreſſing the Mind of the Speaker, being compounded of other Words, ſuitable for ſuch Compoſition, yet as ſuch might be called new, or diſtinct from a Speech in former Uſe: Of which Words, near the one Half of this *Peoples* Language is.

I have been the larger concerning their Language, that ſuch Engliſh whoſe Hearts may incline to ſo *good* and *Great a Work*, may be encouraged to go among thoſe who yet have hardly heard the Name of the LORD named among them.

Their *Government* was purely *Monarchical*; and as for thoſe, whoſe *Dominions* extended further than would well admit the Princes perſonal Guidance, it was committed into the Hands of *Lieutenants*, who governed with no leſs Abſoluteneſs than the Prince himſelf. Notwithſtanding in Matters of Difficulty, the Prince conſulted with his Nobles, and ſuch whom he eſteemed for *Wiſdom* ; in which it was admirable to ſee the Majeſtick Deportment of the Prince, his Speech to his Council, with the moſt deliberate Diſcuſſion of any matter *propoſed* for their Advice : After which what was by him reſolved, without the leaſt Heſitation, was applauded, and with at leaſt a ſeeming Alacrity, attended.

Government.

The *Crown* (if I may ſo term it) always deſcended to the *Eldeſt Son* (though Subject to uſurpation) not to the Female, unleſs in defect of *Male of the Blood* ; the *Blood Royal* being in ſuch Veneration among this People, that if a Prince had Iſſue by divers Wives, ſuch ſucceeded as Heir who was Royally deſcended, by the Mother, although the youngeſt eſteeming his Iſſue by a *Venter* of leſs Quality than a Princeſs, not otherwiſe than *Sachims* or *Noblemen*.

Succeſſion.

Their *Nobles* were either ſuch who deſcended from the *Blood Royal*, or ſuch on whom the Prince beſtowed Part of his Dominions with the Royalties, or ſuch whoſe Deſcent was from Anceſtors, who had time out of mind been eſteemed ſuch.

Nobles.

Their *Yeomen* were ſuch, who having no ſtamp of Gentility, were yet eſteemed as having a natural Right of living within their Princes *Dominion*, and a Common Uſe of the Land, and were diſtinguiſhed by two Names or Titles, the one ſignifying *Subjection*, the other, *Tiller of the Land.*

Yeomen.

Although this People retain'd nothing of *Record*, nor Uſe of Letters, yet there lived among them many Families, who altho' the time of their Fore-Fathers firſt inhabiting among them, was beyond the Memory of Man, yet were known to be *Strangers* or *Foreigners*, who were not priviledged with common Right, but in ſome meaſure ſubject to the Yeomanry, nor were dignified, in attending the Prince in Hunting or like Exerciſe ; unleſs called by particular Favour.

Villains.

The Princes, as they had not other *Revenue*, than the *Preſents* of their Subjects (which yet was counted *Due Debt*) *Wrecks* of the Sea, with the Skins of Beaſts killed in their Dominion, and many like things, as *Firſt-fruits*, &c. ſo they wanted none : For in Caſe of War, both People and Eſtate was wholly at their Diſpoſe ; therefore none demanded nor expected Pay. If we reſpect their Court, it was doubtleſs maintained in great Magnificence, in diſtinction from the *Subject*, which is the utmoſt can be obtained by the greateſt Monarch ; their Families and Attendants being well cloathed, with Skins of *Moos*, *Bear*, *Deer*, *Beaver* , and the like : The Proviſions for their Tables, as *Fleſh*, *Fiſh*, *Roots*, *Fruits*, *Berries*, *Corn*, *Beans*, in great abundance and Variety, was always brought by their Neighbouring Subjects ; of all which they were as void of Care, as the moſt potent Princes in the Univerſe.

Revenue.

As the Prince was acknowledg'd, *Abſolute Lord* on the *Land*, ſo he had no leſs Sovereignty at Sea : for as all belonged to him which was ſtranded on the Shore of his Sea-Coaſt, ſo whatever *Whales* or other Wreck of Value, floating on the Sea, taken up, on the Seas waſhing his Shores, or brought and Landed from any Part of the Sea, was no leſs his own.

Dominion on Seas.

I ſhall conclude this brief Account of the *Indians* in general with what long ſince paſſed between the late much Honour'd, Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*, and an *Indian* Prince, who ruled a large part of the Main land.

This Prince coming to *Martha's Vineyard* with his uſual Attendants, being about Eighty Perſons well Armed, came to Mr. *Mayhew's* Houſe ; and being admitted, ſate down : Mr. *Mayhew* entred the Room, but being acquainted with their Cuſtoms, took no notice of the Prince's being there (it being with 'em in point of Honour incumbent on the Inferiour to ſalute the Superiour :) A conſiderable time being paſt the Prince broke Silence, and ſaid *Sachem* (a Word importing in their Language not more than Noble or Worſhipful) *Mr. Mayhew are you well ?* to which having a Friendly Reply ; And treating of ſeveral things, and of the Iſland *Martha's Vineyard*, being peopled with Engliſh ; the Prince deſiring ſomething wherein the Engliſh were concern'd, Mr. *Mayhew* promiſing to effect what he deſired ; immediately ſubjoin'd, That he muſt *firſt ſpeak with the Inhabitants.* The Prince demanded why he recalled his Promiſe ; For, ſaid he, *What I promiſe or ſpeak, is always true* ; *but you Engliſh Governours cannot be true* ; *for you can't make your Words nor Intentions true* ; *but mine are always true, for I make them true* : greatly diſdaining the *Popular Government* of the Engliſh in this Countrey.

Grandure.

Ha-

Having promiſed an Account of the Converſion of many *Indians* inhabiting theſe Parts of *America*, it may be well expected I ſhould ſay ſomething of their Religion while Heathen.

They generally acknowledg'd and worſhip'd *many Gods*; therefore greatly eſteem'd and reverenc'd their *Prieſts*, *Powaws*, or *Wizards*, who were eſteem'd as having immediate Converſe with the *Gods*: To them therefore they addreſs'd themſelves in all difficult Caſes; yet could not all that deſire that Dignity (as they eſteem'd it) obtain *Familiarity* with the infernal Spirits; Nor were all *Powaws* alike ſucceſsful in their Addreſſes; but they become ſuch, either by immediate Revelation, or in the Uſe of certain Rites and Ceremonies, Tradition had left as means conducing to that end: Inſomuch that Parents often out of Zeal, dedicated their Children to the Gods, and educated them accordingly, obſerving certain Diet, debarring Sleep, *&c.* yet of the many thus deſign'd, but few obtain'd their Deſire.

Religion.

Suppoſing that where the Practice of *Witchcraft* has been highly eſteemed, there may be given the plaineſt Demonſtration of Mortals having Familiarity with infernal Spirits. I am willing to let my Reader know that not many years ſince died here one of the *Powaws*, who never pretended to *Aſtrological Knowledge*, yet could preciſely inform ſuch who deſire his Aſſiſtance, from whence *Goods ſtolen* from them were taken, and whither carried; with many things of the like nature: nor was he ever known to endeavour the concealing his Knowledge, to be immediately from a *god ſubſervient to him, that the Engliſh worſhipped.* This *Powaw* being by an Engliſh man worthy of Credit (who lately inform'd me of the ſame) deſired to adviſe him who had ſtollen certain Goods which he had loſt, having formerly been an Eye-witneſs of his Ability: The *Powaw*, after a little pauſing, demanded why he requeſted that from him, ſince himſelf ſerved another God, that therefore he could not help him; but added, *If you can believe that my god will help you, I will try what I can do*; which diverted the Man from further Inquiry. I muſt a little digreſs, and tell my Reader that this *Powaw*'s Wife was accounted a Godly Woman, and liv'd in the Practice and Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Religion*, not only by the Approbation, but Encouragement of her Husband: She conſtantly prayed in the Family, and attended the *Publick Worſhip* on the *Lord's-Days*: He declared that he could not blame her, for that ſhe ſerved a God that was above his: But that as to himſelf, his God's continu'd Kindneſs oblig'd him not to forſake his Service.

That the *Powaws*, by the infernal Spirits, often killed Perſons, cauſed Lameneſs and Impotency, as well as ſhew'd their Art in performing things, beyond Humane, by Diabolick Skill; ſuch who have converſed much among them have had no reaſon to queſtion.

Their Practice was, either by deſiring the Spirit to them appearing to perform, what miſchief they intended; or to form a piece of Leather like an *Arrow-head*, tying an Hair thereto; or uſing ſome *Bone*, as of Fiſh (that it might be known Witchcraft, to the bewitch'd) over which they perform'd certain *Ceremonies*; and diſmiſſed 'em to effect their Deſire.

Such inchanted things have moſt certainly, either entred the Bodies of the intended to be by them wounded: Or the Devil hath formed the like within their Fleſh, without any outward Breach of the Skin; which we have good reaſon to believe; the *Powaws* acknowledging that Practice; and ſuch things having been taken out of the *Fleſh*, of the ſuppoſed to be bewitch'd. Or, by their ſeizing ſomething of the *Spirit* (as the Devil made them think) of ſuch they intended to torment or kill, while it wandred in their *Sleep*: This they kept, being in form of a Fly, cloſely impriſon'd; and accordingly as they dealt with this, ſo it fared with the *Body* it belong'd to.

Of the Cures performed by them on the Bewitched *I could give many Inſtances. I ſhall briefly hint at Two.*

The one, of an *Indian* on *Martha's Vineyard*, called afterward *George*; who having been ſometime greatly Tormented, and now wholly Impotent; his Friends adviſe him to the *Powaws*, concluding him to be *Bewitched*: They being met, and dancing round a great Fire, the Sick lying by; ſome of the Neighbours entred the Houſe, being perſwaded that a great *Powaw*, now call'd to cure, had bewitch'd the Sick: They threaten him, that as he had bewitched, unleſs he would cure the Sick Man, they would burn him in that Fire. After many Excuſes, too long here to relate, they took him up, reſolving at leaſt to a little ſinge him; who no ſooner felt the Heat of the Fire near him, but the *Sick* immediately recovered.

This was a Thing publickly known to the *Engliſh*, as well as *Indians*, in the Neighbourhood: There can be no doubt of it.

The other I ſhall inſtance in, was a Relation from Capt. *Thomas Dagget*, Eſq; now deceaſed, and *Richard Sarſon*, Eſq; Juſtices of the Peace; who being on an Iſland, where a Bewitch'd *Woman* lay in great Extremity, and wholly impotent; the *Powaws* there having without Succeſs endeavour'd the Cure: The Related ſent to *Martha's-Vineyard* for more famous'd *Powaws*; the ſaid Gentlemen were admitted to be preſent, on certain Conditions: The *Powaws* go to dancing, who with the Spectators, uſed certain Ceremonies uſual in ſuch Caſes. One of the *Powaws* praying to his god, with ſuch ardent Deſires and Fervency, that Capt. *Dagget* told me, had it been to the True God, it had been a Prayer exceeding moſt that he had heard: The iſſue was, they in a *Deer Skin* caught the Spirit (as they ſaid) which entred the Woman. This, they ſaid, was the

the Spirit of an *Engliſh-man* drown'd in the adjacent Sound: Yet it was then ſuppos'd the *Powaw* was by, which bewitch'd her. The Iſſue was, ſhe immediately recover'd: The *Powaw* told her, *Unleſs ſhe remov'd to* Martha's Vineyard, *ſhe would again be ſick; for being an Engliſh Spirit, he could not long confine it.*

SECT. II.

Of the Converſion of the Indians *inhabiting certain Iſlands near adjoining to the Continent of* New-England; *and the Propagation of the Goſpel by ſome ſent to the Main Land from thence.*

THE Worſhipful *Thomas Mayhew* in the year 1641. having obtain'd a Grant of *Martha's Vineyard, Nantuket* and *Elizabeth Iſles*, to make a Settlement; his Son Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* in the year 1642, ſettl'd at *Martha's Vineyard*, with a few other Inhabitants, where his Reputation for Piety, his Natural Gifts beſide the acquir'd by his Education (having attain'd no ſmall Knowledge in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues; and being not wholly a Stranger to the *Hebrew*) ſoon occaſion'd his Call to the Miniſtry among that handful.

Not long after, *viz.* in the year 1644, God who had ordain'd him an Evangeliſt for the Converſion of theſe Gentiles, ſtirr'd him up with an holy Zeal and Reſolution, to aſſay what Succeſs he might find in that Work; he takes opportunity to inſinuate the Love and Good Will he bore to that People; and ſoon finds occaſion to let them know their *deplorable Condition*, under Satan, who as he had kept them in Ignorance of thoſe *Bodily* and *Earthly Things*, which might render their Lives in *this World* more happy; ſo of thoſe that related to their *Future Happineſs* in that to come, And whereas he could not be in hopes of being heard in a more publick, he treats them in a more private Way; ſometimes going to ſome particular Houſes, of Perſons whom he eſteem'd moſt Rational and well qualified, other while diſcou ſing with particular Men.

The firſt *Indian* imbracing the Motion of forſaking their gods, and praying to the true God, was called *I a coomes*, Eſteemed by the *Indians* as a contemptible Perſon among themſelves: Unto this Man, God who ordereth all things for his own Glory, gave ſo great a Meaſure of *Faith* and *Confidence* in his Power, that he is ſoon beyond the Fear of concealing his Contempt of *their Gods*: The *Sachems* and *Powaws* being much inraged, threaten his Life; the *Powaws* or *Wizzards* told him (a thing publickly known) that he could not be ignorant, that they could kill ſuch as diſpleas'd them, *viz.* by Witchcraft.

He anſwers for himſelf before the *Sachems, Witches*, and a great Aſſembly; acknowledges the god they worſhipp'd had *great Power*, but limited, and was ſubſervient to the God he now had choſen: Therefore although by their means many had ſuffer'd much, and ſome were killed, he deſpis'd their Power, as being himſelf a Servant of *Him, whoſe Power over ruled all Powers, and ordered all things*: The Expecting Multitude wait the Event, which while they concluded to be *Sickneſs* or *Death*; the good Man remains wholly ſound to their Aſtoniſhment.

Mr. *Mayhew* makes uſe of this Advantage, is unceſſant in his Labour, and Promiſes, now while they ſtumbled in doubt of their own, to ſet them in the right Path: He ſpares not his Body by Night nor Day; lodges in their Houſes, propoſes ſuch things to their Conſideration he thinks firſtly requiſite, ſolves all their Scruples and Objections, and tells them they might plainly ſee, it was in good Will for their Good, from whom he expected no Reward; that he ſuſtained ſo much loſs of time, and endur'd Wet and Cold.

It pleas'd God to give ſuch Succeſs to theſe Endeavours, that it was not long before he obtain'd *Publick Audience* among them, when generally he ſpent more time *after Sermon* in reaſoning with them than *in Sermon*; whereby I muſt tell my Reader, it came to paſs that their Religion was as well in *Head* as *Heart*.

This worthy Servant of the Lord continued his painful Labours among them until the Year 1657. in which time God was pleas'd to give ſuch Succeſs to his faithful and unweary'd Labour that many hundred Men and Women were added to the Church; ſuch who might truly be ſaid to be *Holy in Converſation*, and for Knowledge ſuch *who needed not to be taught the firſt Principles of Religion*; beſide the many Hundred of looſer Profeſſors of which, that ſuch worthy Chriſtians whoſe godly Zeal for propagating the Goſpel, to ſuch who ſat *in Darkneſs, and ſaw no Light*, provok'd an holy Emulation to compaſs Sea and Land, by their liberal Contributions for *Proſelyting* the Heathen to the Service and Worſhip of the Lord Jeſus (who yet ſurvive) might rejoice, ſince that God gave a Bleſſing to, and cauſed a plentiful Harveſt to ſucceed their ſowing in theſe Waters: And that the Succeſſors and Children of thoſe ever to be honoured deceas'd Chriſtians might rejoice that their Predeceſſors Religious Intent, in giving freely of their Worldly Goods, to advance the Work for Salvation of Souls, was ſo far from diminiſhing their Eſtates, that they thereby left an Inheritance to their Childrens Children.

I

I ſhall give a true Relation of the Progreſs and preſent State of the Undertaking, and God's Bleſſing following the Endeavours of thoſe he called, for converting the *Indians*, on *Martha's Vineyard* and adjacent Iſlands: by letting the World know, who, and how qualified theſe were, who were eſteem'd Chriſtians.

When ſuch a Number profeſſed the Chriſtian *Religion*, as gave occaſion to the *Indians* in general to Eſteem them a Sect differing from themſelves, and by the Denomination of *Praying Men*, to ſignalize that Difference; and that their Number was ſuch as to *Meet publickly* to worſhip God: Such who forſook their Heatheniſh Worſhip and Idolatry, profeſſing to become *Chriſtians*, in the publick Aſſembly declar'd the Grounds and Reaſons moving them to embrace the one, and forſake the other Way, with their *Reſolution* to pray, to ſerve, and endeavour to obey the true God in Jeſus Chriſt; how this *Reſolution* was wrought in them; what Temptations had obſtructed, what *Reaſon*, *Scripture* and *Strength* from God had encourag'd them, and enabl'd 'em to retain ſuch *Reſolution*; how, they had often pray'd to God, and yet been overcome by Diſcouragements, and Temptations, *&c.* Cloſing all with profeſſing a Reſolution, by God's Aſſiſtance to pray to, and ſerve Him, and Him only; begging the Prayers of the Congregation to God in their Behalf: Which ſaid, many of the Congregation took them by the hand, in token of Love and good Will.

If after ſuch publick Profeſſion, any was obſerved not to perform the uſual Worſhipping of God, in praying with their Families, deſiring a Bleſſing on their Food, or the like (who yet in their publick Meeting conſtantly attended) they were publickly examin'd of the ſame: Of which let me give a remarkable Inſtance.

One, who after his Admiſſion (if I may ſo term it) into the Number and Society of the *Praying Indians*, being preſent at a great *Aſſembly* after the Exerciſe, was by him that preach'd, inform'd that it was reported he had ceaſed to pray, deſir'd him to let the Congregation know what Grounds and Motives occaſion'd ſuch Neglect: The Man anſwer'd, *It was true, he had not lately uſed publickly to pray, yet did ſometimes pray privately: That he did not in his Judgment diſapprove the Service of God, but acknowledged it to be good: But found himſelf weak, not able to live up to the Rules of that Religion: But when God ſhould give him more Strength, he hoped he ſhould be again a praying Man.*

Thus Mr. *Mayhew* continu'd his almoſt inexpreſſible Labour and vigilant Care for the Good of the *Indians*, whom he juſtly eſteemed his Joy and Crown: And having ſeen ſo great a Bleſſing on his Faithful Endeavours in the making known the Name of his Lord among theſe Gentiles, with indefatigable Pains, expecting no Reward but alone from him, who ſaid, *Go teach all Nations: Lo, I am with you:* God moved the Hearts of ſome godly Chriſtians in *England* to advance a conſiderable Sum for encouraging the propagating, and preaching the Goſpel to the *Indians* in *New England*; and ſeeing the Spirit given to ſundry of the *Indians*, with the Gift of *Prophecying*; according to the Promiſe given by him, who *Aſcended and gave Gifts unto Men*; an Able Godly *Engliſhman*, nam'd *Peter Foulger*, who was imploy'd in teaching the Youth in Reading, Writing, and the Principles of *Religion*, by Catechiſing; and being well learn'd in the Scripture, able to aſſiſt them in what might be needful, his honour'd Father the Governour, well skilled in their Language, and highly honouring the Work for their Converſion; whereby, if in his Abſence any difficult Matter might happen, they might find ſuitable Aſſiſtance. In the year 1647. he intended a ſhort Voyage for *England*; but alas, the Ship wherein he took paſſage was never heard of.

Thus came to an immature Death Mr. *Mayhew*, who was ſo affectionately eſteem'd of by the *Indians*, that many years after he was ſeldom named without Tears.

Mr. *Thomas Mayhew*, after the loſs of his Son, as aforeſaid; ſeeing no ſuch Salary, probably to be obtain'd, that might invite a Miniſter to Embrace the Work among the *Indians*; and little hopes of finding any of the Spirit of his Son, or Mr. *Eliot*, to bear the Burden, attending, and in that day of Neceſſity to be undergone; without a proſpect of more than could well be expected for incouraging ſo (in it ſelf troubleſome) Employ; and that his only Son, had ſpent his Strength, and yet rejoic'd in the midſt of thoſe many Aches, Pains and Diſtempers contracted by his often lodging in their cold Houſes, and induring Wet and Cold, in faith of God's accepting of, and proſpering him in that, whereunto he could ſee nothing could rationally move him, concludes that it was *Of God and not of Man*; he therefore reſolves to Viſit and Encourage them often: He goes once every Week to ſome of their Plantations; and with the Aſſiſtance of Godly *Indians*, who taught and inſtructed their Neighbours on the *Lord's Days*, perſwaded the *Indians* of the *Gayhead*, who many years were obſtinately reſolved not to admit the Glad Tidings of the Goſpel among them (being animated by the *Sachims* of the Continent) now to imbrace it: So that now the *Indians* on the Iſlans of *Martha's Vineyard* and *Nantuket*, might juſtly bear the *Denomination* of *Chriſtian*; the Number of Adult Perſons on both *Iſlands* being bout *Three Thouſand*; of which I have taken the more particular Care to make an Exact Computation, that I might vindicate Mr. *Cotton Mather* from the Imputation of over-reckoning, when in the Life of Mr. ELIOT he reckons the Number ſuppoſed on *Martha's Vineyard* profeſſing the Chriſtian Religion, to be *Sixteen Hundred*.

The *Indians* being thus brought over to the Acknowledgment and Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian Religion*; and many of them deſiring to joyn in

ſuch

ſuch *Communion*, whereby they might enjoy the *Preſence* of God in all his *Ordinances*: Mr. *Mayhew* and Mr. *John Cotton*, now Paſtor of the Church of *New Plimouth*, who having been ſometime *Preacher* to the Engliſh, had attain'd ſome Knowledge of the *Indian Tongue*, and preach'd unto them Two Years; being well ſatisfy'd with their ſuitable Qualifications, after mature *Conſideration* and *Advice*, concluded to give their Help and Aſſiſtance thereto: which was happily accompliſh'd to the good Satisfaction of the Engliſh Church, and Godly Profeſſors of the Iſland; who by Advantage of many Years Acquaintance with them, had great *Experience* of their Qualifications. An *Indian* Church, Confederated at *Martha's Vineyard, Auguſt* 22. 1670.

Mr. *Mayhew* by Mr. *Cotton*'s Removing from the Iſland, it was left alone as to any Engliſh Aſſiſtance: But Mr. *John Mayhew* his Grandſon, being call'd to preach to a ſmall People, by the urgent and ardent Deſires of the *Indians*: and being well ſkill'd in their Language, comply'd with them; and once every Week *preached* at ſome of their *Plantations*. His *Diligence* was now to be doubl'd, eſpecially after Mr. *Mayhew* his Grandfather's Death in the year 1681. by reaſon of certain *Heterodox Opinions*, likely to take root among them; and being a Man of great Natural Parts, he uſed to deſire ſuch who had imbib'd any of thoſe Principles, to produce their Reaſons; as likewiſe any that deſir'd to be reſolv'd in any Matter, to give him Advantage to reſolve them in Publick; that others might receive Satiſfaction and Inſtruction; whereby I believe and know, that they receiv'd more *Conviction*, *Inſtruction* and *Satiſfaction* than in the ordinary Way of *Preaching*; which always notwithſtanding preceded *that*: Inſomuch that none of thoſe *Erroneous Opinions* ſpread to the Diſturbance or Unſettlement of the Church nor Generality of Profeſſors, among them: But having finiſh'd what God in his All-wiſe Providence ſaw good to improve him in: He *deceas'd* in the year 1688, leaving the *Indians* (if I might now ſo term them) in an orderly way of Religiouſly *Congregating* in their Aſſemblies on the *Lord's Day*, and hearing their ſeveral Teachers, who uſually began with *Prayer*, ſang part of a *Pſalm*; then from ſome Portion of Scripture ſpake for the *Converſion* and *Edification* of his *Hearers*: As alſo a Church which then or ſoon after, conſiſted of at leaſt *One hundred Communicants*, being according to the moſt ſtrict Order of the *Congregational Way*: Which leads me to ſay ſomething of the *Diſcipline* us'd among them.

The Church then are a *Selected Company of Profeſſing Believers*, in Covenant according to the *Congregational Practice*, having Officers accordingly; and keeping up the Exerciſe of a *ſevere Diſcipline* by publick Admonition in caſe of the diſorderly Walking of any Member of their Society: And if after the Reproof and Admonition of the Church, any proceed in their Evil Courſes, ſuch are *proceeded* with by Excommunication.

I would then willingly know of thoſe Detractors who either publickly or more privately, have endeavour'd to ſcandalize ſo great a Work; what kind of People they expect to ſee a Church conſiſt of: Or, when it will come to paſs that ſome ſhall not be retain'd in Churches (who yet may be deem'd an *Holy People*) whoſe Converſation may be grievous to the Church, tho' the Church can find no *Expedient* for their *Excommunication*? I know that many who are in no meaſure qualified for *Church-Fellowſhip*; think it no ſmall Diſparagement to themſelves that *Indians* ſhould be accounted worthy of what themſelves, cannot be admitted to: How it is in other Places I know not: But here ſome whoſe *Religious Pretences* have gain'd Credit abroad, and have not ſcrupl'd to *Stigmatize* the *Indians* with greateſt Opprobry, in particular Caſes of their *Complaint* the *Indians* have been found wholly *innocent*, and *themſelves* ſordidly Villainous: But when ſhall it be, that the *Seed of the Serpent* ſhall ceaſe to hiſs at, and open their Mouths againſt the *Seed of the Woman*? Which yet I could demonſtrate, hath in ſeveral Caſes which have occurr'd here againſt the *Indians* broken the *Serpents Head* in his Children, and if it were poſſible fill'd them with Shame and Confuſion, —— however the Sober Religious *People* here have done and do *eſteem 'em* as Chriſtians indeed. And although the Building be not all of *Living Stones*, yet as it is an Houſe, is ſo far *eſteemed* an Houſe of God: Inſomuch that I have heard ſome Godly Engliſh, their Neighbours, Members of Churches, profeſs they were troubl'd, that their Unacquaintedneſs in their Language was ſuch, that they could not well (but otherwiſe would gladly) partake with them, in the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper.

I muſt acknowledge, that as the Number of the *Indians* are greatly decreas'd, ſo eſpecially of the *Godly* and *Religious*; it being a thing ſo obvious, that in the year 1690. of the *Indians* of *Martha's Vineyard* alone; of the Number of more than One hundred adult Perſons that died, not leſs than *Three Fourths* were of the ſober Religious Profeſſors: That it was by the Engliſh Inhabitants vulgarly taken notice of: The which notwithſtanding in the year 1692. of the beforemention'd Church, were remaining more than *One Hundred*; without mentioning thoſe many *Confeſſors* before mention'd, whoſe publick Declarations of their ſeveral *Convictions*, *Temptations* and *Reſolutions* to Endeavour to *Serve* the True God, would have drawn Tears from the Eyes of any who had but in the Serious Retirements of Conſideration acknowledg'd a *Deity*.

I muſt not conclude before I tell the Reader, that as in the *Apoſtolick Times* the Church ſent forth from among *themſelves*, for the Converſion of the Nations, ſo theſe *Indians* on *Martha's Vineyard*

Yard did; not only to the Iſland of *Nantuket*, being about 1500 Adult Perſons; but likewiſe to the *Main Land*.

Of thoſe of *Nantuket* I ſhall ſubjoin a Letter, from Mr. *John Gardner*, who is well acquainted with them, having divers years aſſiſted them in their Government, by inſtructing them in the Laws of *England*, and deciding difficult Caſes among them.

The LETTER.

Worſhipful Sir,

I *Have receiv'd Yours of* April *the* 8th. 94. *with your Deſire to be informed of the preſent State of of our* Indians, *as to their* Number, Worſhip *and* Government; *an Anſwer to your Deſires, take briefly.*

Their Decay *is* Great, *chiefly in* Number, *there being now but about* Five hundred *Grown Perſons: As to their* Worſhip, *there are* Three *Societies or Churches:* Two Congregational, One *of the* Baptiſts, *but* their *Number is ſmall; but there are* Five Conſtant Aſſemblies *or Meetings; Two amongſt them that went by the Name of the* Antepeatames *or* Powatoms; *and that I may now ſay, there is not known a* Powaw *amongſt them; and although it is true, there is a great Decay in* Religion *among the* Firſt Societies, *many of their beſt Men, and I may ſay* Good Men, *are Dead: Yet amongſt the now* Praying Indians, *there is an Increaſe; God raiſing up ſome even of* Themſelves, *Preachers and ſerious Men too ſome of them; which is Cauſe of Thankfulneſs: But that there is a Decay with many, is to be lamented; the Cauſe I take to be their* not preſerving the Truth in the Love of it; *their Love to* Drink: *Their being more mindful of* Form *than* Subſtance, *which puts me upon Endeavour to make them ſenſible, That it is neither* Circumciſion *nor* Uncircumciſion *is any thing, but the* Keeping the Commandments of God; Faith that Works by Love, the New Creature, *and things of that Nature.*

As to their Government, *they are wholly under their Majeſty's, or the* Engliſh *Government: The Method is, they have Three Diſtinct or* Town-Courts, *with Power to hear and determine to* Forty Shillings; *The Magiſtrates they chuſe themſelves Yearly; and when Choſen and Approved of, they have* Commiſſions *with Liberty of Appeal to the* Engliſh, *which they make much uſe of: Greater Matters come to the* Engliſh. *This in ſhort is the Truth of their Preſent State.*

I am

Your Real Friend and Servant,

Nantuket
May 17.
1694.

JOHN GARDNER.

Here we muſt take notice of God's giving Succeſs to the Miniſtry of the *Indians*; and acknowledge, That although there have been ſome Decay, yet on that Iſland there is not only a Form, but in ſome meaſure the Power of Godlineſs.

So likewiſe on the Main-land; by the alone Miniſtry of the *Martha's Vineyard Indians*, was the Civilizing and Converſion of the *Indians* on the Main-land, at a Place call'd *Succonet*, and Parts adjacent; who, as they were Converted by the Miniſtry, ſent from the Church of *Martha's Vineyard*, ſo the Officers were by them, (as likewiſe were thoſe of *Nantuket*) Ordain'd by laying on the Hands of their *Presbytery*; Of theſe, although I have been no Eyewitneſs, yet I have receiv'd Account from even ſuch who bare no great Reſpect to Religion, that they are as beyond Compariſon, Exceeding the other *Indians* in *Moral Vertue*; So likewiſe from other Judicious Perſons, their Neighbours, of whom I ſhall name Mr. *William Vobes*, a Perſon now *Repreſenting* the *Freeholders* of thoſe Parts, in the Great and General Aſſembly of the Province of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* in *New England*: Nor have theſe People as yet *Dependance* on, nor *Expectation* from any other than their Mother, the *Church of* Martha's Vineyard.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the Indians *Government when* Chriſtians

I Have already told my Reader, That the Government of this People was the beſt (of all Governments) Monarchy; And it has been judg'd, not without Reaſon, that a main Obſtruction in the Progreſs of the Goſpel in the *American* Plantations, was, if not yet is, the Jealouſie the Princes conceiv'd of the Invaſion of their Government through the *Pretences* of Religion, and the Eclipſing their *Monarchical Dignity.*

Mr. *Thomas Mayhew* therefore finding that the Princes on theſe Iſlands, who although they maintain'd their Abſolute Power and Juriſdiction as *Kings*; were yet bound to do certain Homage to a *Potent Prince* on the *Continent*; and although they were no great People, yet had been waſted by *Indian Wars*, wherein the Great *Princes* on the *Continent* (not unlike *European* Princes for like Reaſons of State) were not unaſſiſting, whereby they were neceſſitated to make theſe Princes the Balance to decide their Controverſies, and ſeveral Juriſdictions, by Preſents Annually ſent, whereby obliging the *Princes* to give their ſeveral Aſſiſtance as Occaſion requir'd: And ſeeing his Son as aforeſaid, in a Zealous Endeavour for their *Converſion*, he judged it meet that *Moſes* and *Aaron* joyn Hands: He therefore prudently lets them know, that by Order from his Maſter the King of *England*, he was to govern the *Engliſh* which ſhould inhabit theſe Iſlands: That his Maſter was in Power far above any of the *Indian Monarchs*; but that, as he was Powerful, ſo was he a great Lover of Juſtice: That therefore he would in no meaſure invade their *Juriſdictions* but on the contrary, aſſiſt them as Need requir'd: That *Religion* and *Government* were diſtinct Things. Thus in no long time they conceiv'd no ill Opinion of the *Chriſtian Religion.*

When afterwards the Number of the *Chriſtian Indians* were increas'd among them, he perſwaded them to admit of the Counſels of the Judicious Chriſtians among themſelves; and in caſes of more than ordinary *Conſequence*, of a *Jury* for Trial; when likewiſe he promis'd his *Aſſiſtance* and *Direction* with the *Prince*; when *notwithſtanding* the Prince's *Aſſent* was to be obtain'd, tho' he were no *Chriſtian.*

Thus within a few Years there was a Happy *Government* ſetl'd among them, and Records kept of all Actions and Acts paſſed in their ſeveral Courts, by ſuch who having learn'd to write fairly, were appointed thereto. The Princes with their *Sachims* (or Nobles) made publick Acknowledgment of their Subjection to the King of *England*, being notwithſtanding mindful to be underſtood as Subordinate *Princes*, to Govern according to the Laws of God and the King. Here I ſhall take leave to inſert Two *Remarkables.*

During the late unhappy War between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians* in *New England*, about *Nineteen Years* ſince; an Evil Spirit poſſeſs'd too many of our *Engliſh*, whereby they ſuffer'd *Themſelves* to be unreaſonably Exaſperated againſt all *Indians*: Of ſuch, there were ſome on theſe Iſlands who could hardly be ſo moderated by Mr. *Mayhew*, and others in *Government* with him, as to be reſtrain'd from riſing to aſſay the Diſarming of the *Indians*; for whoſe Satisfaction Captain *Richard Sarſon*, Eſq; was order'd with a ſmall Party (the *Indians* being on theſe Iſlands Twenty to one, having Arms) to Treat the *Indians* on the Weſt End of *Martha's Vineyard*, who were moſtly to be doubted. He returns with the *Enſuing Anſwer*; That the delivering their Arms, would Expoſe them to the Will of the *Indians* ingag'd in the *preſent War*, who were not leſs theirs than the *Enemies* of the *Engliſh*: That they had never given occaſion of the Diſtruſt intimated: If in any thing not hazarding their Safety, they could give any Satisfaction for the Proof of their Fidelity, they would willingly *attend* what ſhould reaſonably be *demanded* of them: But they were unwilling to deliver their Arms, unleſs the *Engliſh* would propoſe ſome *Mean* for their Safety and Livelihood. With this Return, they drew a Writing in their own Language, which I have often read, and would have *Verbatim* inſerted, but can't at preſent find it. The Subſtance was, That as they had ſubmitted to the Crown of *England*, ſo they reſolved to *Aſſiſt the Engliſh* on theſe *Iſlands* againſt their *Enemies*, which they Eſteem'd in the ſame reſpect equally their own, as Subjects to the ſame *King*: which was ſubſcrib'd by the Perſons of the greateſt Note among them.

Having this Anſwer, the Government reſolv'd, and accordingly improv'd them as a Guard, furniſhing them with ſuitable *Ammunition*, and found them ſo faithful, that even ſome nearly related, in obſervance of *General Inſtructions* given them, ſo ſoon as they *landed* from the *Continent*, were immediately brought before the *Governour* to attend his Pleaſure: Inſomuch that the *Engliſh* (although the War, with reſpect to the Multitude of *Indians*, *inhabiting* the *Continent*, and their *Advantage* by the *Nearneſs* to the *French* had no good Aſpect) took no care, but left the whole to the *Indians*: Nothing doubting to be advertiſed by them of any Danger from the Enemy, This was the Effect of the *bringing* the *Goſpel of Peace among them*, viz. *a Peace bringing Goſpel.*

The other *Obſervable* I ſhall add to ſhew as their *Loyalty*, ſo their *Obſervance* of the Laws of *England.*

In the time of the late *Revolution*, when many in hopes there was *no King in Iſrael*, Expected to have done what they ſaw good in their *own eyes.* Several of our *Engliſh* threatning to fetch certain *Sheep* in poſſeſſion of the *Indians* inhabiting a ſmall Iſland adjacent to *Martha's Vineyard*: Which *Sheep* they aſſerted were ſtolen from 'em, who met with Repulſe: The *Sachim*, leſt there ſhould happen any *Miſunderſtanding* of that matter, immediately makes his Report to me in theſe Words, viz.

Several of Your Engliſh have been on my Iſland, and would have forcibly taken Sheep from thence: and we are much threatned therewith: I am doubtful if they perſiſt in that Reſolution, it may occaſion Bloodſhed: You know that while your Grandfather and my Father liv'd, there never hapned any Difference in ſuch things, nor hope will be occaſion given by me. I deſire the ſame Amity may be continued: Nor can the English *ſay that we have not manifeſted our Allegiance to the King by a continued Subjection.*

And altho' 'tis true, we have deſir'd your Order ſhould come to us rather than your Officer, which hath generally been obſerv'd; yet we are willing in caſe the English *pretend any thing, ours have injur'd them in, let an Officer by Writ from Authority do his duty, then we ſhall know how in an orderly way to be reliev'd: Yet ſhall the leaſt Boy bringing your Order, as in your Grandfather's time, command any thing: And if you ſee Cauſe on any Complaint about our Sheep, you may command all of them; hoping to find as hitherto, a Deciſion by the Rules of Juſtice: We hope we ſhall not ſee (as is too much practis'd in other Places) an* Engliſhman *pretending an* Indian *to be in his debt, to come to our Houſes and pay himſelf: Or, in other Caſes, beat our People; But as hitherto we may have equal Juſtice, being the King's Subjects; and Violence, and Riot committed on our People by the* Engliſh *may be eſteem'd of the ſame nature and quality as ours againſt them; of which, with the Juſtices, we pray you would conſider, and take ſpeedy Care.*

I ſhall, as to their Government, only add, that in their ſeveral *Plantations* or *Town Ships*, they Elect *Three* or more to joyn with the *Sachims* (or Lords of the Place) who hold Courts for iſſuing ſuch Controverſies as happen among them, the *Sachim* preſiding in ſuch Courts; or in caſe he decline that Office, another is Elected in his Place. If either Party diſlike the Judgment given, he Appeals to a Superiour Court, which conſiſts of ſome of the moſt Eſteem'd of each Place, being ſome of their Magiſtrates, where ſome Principal *Sachim* is Elected to preſide for one Year: And from this Court an Appeal lies to the *Engliſh* Court.

In giving Judgment, they obſerve ſuch Rules and Orders made and recorded among themſelves, and the *Engliſh* Law, the Knowledge whereof they much aſpire unto. They have likewiſe ſome among them, whom the leſs able to declare or defend their own Caſes, improve as *Attornies*; ſome of which are, to admiration, Critical in their Pleadings.

I ſhall cloſe the Whole, when I have told the Reader, that their Children are generally taught to Read, and many to Write.

In one of their Towns the laſt Winter, *viz.* 1693. Thirty Children were at School, Twenty more of the ſame Place, at the ſame time, accidentally, being not ſupplied with Books, could not attend it. Such who are too far diſtant from any School, are often taught by ſome of their Neighbours; in divers places are leſſer Schools.

THE

THE POST-SCRIPT.

HAving among many things, worthy of Notice in the Precedent Diſcourſe, omitted ſome Remarkables of the *Indian* Converſe with *Infernal Spirits*; I thought meet to briefly touch ſome things therein Remarkable, and to inſert a Narrative of the *Deceaſe* of a *Prince*, memorable for his forſaking his People for the ſake of Chriſt, and his Return with happy Succeſs in Proſelyting his Subjects to the Worſhip of God in Chriſt.

This I find written on the Out-ſide of a Book, in the Library of Mr. *John Mayhew* deceaſed: Which pleaſe to take as followeth.

'Mitark, *Sachim (rather Prince) of the Gay head,* '*on* Martha's Vineyard, *Deceaſed* January '1683.

'THIS Prince's Subjects being reſolv'd to 'continue in Heatheniſm, notwithſtanding 'his Embracing the Goſpel, grew ſo diſaffected 'to him, that he for a time remov'd to the Eaſt 'End of *Martha's Vineyard*; whither after 'Three Years abode at the ſaid Place, he again 'return'd, having perſwaded his People into a 'Willingneſs, that ſuch who would, might 'attend the Glad Tidings he pretended to bring; 'whereupon he himſelf open'd to them the Myſteries of the Goſpel, diſpenſing the Word to 'ſuch as came to hear him; inſomuch that at 'this Day that People are all Chriſtians by Pro'feſſion.

'The Day before his Death, I being with 'him, inquired of him concerning his Hope, 'who after he had Treated ſome time of the 'Mutability of an Earthly Life, ſaid, *I have* '*hope in God, that when my Soul departeth out* '*of this Body, GOD will ſend his Meſſengers, who* '*ſhall conduct it to Himſelf, to be with Jeſus* '*Chriſt.*

'And then with great Earneſtneſs pronoun'ced theſe Words: *where that Everlaſting Glory* '*is! As for my Reaſons* (ſaid he) *I my ſelf* '*have had many Wrongs of Enemies, of whom I* '*have ſought no Revenge, nor retain'd Evil in* '*Thought, Word nor Deed; and I alſo expect the* '*ſame from God.*

'*But* (ſaid he) *I proceed no further: for God is* '*very Merciful.* Then I ask'd him of his Wil'lingneſs to die. He reply'd, *It is now Seven* '*Nights ſince I was taken ſick, and I have not* '*yet ask'd of God to live longer in the World.*

'*In this World are ſome Benefits to be enjoy'd;* '*alſo many Troubles to be endur'd; but with reſpect* '*to the Hope I have in God, I am willing to die:* '*Here I am in pain, there I ſhall be freed from all* '*Pain, and enjoy that Reſt that never endeth.*

'Then pointing to his Daughters, ſaid, *There* '*be Three of my Daughters* (relating how they 'were diſpos'd of) *And you, my Daughters, if* '*you loſe your Father, Mourn not for me, but* '*Mourn for your ſelves, and for your Sins:* '*Mourn not for me; for though you are unwil*'*ling to ſpare me, and I might be helpful to you if* '*I ſhould live longer in this World, yet to die, is better* '*for me.*

Of *Powaws* or Perſons improving the Infernal Spirits to effect their intended Malicious Harms; I can inform of a Converted *Sachim*, who in his publick Proteſtation, ſaid as followeth, *viz.*

'That he having often employ'd his god, 'which appear'd to him in form of a Snake, to 'Kill, Wound, and Lame ſuch whom he intend'ed Miſchief to, he employ'd the ſaid *Snake* to 'Kill; and that failing, to Wound or Lame '*Hiacooms*, the firſt Convert on *Martha's Vine*'*yard*; all which prov'd ineffectual: And having 'ſeriouſly conſider'd the ſaid *Hiacooms*'s Aſſerti'on, That none of the *Powaws* could hurt him, 'ſince his God whom he now ſerv'd, was the 'Great God, to whom theirs was ſubſervient: 'he reſolv'd to worſhip the True God: From 'which time, during Seven Years, the ſaid Snake 'gave him great Diſturbance: But that he never 'after his praying to God in Chriſt, imploy'd 'that ſaid Snake in any thing, which about that 'time ceas'd to appear to him.

A

A Further Account concerning the preſent State of *Chriſtianity* among the *INDIANS* in other Parts of New-England.

COncerning the further Progreſs of the Goſpel among the *Indians* in *America*, the Reader may take this following Account, which is extracted out of ſeveral Letters ſent to the Reverend *Increaſe Mather*, Preſident of the College at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

Mr. *Samuel Treat*, Paſtor of the Church in *Eaſtham*, in a Letter bearing Date *Auguſt* 23. 1693. writeth as followeth.

Reverend and Worthy Sir,

I Being advertiſed, that it would not be unſeaſonable or unſerviceable at this Juncture, to give your ſelf a true and impartial Account both of the Number, as alſo of the preſent State of our *Indians*, and Acceptation and Entertainment of the Goſpel among them, and their profeſs'd Subjection thereunto. *Sir*, You may be aſſur'd as followeth,

That there are Five hundred and five Adult Perſons of *Indians* within the Limits of our Townſhip, unto whom theſe many years paſt, I have from time to time imparted the Goſpel of our *Lord Jeſus* in their own Language (and I truly hope not without Succeſs) and yet I continue in the ſame Service, earneſtly imploring, and not without Hopes, expecting and waiting for a more plentiful down-pouring of the Spirit from on high among them: And I verily do not know of, nor can I learn that there is ſo much as one of theſe Five Hundred *Indians* that does obſtinately abſent from, but do jointly frequent and attend on the Preaching of the Word, and countenance the ſame, not only frequenting and attending Seaſons of Worſhip of a Divine Sanction, but alſo all other Occaſional Opportunities, when the Goſpel is diſpens'd to them; and when our Congregations ſolemnize publick Days of *Prayer* with *Faſting*, or of *Praiſes* (I uſually giving them Advertiſement thereof) they readily comply therewith, in their reſpective Aſſemblies.

They have Four diſtinct Aſſemblies in four Villages belonging to our Townſhip, in which Four Aſſemblies they have Four Teachers of their own Choice, of the more *Sober*, *Well-affected* and *Underſtanding* Perſons among them, who do duly preach to them, when I am not with them: Theſe *Indian* Teachers repair to my Houſe once a Week, to be further inſtructed (*pro Modulo meo*) in the *Concernments* proper for their Service and Station.

There are in the Four abovesaid Villages, four *Schoolmaſters* (of the beſt accompliſh'd for that Service) who teach their Youth to *Read* and *Write* their own Language.

There are alſo Six *Juſtices* of the Peace (or Magiſtrates) in the Four aboveſaid Villages, who regulate their Civil Affairs, and puniſh Criminals and Tranſgreſſors of the *Civil Law*; they have their ſtated *Courts* and other inferiour Officers in a Subſerviency to their *Civil Good Order*.

There are among them many of a *Serious*, *Sober*, *Civilzed Converſation* and *Deportment*, who are making Eſſays towards a further progreſſive Step of Obedience and *Conformity* to the Rules of the Goſpel, *viz.* an *Eccleſiaſtical Combination*, having a great Deſire to be Baptiz'd.

They are very *Serviceable* by their Labour to the *Engliſh Vicinity*, and have all along ſince our Wars with their Nation, been very Friendly to the *Engliſh*, and forward to ſerve them in that Quarrel. Their *Deportment*, and *Converſe*, and *Garb*, being more *Manly* and *Laudable* than any other *Indians*, that I have obſerv'd in the *Province*.

But, Sir, I would not be Tedious, only craving your *Intereſt* at the Throne of Grace for us, that we may be *Serviceable* to the Name and Kingdom of our LORD JESUS. So I ſubſcribe,

SIR,

Eaſtham, Aug. 23. 1693.

Yours willingly,

Samuel Treat.

Mr. *James Noyce* Paſtor of the *Church* in *Stonington*, in a Letter dated the *Fifteenth* of *March* laſt, writeth thus.

Reverend Sir,

YOurs I receiv'd, and rejoice that God hath ſtirr'd up any that doth take care and contribute towards the advancing Chriſt's *Kingdom* amongſt the poor Heathen; and do and did formerly believe, that where God ſends Light, He intends Love; and where God gives little, He expects leſs; and therefore the Labours of the Reverend Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Mayhew*, &c. have not been loſt, they have not Run in vain, but that many are gone to Heaven of their *deceas'd Hearers*. And I ſhould count it my Joy and Crown to win one Soul of them to Chriſt. And am in hope

hope that ſome one or two of the *Pequots*, that were my Friends, and liv'd on my Land, upon my Endeavour have obtain'd Mercy now dead, who dy'd praying, renounc'd wholly the way of the Heathen Worſhip, *&c.*

Alſo ſome of our Captive Servants profeſſing the Faith, with many Tears, are baptiz'd, and give good Teſtimony in their Knowledge, Converſe and Converſation of a real gracious Work upon them.

I have in my Houſe a witty hopeful *Sachem's* Son, one of the chiefeſt Quality in theſe Parts, bound faſt to me to be inſtructed to *Read* and *Write*, and in the way of Life, which hitherto gives great hopes and no Diſcouragement; he is about *Thirteen* years of age. And once I had the Advantage to aſtoniſh many of the Heathen, and of the chief of them, by God's anſwering Prayers in the *preſence* of many *Heathen*, by raiſing a very ſick *Indian Lad* (*Engliſh alſo preſent*) after the Lad was given over by *Indians* and *Engliſh*, and was Speechleſs; and ſeveral *Powaws* had *Powawed*, and given that *Sentence*, that the Lad would die; but he is alive to this day: The Story is too large to write, but I believe God did glorifie Himſelf in the ſight of the Heathen, according to humble and earneſt Petitions, made in the *Preſence* of about Thirty *Heathen*: All ſeem'd to be much confounded and awakened. One very Witty and Wiſe *Sachem* there preſent, told me, he would be a Chriſtian, but he was afraid his Heart would not be right, without which, Profeſſion would be in vain, and he was afraid *Wine* and *Women* would be his Ruine, he ſhould not forbear; but he own'd and almoſt all preſent, when I pray'd, our God was the Great and True God, but they were poor *Indians*, and they did not know him. Of theſe things, and much more many *Engliſh* Witneſſes are alive, but ſome are dead.

I have heard alſo the Reverend Mr. *Fitch* did at the Requeſt of the *Mohegs*, keep a Faſt for *Rain*, in the time of a great Drought, at the Requeſt of the *Heathen*, when their *Powaws* had long cried for Rain; and God anſwer'd by ſending Rain the ſame Day, to the great Aſtoniſhment of the Heathen.

Yours to ſerve,

Stonington, *Mar.* 15, 9¾.

JAMES NOYCE.

Mr. *Rowland* Cotton, Miniſter at *Sandwich*, in a Letter of *June* 27. 1693. writeth thus:

Reverend Sir,

I *Have Endeavour'd to take an Exact Account of theſe* Indians, *Adult Perſons, who do conſtantly attend upon the Diſpenſation of the Goſpel, in the Place that at preſent I am concern'd for. And we do find, that in* Maſhipau, Sanctuit, *and* Cotuit *Villages bordering on each other, and all belonging to the ſame Aſſembly, there are no leſs than Two hundred and Fourteen, beſides ſeveral Straglers that have no ſetled Place; do repair thither. To carry on the Work of the Lord's Day, there is appointed one* Simon Papmonit: *And at other times I ſhall diligently intend their Good according to my Capacity.*

Reverend Sir,

Sandwich, June 27. 1693.

I deſire your Bleſſing on

Your Servant,

ROWL. COTTON

Mr. *Thomas Tupper* alſo has given an Account of *One hundred and eighty Indians*, unto whom he does diſpenſe the Word, concerning whom he has Charitable Hopes that they do (and that with Zeal and Sincerity) Embrace the Goſpel. There are moreover in *Plimouth* Colony about *Five hundred Indians*, amongſt whom Mr. *John Cotton* (Paſtor of the Church in *Plimouth*, and Son to the Famous *Cotton* of *Boſton*) hath and doth preach the Goſpel.

Likewiſe Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, Paſtor of the Church in *Milton*, is a Faithful Labourer among the *Indians* at *Punkepaog*. So is Mr. *Grindal Rawſon*, Paſtor of the Church in *Mendham*, among the *Indians* in thoſe Parts; and Mr. *Bondet*, who is Miniſter to the *French* Congregation at *Oxford*, in the *Nipmug* Country.

The *Indian* Church at *Natick* (which was the firſt *Indian* Church in *America*) is ſince bleſſed *Eliot's* Death, much diminiſh'd and dwindl'd away. But Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, hath beſtow'd his pious Cares upon it.

Beſides the Labours of the Engliſh in *New-England*, Mr. *Dellius* (a Dutch Miniſter) at *Albany* has learn'd the Language of the *Indians* in thoſe Parts; God has graciouſly ſmil'd on his Endeavours, ſo as that conſiderable Numbers of them are converted to the Faith of Chriſt, and there is Reaſon to hope that what is done, is but the Firſt Fruits of a Great Harveſt to follow.

Take the Account which himſelf giveth in a Letter bearing date the *16th* of *January* laſt. His Words are theſe,

---

Reverend Sir,

'I Have this to add to my former, that a *Jeſuit* 'call'd *Milet*, whom the *Oneydes* took Priſoner 'about Four years ago, and who is now in that 'Caſtle a Great Man among them, uſes all his 'Subtilty to fruſtrate my Labours, by making 'falſe Impreſſions upon the *Indians* concerning 'our Religion; yet Almighty God is pleas'd to 'ſtrengthen my Proſelytes in that way I teach 'them, more and more. Sometimes there happens Difference and Diſputes between my Proſelytes and his concerning the Points of Religion; but ours alledge they confute the others. 'This I muſt ſay for them, that they take a great 'deal

'deal of pains, and are very zealous to learn, and very devout in their Practice. I am, under favour, of opinion, that the *Jeſuit Catechiſm*, with the Caſes of Conſcience added thereto, writ by their own Hands, which they learn the *Indians*, which is either in your or your *Reverend Son,* Mr. *Cotton Mather*'s poſſeſſion, may be ſerviceable to convince our *Proſelytes* and others, *French* that come here, of their pernicious *Principles*; and wiſh the ſame might be ſent me.

'I had put *Six* or *Seven Pſalms* in their native Language upon our Notes, but were not perfected; now they are finiſh'd, and the Ten Commandments alſo.

'The new Infant Church among the Heathen increaſes, there being *Seventeen* laſt Communion day, the *Thirty firſt* of *December* laſt, who took the Sacrament with us, and *Four* others baptiz'd the ſame Day. *Thus God is ſought of them that asked not for him, and is found of them that ſought him not.* I think that God has a great People of them yet: The Lord ſend a a Bleſſing to thoſe means that are us'd for the Enlargement of his Kingdom among them; and bleſs you, and all that labour in his Vineyard; which ſhall ever be the *Prayers* of him, who is,

Reverend Sir,

Your moſt Faithful and Obedient

Servant in our Lord Jeſus,

Albany, Jan. 16. 1693, 4.

GODEFR. DELLIUS.

AN

APPENDIX,

Relating Things greatly Remarkable, fetch'd from one little Iſland of Chriſtianized INDIANS.

IT is not among the *Engliſh* only, but among the *Indians* alſo, that our Glorious Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* hath been glorify'd in *doing of Wonders.* And altho' ſome of thoſe Wonders have been mention'd elſewhere, but more of 'em have been faultily bury'd in ſuch Oblivion that they are never like to have any mention at all in this World, yet I am able to furniſh one conſiderable part of a *Chapter* in our *Church Hiſtory*, with a Collection of *Remarkables*, fetch'd from no more than one little *Party* of *Chriſtianiz'd Indians*; even thoſe upon the one little Iſland of *Martha*'s *Vineyard*. It is poſſible that ſome of the *Americans* may be the *Poſterity* of thoſe *Canaanites*, who after the Wars of *Canaan*, ſet up their Pillars in *Africa*, with that Inſcription,

We are of thoſe that fled from the Face of Joſhua *the Robber.*

But behold, how *Jeſus the Saviour* has follow'd them, and conquer'd them with his Glorious Grace!

Reader, *Stand ſtill, and conſider the Wondrous Works of God!*

(I.) *The* UNKNOWN GOD *wonderfully making himſelf known to a poor Pagan.*

How far our Sovereign and Gracious God may in an *Extraordinary Manner* diſcover of himſelf unto ſome among the poor *Pagans* that have not enjoy'd the preaching of the Goſpel, who can particularly determine? Wonderful is the Story which we have in *Aquinas*, of a Corpſe taken up out of a Sepulchre in the Days of *Conſtantine* and *Irene*, which had on it a *Plate* of Gold, whereon theſe Words were Engrav'd:

Chriſtus naſcetur ex Virgine, Ego credo in illum: O Sol, ſub Irenes *&* Conſtantini *Temporibus iterum me videbis.*

A Story ſo wonderful will not engage me to write *pro Salute Ariſtotelis*; or to defend a *Problem* advanc'd even by ſome of our own great Reformers, *De Animabus Paganorum*; leſt I incurr the Cenſure paſſed by one of the Ancients, on thoſe who endeavour to prove *Plato* a Chriſtian, till they prove themſelves little better than Heathen. It is indeed a Principle in the *Alcoran* of *Mahomet*, That *Let a Man's Religion be what it will, he ſhall be ſav'd, if he* conſcientiouſly *live up to the Rules of it.* And it is fitter for *Mahometans* than for *Chriſtians* to maintain a Principle ſo derogatory unto the Vertue of the Goſpel, which, *if it be Hid, it is Hid unto them that be loſt.* None more ſincerely than we *Non-Conformiſts*, do ſubſcribe unto that Article of the Church of *England*, They *are to be held Accurſed, who preſume to ſay, That every Man ſhall be ſav'd by the Law or Sect which he profeſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life according to that Law and Light of Nature: For Holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us only the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby Men muſt be ſav'd.*

But

But I will wholly leave my Reader to his own Judgment on another Story ſomewhat wonderful.

Pammehannit an *Indian* of prime Quality, on *Martha's Vineyard*, and his Wife having buried their five firſt Children ſucceſſively, every one of them within ten Days of their Birth, notwithſtanding all their Uſe of *Powaws* and of *Medicines*, to preſerve them, they had a ſixth Child (a Son) born about the Year 1638, which was a few Years before the Engliſh firſt ſetled on that Vineyard. The Mother was greatly perplexed with Fear that ſhe ſhould loſe this Child, like the Former: And utterly deſpairing of any Help from ſuch means as had been formerly tried with ſo little ſucceſs, as ſoon as ſhe was able, (which among the *Indians* is quickly and *within leſs than Ten Days*) with a ſorrowful Heart, ſhe took up her Child, and went out into the Field, that ſhe might there weep out her Sorrows. While ſhe was here muſing on the Inſufficiency of all Humane Help, ſhe felt it powerfully ſuggeſted unto her Mind, That *there is one Almighty God who is to be pray'd unto*: That *this God hath created all the Things that we ſee*: and That *the God who had given Being to her ſelf, and all other People, and given her Child unto her, was eaſily able to continue the Life of her Child.*

Hereupon this poor blind Pagan reſolv'd, That ſhe would ſeek unto This GOD for that Mercy, and ſhe did accordingly. The Iſſue was, that her Child liv'd; and her Faith (ſuch as it was) in Him, who thus anſwer'd her Prayer, was wonderfully ſtrengthen'd: The Conſideration whereof cauſ'd her to *Dedicate* this Child unto the Service of that God, who had preſerv'd his Life; and Educate him as far as might be, to become the Servant of God.

Not long after this, the *Engliſh* came to ſettle on *Martha's Vineyard*; and the *Indians*, who had been preſent at ſome of the Engliſh Devotions, reported, That they aſſembled frequently together; and that the Man who ſpoke among 'em, often look'd upwards. This Woman, from this Report, preſently concluded, That their Aſſemblies were for Prayers; and that their Prayers were unto that very God, whom ſhe had addreſſed for the *Life of her Child*. She was confirm'd in this, when the Goſpel was not long after preached by *Mr. Mayhew* to the *Indians* there; which Goſpel ſhe readily, and chearfully, and heartily embrac'd. And in the Confeſſion that ſhe made publickly at her Admiſſion into the Church, ſhe gave a Relation of the preparation for the *Knowledge of Chriſt*, wherewith God in this wonderful Way had favour'd her. But that which adds to this Wonder, is, that this very Child has prov'd an Eminent Preacher of Chriſt unto the other Indians. He is living at this time [1696] a very Religious Chriſtian, and a Laborious Miniſter, and one, who not only is Paſtor to an Indian *Church* on *Martha's* Vineyard, conſiſting of ſome Scores of Regenerate Souls, but alſo has taken pains to carry the Goſpel unto other Indians on the Main Land with a Notable Effect thereof. His Name is *Japhet*.

(II.) *A Miracle.*

A Chriſtian Indian living at *Martha's* Vineyard, had his Arm ſo wither'd, that he could make no uſe of it. Upon which occaſion he went unto divers of his Relations, deſiring them to join with him in Prayer for the Recovery of his Arm. He could find no Faith in any of 'em about the matter, except ſome little in his Wife; with whom therefore he ſet apart a time ſolemnly to ſeek after Chriſt, in the Caſe which thus diſtreſs'd him: And behold, he was quickly after this perfectly reſtor'd, unto the Aſtoniſhment of all his Neighbours.

It is a remarkable Paſſage which *Mr. Daniel Rogers* hath (in his *Naaman*) about our New-Engliſh Plantations, *Who can or dare deny but that the Calling of thoſe* Americans *to the Knowledge of the Truth, may ſeem a weighty Occaſion to expect from God the Gift of Miracles?* Behold, Reader, the Expectation remarkably accommodated!

(III.) *Wondrous Anſwers of Devout Prayers among the* Chriſtian Indians.

Our *Chriſtian* Indians are diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Praying* Indians: And when they have become *Chriſtian*, they have been favour'd by Heaven, with notable Succeſſes of their Praying.

There liv'd at *Martha's* Vineyard a *Godly* Indian, call'd *William Lay*, who was both a *Magiſtrate* and a *Miniſter* among his Countreymen. This Man was in the year 1690. viſited with a ſore Fit of Sickneſs, which prevail'd upon him ſo far, that he lay ſpeechleſs, in the laſt Conflict with Death, as his Friends apprehended, for ſeveral Days together. At length his Wife ſuppoſing his End very near, deſired *Japhet* the *Paſtor* of the Indian *Church* to pray with him, who coming to the Houſe, could ſcarce perceive any Life now left in him. However, *Japhet* would not pray at this time without firſt ſinging a *Pſalm*; and particularly, the Eleven firſt Verſes of the eighty eighth *Pſalm*.

Now they had hardly ſang two Verſes before the dying Man began to revive, and ſtir up his Eyes, and move his Lips, and lift his Hands; and then he began to ſing with them, and quickly his Voice was as high, if not higher, than any of theirs. Thus he continu'd ſinging, with his Hands lifted up until they concluded: And then laying down his Hands, he ſeem'd again fallen into his dying poſture. *Japhet* then goes to prayer, and ſoon after Prayer was begun, the ſick *Man* began once more to revive: And lifting up his Hand, he got *Japhet* by the Hand, and held him till *Prayer* was ended; and then he immediately open'd his mouth in the praiſes of God, *who*, he ſaid, *had heard Prayer on his behalf, and graciouſly reſtor'd him from the Mouth of the Grave, that he might ſee his Goodneſs in the World; and he believ'd would beſtow Life Eternal upon him in the World to come.*

The Man recover'd, and walk'd abroad: But about half a Year after this, he fell into another Sickneſs, whereof he dy'd.

Another very notable Anſwer of Prayer, did *Abel Aoſſoowe*, an Elder of the *Indian* Church at *Martha's Vineyard*, count himſelf oblig'd unto Heaven for. In the *Month* of *January* 1685, he with his Wiſe, undertook to paſs over *Monument Bay*, about five Leagues, in a little Canoo; but when they were got a little more than half way, the Ice came ſo upon them, as to encloſe them on every ſide, and cover the Water as far as ever they could ſee.

They were now in extream Diſtreſs, and cry'd unto God with Earneſt *Prayers* for Deliverance; but eſpecially for the Salvation of their Souls, which they thought was all they had now to hope for.

In this Diſtreſs they continu'd for ſeveral Hours; but at length, immediately after one of their *Prayers*, the Ice open'd juſt at the Head of their *Canoo*, and went on opening to them; ſo that they had a Free, tho' a ſtreight Paſſage to the Shore, for divers Miles together; the Ice cloſing ſtill together again juſt as the *Canoo* had paſſed it. Their Friends on the Shore beholding ſome of their Diſtreſs, but unable to help them in it, beheld alſo with Aſtoniſhment the Relief thus granted them, and gave them a joyful Welcome.

(IV.) *A notable Converſion of an Obſtinate Inſidel.*

Reader, Behold *one ſaved as by Fire!*

No longer ago than the Year 1695, about the *beginning* of *October*, the Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt mov'd the Heart of *Japhet* for to carry his Goſpel unto the *Indians* in a *Plantation*, which hitherto were without the Knowledge of the *Great Salvation*. Theſe *Indians* were, by the Bleſſing of Heaven, on the Preaching of *Japhet*, brought generally to ſubject themſelves unto the Goſpel. Yet there was *One Man* among them, at firſt very obſtinate; who nevertheleſs after much Obſtinacy, promiſ'd at length to forſake his *Heathenism*, and embrace the Religion of Chriſt. But when *Japhet* was gone off, this Man goes to his Brother, and expreſſes his Diſlike of the Chriſtian Religion, and ſignifies that he would return to his old Heatheniſh Cuſtoms. His Brother diſſwaded him from this *Apoſtacy*, and reminded him of his Promiſes; but withal told him, *That if he did forſake the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he might expect ſome dreadful Judgment from that Glorious Lord upon him.*

He took not his Brother's Council: and within a few Days the awful Judgment of God overtook him. His Houſe was conſum'd by Fire; and his Three Children, which were all he had, conſum'd in it; but by what means the Fire was kindled, it could never be known.

The Man was gone from home; and at his Return, ſeeing ſo horrid a Spectacle, as his Family in Aſhes, he fell horribly diſtracted, continuing in his Diſtraction a whole Day together. But then he came to himſelf, and immediately acknowledged, *That what had befallen him, was a juſt Hand of God upon him for his Unbelief.* He profeſſed his unfeigned Sorrow for his Impiety, and renewed his Promiſes to yield Obedience unto the Goſpel; and hath ever ſince conformed his Life according to thoſe Promiſes.

(V.) *An horrid* MURDER *ſtrangely detected and repented.*

The moſt barbarous People in the World cannot forbear obſerving, That a *Murderer*, *Vengeance ſuffereth not to live.* Thoſe Children of *Cain* often promiſe to themſelves a Concealment of their Villany: But a *Beſſus* will find the very Swallows to chirrup out his *Murder* of his Father. A *Barbarous* People become *Chriſtian*, ſhall bring in one to increaſe the Number of the Examples which veriſie that Obſervation.

About the Year 1668, an *Indian Squaw* was found murdered at *Martha's Vineyard*, and the Neighbourhood ſuſpected an *Indian* Man, whoſe Name was *Pamahtuk*, to be the Author of the Murder. Nevertheleſs, upon his Examination, he deny'd that Fact; and becauſe the Fact could not be proved againſt him, he was left at liberty.

More than twenty years after this there was another *Indian Squaw* found murdered, and this *Pamahtuk*, with ſome others, were thereupon queſtioned, who all denied the *Murder*; nor was there any Evidence to convict them of it.

Hereupon an *Indian* preſent, moved that *Pamahtuk* might be again interrogated concerning the *Murder* committed ſo many Years ago; and behold the poor Creature immediately confeſſed himſelf Guilty of that Old *Murder*; and after a fair Trial, was executed for it.

He confeſſed that he killed the *Squaw*, to hide her being with child by him [A *Crime* ſeverely puniſhed among the *Chriſtian Indians*.] But now, inſtead of his hiding his Sin, he ſaid, *his Sin had found him out.* He ſeemed very penitent; and when he came to the place of Execution, he declared, *That as he juſtly deſerved, ſo he was freely willing to die; and that he had enjoyed more Peace of Conſcience in a few days, now ſince he confeſſed his Crime, than he had for many years before.* Several of the *Indian* Preachers, and others, did ſeriouſly apply themſelves to him with ſuch Advice, as they judg'd ſuitable for him; and particularly one of them told him, *That though he had been ſtanding idle till the Eleventh Hour; yet if he would now at laſt believe on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, he ſhould certainly be accepted.*

Whereupon he earneſtly deſired the Spectators to take ſpecial notice of his End, and be warned thereby to take heed of the Sins which had brought him thereunto; beſeeching their Prayers for him, and profeſſing their Hopes of *Mercy* from God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

In

In fine, being asked concerning the latter Murder, he anſwer'd, That he was, as to that, wholly *Innocent*; adding, That he was now going to die, and he knew no Reaſon, why he ſhould not confeſs *That*, as well as the other, if he had been guilty of it.

(VI.) *Sadduciſmus Triumphatus.*

Come hither, ye prophane *Sadducees*, that will not believe the Being of a Devil, for fear leſt you muſt thence infer the Being of a God. We will relate ſome things well known to prudent and honeſt Witneſſes: And when you have read this Relation, Mock on!

The *Indians* of *Martha's Vineyard*, who are now ſerious Chriſtians, will upon their own too certain Knowledge, abundance of them acknowledge the Witchcrafts wherein they had actual Converſations, and explicit Confederacies with Devils, while they were yet Pagans. They know, That many Perſons among them have been by the Zeal of their Parents, dedicated unto their Infernal Gods, and educated for the ſpecial Service of thoſe Gods; but that the *Dæmons* accept only ſome here and there, to make dangerous *Powaws* or Wizzards of them. They know that theſe *Powaws* often imploy their *Dæmons* to ſmite their Neighbours with Blindneſs and Lameneſs, and other Miſchiefs; and ſometimes to kill them, and ſometimes to cure their Maladies.

They know that their manner is, to form a piece of Leather like an Arrow-head, and then tie an Hair unto it; or take a Bone of ſome dead Creature: Over theſe things they uſe magical Ceremonies, whereupon a *Dæmon* preſently ſnatches them away, and conveys them into the Bodies of the Perſons to be afflicted: Or, ſometimes the *Dæmon* pretends unto them, that he brings a Portion of the Spirit of the Perſon cloſely impriſon'd in a Fly; and as they deal with the Fly, ſo it fares with the Body of the Perſon intended.

It would fill a Volume to recite the inconteſtable Inſtances which that Iſland hath had of theſe Witchcrafts; but before the Goſpel, and Power, and Spirit of CHRIST, they have been happily extinguiſh'd.

One well-known *Powaw*, whoſe Faculty chiefly lay in diſcovering and recovering of *Stolen Goods*, by the Help of a *God ſubſervient* (he ſaid) *unto him whom the Engliſh worſhipped*, had a Wife who was a Godly Chriſtian; and this not only with the Approbation, but by the Encouragement of her Husband. She conſtantly pray'd in her Husband's Family, and attended the publick Worſhip on the Lord's Days: He declaring, *That he could not blame her, for ſhe ſerv'd a God that was above his: But as for himſelf, he could not forſake the Service of his own leſſer God, being ſo much oblig'd by his Kindneſſes.*

Another well known *Powaw* deſigning to kill an Indian who accidentally lodg'd in the Houſe with him and his Brother, went forth to inchant an Hair. While he was abroad, his Brother alter'd his Place about the Fire, where they ſlept, and the ſtrange *Indian* came into his Place. The Conjurer coming in with his Deviliſh Implement, gave it a Direction to the Back of his Enemy, which by his Miſtake, prov'd his Brother; and the Devil therewith immediately kill'd him.

Afterwards he would on all Occaſions grievouſly lament unto the Engliſh the Diſaſter of this Miſ-application.

There was a Prince on this Iſland, who upon his Converſion to God, made this Confeſſion unto the Church whereto he join'd himſelf; That being a *Powaw*, he had often employ'd his God, who appear'd unto him ſtill in the Form of a Snake, to kill, wound, and lame, ſuch as he deſign'd Miſchief unto But, that employing the ſaid Snake to hurt the firſt *Indian* that became a Chriſtian on this Iſland, all prov'd ineffectual, according to the Aſſertion of that memorable *Indian*, *That none of the* Powaws *could hurt him; for his God was greater than any of theirs.*

Hereupon he reſolved himſelf to become a Chriſtian, and worſhip the True God: From which time for Seven Years together, that Snake often annoy'd him with ſore Diſturbances.

CHAP. VII. *Thaumatographia Pneumatica.*

Relating the Wonders of the inviſible World in Preternatural Occurrences.

Miranda cano, ſed ſunt credenda.——

WHEN Two Goats were offered unto the Lord (and only unto the Lord) on the *Day of Expiation*, among the Ancient *Iſraelites*, we read that one of them was to fall by Lot unto *Azazel*. *Azazel* cannot without ſome Hardſhip on the Senſe, be taken for the Name of the *Scape-Goat* it ſelf; But it is no other than the Name of the Devil himſelf, as might eaſily be proved from the Monuments of the greateſt both *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian Antiquities.

In the Signification of the Word *Azazel* there is indeed a notable Declaration of thoſe Two Properties that have ſignaliz'd the Devil; his being firſt a powerful, and then an Apoſtate Spirit. [עֲז] *Fortis*, & [אָזַל] *Abiens, Fugiens.* The *Scape-Goat*, preſented as a *Sacrifice* unto the Holy God, was order'd by him to be delivered up unto *Azazel* upon theſe two Intentions. One Deſign hereof might be to intimate unto the People what would be the miſerable Condition of them, who did not by Faith in the Meſſiah get the Guilt of their Sins removed. They that have their Sins lying upon them, and are *led forth with the Workers of Iniquity*, muſt become a prey to *Azazel*, even to *Satan*, unto whoſe Temptation they did in their Sinning yield Obedience. And indeed our Lord has expreſly told us (perhaps not without ſome Alluſion to this *Levitical Goat*) that he will ſend the *Goats* which have their Sins upon them, to be with the *Devil and his Angels*.

But another and a greater Deſign of it, might be to repreſent a main Article in the dreadful Sufferings which were to befal our Lord Meſſiah when he ſhould come to ſuffer for our Sins. When our Lord Jeſus Chriſt underwent his Humiliation for us, this point was very conſiderable in it; he was carried into the Wilderneſs, and there he was expos'd unto the Buffetings and Outrages of *Azazel*. The Aſſaults that *Satan* then and afterwards made on our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, producing a moſt horrible Anguiſh in his Mind, made ſuch a Figure in his Conflicts for us, that they were well worthy of a moſt particular *Prefiguration*. And one thing in the *Prefiguration* muſt be, That the *Goat* for *Azazel* muſt be ſent into the Deſart. In the days of *Moſes* it ſeems Deſarts were counted very much an Habitation of Devils: Yea, they really were what they were counted: And for that cauſe the Names of *Shedim* and *Zijim*, were put upon them; and when the Scriptures foretel Deſolations to ſuch and ſuch places, they ſtill make the Devils to be their Inhabitants.

Who can tell whether the Envy of the Devils at the Favour of God unto Men, may not provoke them to affect Retirement from the ſight of populous and proſperous Regions, except ſo far as they reckon their Work of Tempting *Mankind* neceſſary to be carry'd on? Or, perhaps, it is not every Countrey, before which the Devils prefer the Deſarts. Regions in which the Devils are much ſerv'd by thoſe Uſages, either in Worſhip or Manners, which are pleaſing to them, are by thoſe doleful Creatures enough reſorted unto: Yea, if Sin much abound any where, ſome Devils entreat that they may *not be ſent from thence into the Wilderneſs*. But Regions, like the Land of *Iſrael*, where the true God is continually pray'd unto, and where the Word of God is continually ſounding, are filled with ſuch things as are very uneaſie unto the Devils: The Devils often recede much from thence into the Wilderneſs, as the *Devil of Maſcon* would ſay to Mr. *Perreaud* the *Miniſter* that liv'd in the haunted Houſe, *While you go to prayer, I'll go take a turn in the Street.*

Thus to omit what *Alexander Hales* reports of one retiring *ad loca deſtituta omni Habitatore*, where Spirits taught him the things which he wrote in his Book *de Magicis*; we know that in *Lucian* the famous Magician *Mithrobarzanes*, with his Companions betook themſelves ἐς τὶ χωρίον ἔρημον, καὶ ὑλῶδες, καὶ ἀνήλιον, *into a Deſart, woody, ſhady Region* for a Converſation with Spirits.

Whatever becomes of the Obſervation which we have hitherto been making, there has been too much cauſe to obſerve, that the Chriſtians who were driven into the *American Deſart*, which is now called *New England*, have to their ſorrow ſeen *Azazel* dwelling and raging there in very Tragical Inſtances. The Devils have doubtleſs felt a more than ordinary Vexation from the Arrival of thoſe Chriſtians with their ſacred Exerciſes of Chriſtianity in this Wilderneſs: But the Sovereignty of Heaven has permitted them ſtill to remain in the Wilderneſs, for our Vexation as well as their own.

Moleſtations from *Evil Spirits*, in more ſenſible and ſurpriſing Operations than thoſe *Finer Methods* wherein they commonly work upon the Minds of all Men, but eſpecially of *Ill Men*, have ſo abounded in this Countrey, that I queſtion whether any one Town has been free from *ſad Examples* of them. The Neighbours have not been careful enough to *Record* and *Atteſt* the prodigious Occurrences of this Importance, which have been among us. Many *True* and *Strange* Occurrences from the inviſible World, in theſe parts of the World, are faultily buried in Oblivion. But ſome of thoſe very ſtupendious Things, have had their *Memory* preſerv'd in the written *Memorials* of Honeſt, Prudent, and

Faithful Men; whoſe Veracity in the Relations cannot without great Injury be queſtion'd.

Of theſe I will now offer the Publick ſome Remarkable Hiſtories; for every one of which we have had ſuch a ſufficient Evidence, that no *Reaſonable Man* in this whole Countrey ever did queſtion them; and it will be unreaſonable to do it in any other. For my own part, I would be as exceedingly afraid of writing a *Falſe Thing*, as of doing an *Ill Thing*: But have my Pen always move in the *Fear of God*.

The Firſt Example.

Ann Cole, a Perſon of ſerious Piety, living in the Houſe of her Godly Father at *Hertford*, in the year 1662, was taken with very ſtrange Fits wherein her Tongue was improv'd by a *Dæmon*, to expreſs things unknown to her ſelf. The general Purpoſe of the Diſcourſe, which held ſometimes for a conſiderable while, was, that ſuch and ſuch Perſons named in the Diſcourſe, were conſulting how they might carry on miſchievous Deſigns againſt her and ſeveral others, by afflicting their Bodies or deſtroying their good Names; upon all which, the general Anſwer heard among theſe Inviſible Speakers, was, *Ah! ſhe runs to the Rock!* After ſuch an Entertainment had held for ſome Hours, the *Dæmons* were heard ſaying, *Let us confound her Language, that ſhe may tell no more Tales.* Whereupon the Conference became unintelligible to the Standers by; and then it paſs'd in a *Dutch Tone*, giving therein an Account of Miſchiefs that had befallen divers Perſons, and amongſt the reſt, what had befallen to a Woman that liv'd next Neighbour to a *Dutch* Family then in the Town, which Woman had been preternaturally indiſpos'd. Several eminent Miniſters wrote the Speeches of the Spirits, thus heard in the mouth of this *Ann Cole*; and one of the Perſons therein mention'd, as active in the matter then ſpoken of (whoſe Name was *Greenſmith*) being then in Priſon on ſuſpicion of *Witchcraft*, was brought before the Magiſtrates. The Miniſters now reading to her what they had written, ſhe with Aſtoniſhment, confeſs'd that the Things were ſo, and that ſhe with other Perſons, nam'd in the Papers, had Familiarity with a Devil. She ſaid that ſhe had not yet made a *Formal Covenant* with her Devil, but only promis'd, That ſhe would go with him, when he call'd her, which ſhe had ſundry times done accordingly: And, that he told her, that at *Chriſtmas* they would have a *merry Meeting*, and then the Agreement between them ſhould be ſubſcribed. She acknowledg'd the Day following, That when the *Miniſters* began to read what they did, ſhe was in ſuch a Rage, that ſhe could have torn them to pieces; and ſhe was reſolv'd upon the Denial of her Guilt: But after they had read a while, ſhe was as if her Fleſh were pull'd from her Bones, and ſhe could no longer deny what they charged upon her.

She declar'd that her Devil appear'd unto her firſt in the Shape of *Deer*, skipping about her, and at laſt proceeded ſo far as in that Shape to talk with her: And that the Devil had frequently carnal Knowledge of her.

Upon this Confeſſion, with other concurrent Evidence, the Woman was Executed, and other Perſons accuſed, made their Eſcape: Whereupon *Ann Cole* was happily deliver'd from the extraordinary Troubles wherewith ſhe had been exercis'd.

The Second Example.

In the Town of *Groton*, one *Elizabeth Knap* (*October* 1671.) was taken after a very ſtrange manner; ſometimes weeping, ſometimes laughing, ſometimes roaring, with violent Agitations, crying out *Money! Money!* Her Tongue would be for many Hours together drawn like a Semicircle, up to the Root of her mouth; ſo that no Fingers apply'd unto it, could remove it. Six *Men* were ſcarce able to hold her in ſome of her Fits; but ſhe would skip about the Houſe yelling and howling, and looking hideouſly.

On *Dec.* 17. her Tongue being drawn out of her mouth to an extraordinary Length, a *Dæmon* began manifeſtly to ſpeak in her; for many Words were diſtinctly utter'd, wherein are the *Labial Letters*, without any motion of her Lips at all: Words alſo were utter'd from her Throat ſometimes when her mouth was wholly ſhut; and ſometimes Words were utter'd when her mouth was wide open; but no Organs of Speech us'd therein. The chief things that the *Dæmon* ſpoke, were horrid Railings againſt the Godly *Miniſter* of the Town; but ſometimes he likewiſe belch'd out moſt nefandous Blaſphemies againſt the God of Heaven. And one thing about this young Woman was yet more particularly remarkable: She cry'd out in her Fits, that a certain Woman in the Neighbourhood appear'd unto her, and was the only Cauſe of her Affliction.

The Woman thus cry'd out upon, was doubtleſs an Holy, a Devout, a Vertuous Perſon; and ſhe, by the advice of her Friends, viſited the Afflicted. The poſſeſs'd Creature, tho' ſhe was in one of her Fits, and had her Eyes wholly ſhut, yet when this innocent Woman was coming, ſhe diſcover'd her ſelf wonderfully ſenſible of it, and was in grievous Agonies at her Approaches.

But this *Innocent Woman* thus accus'd and abus'd by a malicious Devil, pray'd earneſtly *with* as well as *for* this poſſeſs'd Creature: Whereupon coming to her ſelf, ſhe confeſs'd, That ſhe had been deluded by Satan, and compell'd by him unreaſonably to think and ſpeak Evil of a good Neighbour without a Cauſe. After this, there was no further Complaint of ſuch an ones Apparition; but ſhe ſaid, ſome Devil in the Shape of divers, did very diverſly and cruelly torment her, and then told her, it was not *He* but *They*, that were her Tormentors.

The

The Third Example.

In the year 1679. the Houſe of *William Morſe* at *Newberry*, was infeſted with *Dæmons* after a moſt horrid manner, not altogether unlike the *Dæmons* of *Tedworth*. It would fill many Pages to relate all the Infeſtations; but the chief of 'em were ſuch as theſe:

Bricks, and *Sticks*, and *Stones*, were often by ſome inviſible Hand, thrown at the Houſe, and ſo were many Pieces of Wood: A *Cat* was thrown at the Woman of the Houſe, and a *long Staff* danc'd up and down in the Chimney; and afterwards the ſame long Staff was hang'd by a Line, and ſwung to and fro; and when two Perſons laid it on the Fire to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do with their joint Strength to hold it there. An *Iron Crook* was violently by an inviſible Hand, hurl'd about; and a Chair flew about the Room until at laſt it litt upon the Table, where the Meat ſtood ready to be eaten, and had ſpoil'd all, if the people had not with much ado ſaved a little. A *Cheſt* was by an inviſible Hand carry'd from one place to another, and the Doors barricado'd, and the Keys of the Family taken, ſome of them from the Bunch where they were ty'd, and the reſt flying about with a loud Noiſe of their knocking againſt one another. For one while the Folks of the Houſe could not ſup quietly, but Aſhes would be thrown into their Suppers, and on their Heads, and their Cloaths; and the *Shooes* of the Man being left below, one of them was fill'd with Aſhes and Coals, and thrown up after him. When they were a-bed, a Stone weighing above three pounds, was divers times thrown upon them. A Box and a Board was likewiſe thrown upon them; and a Bag of Hops being taken out of a Cheſt, they were by the *Inviſible Hand* beaten therewith, till ſome of the Hops were ſcatter'd on the Floor, where the Bag was then laid and left. The Man was often ſtruck by that Hand with ſeveral Inſtruments; and the ſame Hand caſt their good things into the Fire: Yea, while the Man was at prayer with his Houſhold, a *Beeſom* gave him a Blow on his Head behind, and fell down before his Face. When they were winnowing their Barley, Dirt was thrown at them; and aſſaying to fill their Half Buſhel with Corn, the *Foul Corn* would be thrown in with the *Clean*, ſo irreſiſtibly, that they were forc'd thereby to give over what they were about.

While the Man was writing, his *Inkhorn* was by the *Inviſible Hand* ſnatch'd from him; and being able no where to find it, he ſaw it at length drop out of the Air down by the *Fire*. A *Shooe* was laid upon his Shoulder; but when he would have catch'd it, it was rapt from him; it was then clapt upon his Head, and there he held it ſo faſt, that the *unſeen Fury* pull'd him with it backward on the Floor. He had his Cap torn off his Head, and in the Night he was pull'd by the Hair, and pinch'd, and ſcratch'd; and the *Inviſible Hand* prick'd him with ſome of his *Awls*, and with *Needles*, and *Bodkins*; and *Blows*, that fetched Blood, were ſometimes given him. Frozen Clods of *Cow-dung* were often thrown at the Man; and his Wife going to milk the Cows, they could by no means preſerve the Veſſels of Milk from the like Anoyances, which made it fit only for the *Hogs*.

She going down into the Cellar, the *Trap-door* was immediately by an *Inviſible Hand* ſhut upon her, and a Table brought, and laid upon the Door, which kept her there till the Man remov'd it. When he was writing another time, a Diſh went and leapt into a Pail, and caſt Water on the Man, and on all the Concerns before him, ſo as to defeat what he was then upon. His Cap jump'd off his Head, and on again; and the Pot lid went off the *Pot* into the *Kettle*, then over the Fire together.

A little Boy belonging to the Family, was a principal *Sufferer* in theſe *Moleſtations*; for he was flung about at ſuch a rate, that they fear'd his Brains would have *been beaten out*: Nor did they find it poſſible to hold him. His Bed-cloathes would be pull'd from him, his Bed ſhaken, and his Bed-ſtaff leap forward and backward. The Man took him to keep him in a Chair; but the Chair fell a dancing, and both of them were very near being thrown into the Fire.

Theſe, and a thouſand ſuch Vexations befalling the Boy at home, they carry'd him to live abroad at a Doctor's. There he was quiet; but returning home he ſuddenly cry'd out, *He was prick'd on the Back*; where they found ſtrangely ſticking, a *Three-tin'd Fork*, which belong'd unto the Doctor, and had been ſeen at his Houſe after the Boy's *Departure*. Afterwards his Troublers found him out at the Doctor's alſo; where crying out again *He was prick'd on the Back*, they found an *Iron Spindle* ſtuck into him; and on the like Out cry again, they found Pins in a Paper, ſtuck into him; and once more, a long Iron, a Bowl of a Spoon, and a piece of a Pan-ſhred, in like ſort ſtuck upon him.

He was taken out of his Bed, and thrown under it; and all the Knives belonging to the Houſe were one after another ſtuck into his Back, which the Spectators pull'd out: Only one of them ſeem'd unto the Spectators to come out of his mouth. The poor Boy was divers times thrown into the Fire, and preſerv'd from ſcorching there with much ado. For a long while he bark'd like a Dog, and then he *clocqu'd* like an Hen; and could not ſpeak rationally. His Tongue would be pull'd out of his mouth; but when he could recover it ſo far as to ſpeak, he complain'd that a Man call'd *P——l*, appear'd unto him as the Cauſe of all.

Once in the Day-time he was tranſported where none could find him, till at laſt they found him creeping on one ſide, and ſadly dumb and lame. When he was able to expreſs himſelf, he ſaid, *That P——l had carried him over the Top of the Houſe, and hurted him againſt a Cart-wheel in the Barn*; and accordingly they found ſome Remainders of the Threſh'd Barley which was on the Barn floor, hanging about his Garments.

Th

The *Spectre* would Make all his meat, when he was going to eat, fly out of his mouth; and inſtead thereof, make him fall to eating of Aſhes, and Sticks, and Yarn. The Man and his Wife taking the Boy to Bed with them, a Chamber-pot with its Contents, was thrown upon them: They were ſeverely pinch'd, and pull'd out of the Bed; and many other Fruits of *Deviliſh Spite* were they dogg'd withal, until it pleas'd God mercifully to ſhorten the *Chain of the Devil.* But before the *Devil* was chain'd up, the *Inviſible Hand* which did all theſe things, began to put on an aſtoniſhing *Viſibility*.

They often thought they felt the Hand that ſcratch'd them, while yet they ſaw it not; but when they thought they had hold of it, it would give them the Slip.

Once the *Fiſt* beating the Man, was diſcernible, but they could not catch hold of it. At length an Apparition of a *Blackamoor Child* ſhew'd it ſelf plainly to them. And another time a Drumming on the Boards was heard, which was follow'd with a Voice that ſang, *Revenge! Revenge! ſweet is Revenge!* At this the People being terrify'd, call'd upon God: Whereupon there follow'd a mournful Note, ſeveral times uttering theſe Expreſſions, *Alas! Alas! we knock no more, we knock no more!* And there was an End of all.

The Fourth Example.

In the year 1683. the Houſe of *Nicholas Desborough* at *Hartford*, was very ſtrangely moleſted by Stones, by pieces of Earth, by Cobs of *Indian* Corn, and other ſuch things, from an *Inviſible Hand*, thrown at him, ſometimes thro' the Door, ſometimes thro' the Window, ſometimes down the Chimney, and ſometimes from the Floor of the Room (tho' very cloſe) over his Head; and ſometimes he met with them in the Shop, the Yard, the Barn, and in the Field.

There was no Violence in the Motion of the Things thus thrown by the *Inviſible Hand*; and tho' others beſides the Man, happen'd ſometimes to be hit, they were never hurt with them; only the *Man* himſelf once had Pain given to his Arm, and once Blood fetch'd from his Leg, by theſe *Annoyances*; and a Fire in an unknown way kindled, *conſum'd* no little part of his Eſtate.

This Trouble began upon a Controverſie between *Desborough* and another Perſon about a Cheſt of Cloaths which the *Man* apprehended to be unrighteouſly detain'd by *Desborough*; and it endur'd for divers months: but upon the reſtoring of the Cloaths thus detain'd, the Trouble ceaſed.

At *Brightling* in *Suſſex*, in *England*, there hapned a Tragedy not unlike to this, in the year 1659. 'Tis recorded by *Clark* in the ſecond Volume of his *Examples*.

The Fifth Example.

On *June* 11, 1682. Showers of *Stones* were thrown by an *Inviſible Hand* upon the Houſe of *George Walton* at *Portſmouth*. Whereupon the the People going out, found the Gate wrung off the Hinges, and Stones flying and falling thick about them, and ſtriking of them ſeemingly with a *great Force*; but really affecting 'em no more than if a *Soft Touch* were given them. The *Glaſs Windows* were broken to pieces by Stones that came not from *without*, but from *within*; and other Inſtruments were in like manner hurl'd about. Nine of the Stones they took up, whereof ſome were as hot as if they came out of the Fire; and marking them, they laid them on the Table; but in a little while they found ſome of them again flying about. The Spit was carry'd up the Chimney; and coming down with the Point forward, ſtuck in the Back-log; from whence one of the Company removing it, it was by an *Inviſible Hand* thrown out at the Window. This Diſturbance continu'd from Day to Day; and ſometimes a diſmal hollow *Whiſtling* would be heard, and ſometimes the *Trotting* and *Snorting* of an *Horſe*, but nothing to be ſeen. The Man went up the great Bay in a Boat unto a Farm he had there: But there the *Stones* found him out; and carrying from the *Houſe* to the *Boat* a *Stirrup-Iron*, the *Iron* came jingling after him through the Woods as far as his Houſe; and at laſt went away, and was heard of no more. The *Anchor* leap'd over-board ſeveral Times and ſtopt the Boat. A *Cheeſe* was taken out of the Preſs, and crumbl'd all over the Floor: A piece of *Iron* ſtuck into the Wall, and a Kettle hung thereupon. Several Cocks of Hay mow'd near the Houſe, were taken up, and hung upon Trees, and others made into ſmall Whiſps, and ſcattered about the Houſe. The Man was much hurt by ſome of the Stones: He was a *Quaker*, and ſuſpected that a Woman, who charg'd him with Injuſtice in detaining ſome Land from her, did by *Witchcraft* occaſion theſe preternatural Occurrences. However, at laſt, they came unto an End.

The Sixth Example.

In *June* 1682. *Mary* the Wife of *Antonio Hortado*, dwelling near the *Salmon-Falls*, heard a Voice at the Door of her Houſe, calling *What do you here?* And about an Hour after had a Blow on her Eye, that almoſt ſpoil'd her. Two or three Days after a great Stone was thrown along the Houſe; which the People going to take up, was unaccountably gone. A *Frying Pan* then in the Chimney rang ſo loud, that the People at an hundred Rods diſtance heard it; and the ſaid *Mary* with her Husband, going over the River in a *Canoo*, they ſaw the *Head* of a *Man*, and about three Foot off, the *Tail* of a *Cat*, ſwimming before the *Canoo*, but no body to join them; and the ſame Apparition again follow'd the *Canoo* when they return'd: But at their Landing it firſt diſappear'd. A Stone thrown by an *Inviſible Hand*

Hand after this, cauſ'd a *Swelling* and a *Soreneſs* in her Head; and ſhe was *bitten* on both Arms black and blue, and her Breaſt ſcratch'd; the Impreſſion of the Teeth, which were like a Man's Teeth, being *ſeen* by many.

They deſerted their Houſe on theſe occaſions, and tho' at a Neighbour's Houſe, they were at firſt haunted with *Apparitions*, the *Satanical Moleſtations* quickly ceas'd. When *Antonio* return'd unto his own Houſe, at his *Entrance* there, he heard one *walking* in his Chamber, and ſaw the Boards buckle under the Feet of the Walker; and yet there was no body there. For this cauſe he went back to dwell on the other ſide of the River; but *thinking* he might *plant his Ground*, tho' he left his *Houſe*, he had five Rods of good Log-Fence thrown down at once, and the Footing of *Neat Cattle* plainly to be *ſeen* almoſt between every Row of Corn in the Field; yet no Cattle ſeen there, nor any damage done to his *Corn*, or ſo much as a Leaf of it cropt.

The Seventh Example.

Mr. *Philip Smith*, aged about fifty Years, a Son of *eminently* Vertuous Parents, a Deacon of the Church in *Hadley*, a Member of the *General Court*, a Juſtice in the *Countrey Court*, a ſelect Man for the Affairs of the Town, a *Lieutenant* of the Troop, and which crowns all, a Man for *Devotion*, *Sanctity*, *Gravity*, and all that was honeſt, exceeding Exemplary. Such a Man was in the Winter of the Year 1684, murder'd with an hideous *Witchcraft*, that fill'd all thoſe Parts of *New-England* with *Aſtoniſhment*. He was, by his Office concern'd about relieving the *Indigences* of a wretched Woman in the Town; who being diſſatisfy'd at ſome of his juſt Cares about her, expreſs'd her ſelf unto him in ſuch a *manner*, that he declar'd himſelf thenceforward apprehenſive of receiving Miſchief at her hands.

About the *Beginning* of *January* he began to be very *Valetudinarious*, labouring under Pains that ſeem'd *Iſchiatick*. The Standers by could now ſee in him, one *ripening* apace for another World, and fill'd with Grace and Joy to an high Degree. He ſhew'd ſuch *Weanedneſs* from and *Wearineſs* of the World, that he knew not (he ſaid) whether he might pray for his *Continuance* here: And ſuch aſſurance he had of the *Divine* Love unto him, that in Raptures he would cry out, *Lord, ſtay thy hand; it is enough, it is more than thy frail Servant can bear.* But in the midſt of theſe things he ſtill utter'd an hard Suſpicion that the ill Woman who had *threatned* him, had made Impreſſions with *Inchantments* upon him. While he remain'd yet of a *ſound Mind*, he very ſedately, but very ſolemnly charg'd his Brother, to look well after him. Tho', he ſaid, he now underſtood himſelf, yet he knew not how he might be. *But be ſure,* (ſaid he) *to have a care of me; for you ſhall ſee ſtrange things. There ſhall be a Wonder in* Hadley! *I ſhall not be dead, when 'tis thought I am!* He preſs'd this Charge over and over; and afterwards became Delirious; upon which he had a Speech *inceſſant* and *voluble*, and (as was judg'd) in various Languages. He cry'd out, not only of *Pains*, but alſo of *Pins*, tormenting him in ſeveral parts of his Body; and the *Attendants* found one of them.

In his Diſtreſſes he exclaim'd much upon the Woman aforeſaid, and others, as being ſeen by him in the Room; and there was divers times both in that Room, and over the whole Houſe, a ſtrong Smell of ſomething like *Musk*, which once particularly ſo ſcented an Apple roaſting at the Fire, that it forc'd them to throw it away. Some of the young Men in the Town being out of their Wits at the ſtrange Calamities thus upon one of their moſt belov'd Neighbours, went three or four times to give Diſturbance unto the Woman thus complain'd of: And all the while they were diſturbing of her, he was at eaſe, and ſlept as a weary Man: Yea, theſe were the only times that they perceiv'd him to take any Sleep in all his Ilneſs. *Gally pots* of *Medicines* provided for the ſick Man, were unaccountably empty'd: Audible *Scratchings* were made about the Bed, when his Hands and Feet lay wholly ſtill, and were held by others. They beheld Fire ſometimes on the Bed; and when the Beholders began to diſcourſe of it, it vaniſh'd away. Divers People actually felt ſomething often ſtir in the Bed, at a conſiderable diſtance from the Man: It ſeem'd as big as a Cat, but they could never graſp it. Several trying to lean on the Bed's head, tho' the ſick Man lay wholly ſtill, the Bed would ſhake ſo, as to knock their Heads uncomfortably. A very *ſtrong Man* could not lift the *ſick Man* to make him lie more eaſily, tho' he apply'd his utmoſt Strength unto it; and yet he could go preſently and lift a Bed-ſted and a Bed, and a Man lying on it, without any Strain to himſelf at all. *Mr. Smith* dies: The *Jury* that view'd his Corpſe, found a Swelling on one *Breaſt*, his *Privities* wounded or burn'd, his *Back* full of Bruiſes, and ſeveral Holes that ſeem'd made with *Awls*. After the *Opinion* of all had *pronounc'd* him dead, his *Countenance* continued as Lively as if he had been Alive; his Eyes cloſed as in a Slumber, and his *Nether Jaw* not falling down.

Thus he remain'd from *Saturday* Morning about Sun riſe, till *Sabbath-day* in the Afternoon; when thoſe who took him out of the Bed, found him ſtill warm, tho the Seaſon was as cold as had almoſt been *known* in any Age: And a *New-Engliſh* Winter does not want for Cold. On the Night following his *Countenance* was yet freſh as before; but on *Monday* morning they found the Face extreamly *tumify'd* and diſcolour'd. It was black and blue, and freſh Blood ſeem'd *running* down his Cheek upon the Hairs. Divers Noiſes were alſo heard in the Room where the Corpſe lay; as the Clattering of *Chairs* and *Stools*, whereof no account could be given.

This was the End of ſo good a Man.

And I could with *unqueſtionable Evidence* relate the Tragical Deaths of ſeveral *Good Men* in this Land, attended with ſuch *præternatural Circumſtances*, which have loudly call'd upon us all to *work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling*.

The

Eighth Example.

There was one *Mary Johnſon* try'd at *Hertford* in this Countrey, upon an Indictment of *Familiarity with the Devil*, and was found guilty thereof, chiefly upon her own Confeſſion. Her Confeſſion was attended with ſuch convictive Circumſtances, that it could not be ſlighted. Very many material Paſſages relating to this matter, are now loſt: But ſo much as is well known, and can ſtill be prov'd, ſhall be inſerted.

She ſaid, her firſt Familiarity with the Devil, came through *Diſcontent*, and wiſhing the *Devil* to take this and that, and the Devil to do that and t'other thing: Whereupon a Devil appear'd unto her, *tendring* her what *Services* might beſt *content* her. A Devil accordingly did for her many Services. Her *Maſter* blam'd her for not carrying out the *Aſhes*, and a Devil afterwards would clear the Hearth of Aſhes for her. Her *Maſter* ſending her to drive out the *Hogs*, that ſometimes broke into their Field, a Devil would ſcowre the Hogs away, and make her laugh to ſee how he feaz'd them. She confeſs'd, that ſhe had murdred a Child, and committed *Uncleanneſs* both with *Men* and with *Devils*. In the time of her *Impriſonment*, the famous *Mr. Stone* was at great pains to promote her Converſion from the *Devil* to *God*; and ſhe was by the beſt Obſervers judg'd very penitent, both before her Execution and at it; and ſhe went out of the World with comfortable Hopes of *Mercy* from God through the merit of our Saviour. Being asked what ſhe built her Hopes upon, ſhe anſwer'd, Upon theſe Words; *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you Reſt*: And theſe; *There is a Fountain ſet open for Sin and Uncleanneſs.* And ſhe dy'd in a Frame extreamly to the Satisfaction of them that were Spectators of it.

The Ninth Example.

——*Hæc ipſe miſerrima vidi.*

Four Children of *John Goodwin* in *Boſton*, which had enjoy'd a Religious Education, and anſwer'd it with a towardly Ingenuity: *Children* indeed of an exemplary Temper and Carriage, and an Example to all about them for Piety, Honeſty, and Induſtry. Theſe were in the year 1688. arreſted by a very ſtupendous *Witchcraft*. The Eldeſt of the *Children*, a Daughter of about Thirteen years old, ſaw cauſe to examine their Laundreſs, the Daughter of a ſcandalous *Iriſh* Woman in the Neighbourhood, about ſome Linen that was miſſing; and the *Woman* beſtowing very bad Language on the Child, in her Daughter's Defence, the Child was immediately taken with odd Fits, that carried in them ſomething *Diabolical*. It was not long before one of her Siſters, with two of her Brothers, were horribly taken with the like Fits, which the moſt *Experienc'd Phyſicians* pronounced Extraordinary and preternatural: and one thing that the more confirmed them in this Opinion was, that all the Children were tormented ſtill juſt the ſame part of their Bodies, at the *ſame time*, though their Pains flew like ſwift Lightning from one part unto another, and they were kept ſo far aſunder, that they neither ſaw nor heard one anothers *Complaints*. At 9 or 10 a-clock at Night, they ſtill had a Releaſe from their miſeries, and ſlept all Night pretty comfortably. But when the Day came, they were moſt miſerably handled. Sometimes they were *Deaf*, ſometimes *Dumb*, ſometimes *Blind*, and often all this at once. Their *Tongues* would be *drawn down* their *Throats*, and then pull'd out upon their *Chins*, to a prodigious Length. Their *Mouths* were forc'd open to ſuch a Wideneſs, that their *Jaws* went out of Joint; and *anon* clap together again, with a Force like that of a *Spring Lock*; and the like would happen to their *Shoulder-blades* and their *Elbows*, and *Hand wriſts*, and ſeveral of their Joints. They would lie in a *benumm'd Condition*, and be drawn together like thoſe that are ty'd Neck and Heels; and preſently be ſtretch'd out, yea, *drawn back* Enormouſly.

They made piteous Out-cries, that they were cut with *Knives*, and ſtruck with *Blows*; and the plain Prints of the *Wounds* were ſeen upon them.

Their Necks would be broken, ſo that their *Neck-Bone* would ſeem diſſolv'd unto them that felt after it; and yet on the ſudden it would become again ſo ſtiff, that there was no ſtirring of their Heads: Yea, their Heads would be twiſted almoſt *round*: And if the main Force of their Friends at any time obſtructed a dangerous Motion which they ſeem'd upon, they would roar exceedingly: And when *Devotions* were performed with them, their *Hearing* was utterly taken from them. The *Miniſters* of *Boſton* and *Charleſtown*, keeping a Day of *Prayer* with *Faſting*, on this occaſion, at the troubl'd Houſe, the youngeſt of the *Four Children* was immediately, happily, finally deliver'd from all its Trouble. But the Magiſtrates being awakened by the Noiſe of theſe Grievous and Horrid Occurrences, examined the Perſon who was under the ſuſpicion of having employ'd theſe Troubleſome *Dæmons*; and ſhe gave ſuch a Wretched Account of her ſelf, that ſhe was committed unto the Gaoler's Cuſtody.

It was not long before this Woman (whoſe Name was *Glover*) was brought upon her Trial; But then the Court could have no Anſwers from her, but in the *Iriſh*, which was her Native Language, although ſhe underſtood *Engliſh* very well, and had accuſtom'd her whole Family to none but *Engliſh* in her former *Converſation*. When ſhe pleaded to her *Indictment*, it was with *owning* and *Bragging*, rather than *Denial* of her Guilt. And the Interpreters, by whom the Communication between the Bench and the Barr was managed, were made ſenſible that a *Spell* had been laid by another *Witch* on *This*, to prevent her telling Tales, by confining her to a Language which 'twas hoped, no body would underſtand. The Woman's Houſe being ſearched, ſeveral *Images*, or *Poppets*, or *Babies*, made of Raggs, and ſtuffed with *Goats Hair*, were thence produced and the vile Woman confeſſed, that her Way to

Torment the Objects of her Malice, was by wetting of her *Finger* with her Spittle, and ſtroaking of thoſe little *Images*. The abus'd *Children* were then preſent in the Court, and the Woman kept ſtill ſtooping and ſhrinking, as one that was almoſt preſt unto death with a mighty Weight upon her. But one of the *Images* being brought unto her, ſhe odly and ſwiftly ſtarted up, and ſnach'd it into her Hand: But ſhe had no ſooner ſnatch'd it, than one of the Children fell into ſad Fits before the whole Aſſembly. The Judges had their juſt Apprehenſions at this, and carefully cauſing a Repetition of the Experiment, they ſtill found the ſame Event of it, tho' the Children ſaw not when the Hand of the Witch was laid upon the *Images*. They ask'd her *whether ſhe had any to ſtand by her?* She reply'd, *She had:* And looking very pertly into the Air, ſhe added, *No, he's gone!* and ſhe then acknowledg'd that ſhe had *One*, who was her *Prince*; with whom ſhe mention'd I know not what *Communion*. For which cauſe the Night after, ſhe was heard expoſtulating with a *Devil* for his thus deſerting her, telling him, that *becauſe he had ſerved her ſo baſely and falſely, ſhe had confeſſed all.*

However, to make all clear, the Court appointed five or ſix Phyſicians to examine her very ſtrictly, whether ſhe were no way craz'd in her Intellectuals. Divers Hours did they ſpend with her; and in all that while no Diſcourſe came from her, but what was *agreeable*; particularly When they ask'd her, what ſhe thought would become of her Soul, ſhe reply'd, *You ask me a very ſolemn Queſtion, and I cannot tell what to ſay to it.* She profeſt her ſelf a *Roman Catholick*, and could recite her *Pater-noſter* in Latin very readily; but there was one Clauſe or two always too hard for her, whereof ſhe ſaid, *ſhe could not repeat it, if ſhe might have all the World.*

In the Upſhot, the Doctors return'd her *Compos mentis*, and Sentence of Death was paſt upon her. Divers Days paſt between her being Araign'd and Condemn'd: and in this time one *Hughes* teſtify'd, That her Neighbour (call'd *Howen*) who was cruelly *bewitch'd* unto death about ſix Years before, la'd her Death to the charge of this Woman, and bid her (the ſaid *Hughes*) to remember this; for within ſix Years there would be occaſion to mention it. One of *Hughes*'s Children was preſently taken ill in the ſame woful manner that *Goodwin*'s; and particularly the Boy, in the Night cry'd out, that a *Black Perſon*, with a *Blue Cap* in the Room tortur'd him, and that they try'd with their *Hand* in the Bed, for to pull out his Bowels. The Mother of the Boy went unto *Glover* the day following, and asked her, *Why ſhe tortured her poor Lad at ſuch a rate? Glover* anſwered, *Becauſe of the Wrong ſhe had receiv'd from her*; and boaſted, *that ſhe had come at him as a Black Perſon with a blue Cap; and with her Hand in the Bed, would have pulled his Bowels out, but could not. Hughes* denied that ſhe had wronged her; and *Glover* then deſiring to ſee the Boy, wiſhed him well; upon which he had no more of his Indiſpoſitions. After the Condemnation of the Woman, I did my ſelf give divers Viſits unto her; wherein ſhe told me, that ſhe did uſe to be at Meetings, where her Prince with Four more were preſent. She told me who the Four were, and plainly ſaid, *That her Prince was the Devil.* When I told her *That* and *How* her Prince had cheated her, ſhe reply'd, *If it be ſo, I am ſorry for that!* And when ſhe declin'd anſwering ſome things that I ask'd her, ſhe told me, *ſhe would fain give me a full Anſwer, but her Spirits would not give her leave*; nor could ſhe conſent, ſhe ſaid, without their Leave, *that I ſhould pray for her.* At her Execution, ſhe ſaid, the afflicted Children ſhould not be reliev'd by her Death, for others beſides ſhe, had a hand in their Affliction. Accordingly the *Three Children* continu'd in their Furnace as before; and it grew rather *ſeven times hotter* than it was. In their Fits they cry'd out of [*They*] and [*Them*] as the Authors of all their Miſeries; but who that [*They*] and [*Them*] were, they were not able to declare: Yet, at laſt one of the *Children* was able to diſcern their Shapes, and utter their Names. A Blow at the Place where they ſaw the Spectre, was always felt by the *Boy* himſelf, in that part of his Body that anſwer'd what might be ſtricken at: And this, tho' his Back were turn'd, and the thing ſo done, that there could be no Colluſion in it. But as a *Blow* at the Spectre always hurt him, ſo it always help'd him too: For after the Agonies to which a Puſh or Stab at that had put him, were over (as in a Minute or two they would be) he would have a Reſpite from his Ails a conſiderable while, and the Spectre would be gone: Yea, 'twas very credibly affirmed, that a dangerous Woman or two in the Town receiv'd Wounds by the Blows thus given to their Spectres. The Calamities of the Children went on till they barked at one another like *Dogs*, and then *purred* like ſo many *Cats*. They would complain that they were in a *Red-Hot Oven*, and ſweat and pant as much as if they had been really ſo. Anon they would ſay that Cold Water was thrown on them, at which they would ſhiver very much.

They would complain of *Blows* with great Cudgels laid upon them, and we that ſtood by, though we could ſee no Cudgels, yet could ſee the Marks of the *Blows* in red Streaks upon their Fleſh.

They would complain of being roaſted on an *Inviſible Spit*; and lie and roll and groan as if it had been moſt ſenſibly ſo; and by and by ſhriek that Knives were cutting of them. They would complain that their Heads *were nailed* unto the Floor, and it was beyond an ordinary Strength to pull them from *thence*. They would be ſo limber ſometimes, that it was judg'd every *Bone* they had might be bent; and anon ſo ſtiff, that not a Joint of them could be ſtirr'd.

One of them dreamt that ſomething was growing within his Skin, croſs one of his Ribs. An Expert Chirurgeon ſearcht the Place, and found there a Braſs Pin, which could not poſſibly come to lie there as it did, without a preſtigious and myſterious Conveyance. Sometimes they

they would be very mad; and then they would climb over high *Fences*; yea, they would fly like *Geeſe*, and be carry'd with an incredible *Swiftneſs* through the Air, having but juſt their Toes now and then upon the Ground (ſometimes not once in *Twenty Foot*) and their Arms *wav'd* like the Wings of a Bird. They were often very near *Drowning* or *Burning* of themſelves; and they often *ſtrangled* themſelves with their *Neck clothes*; but the Providence of God ſtill order'd the ſeaſonable Succours of them that look'd after them. If there hapned any Miſchief to be done where they *were*, as the dirtying of a *Garment*, or ſpilling of a Cup, or breaking of a Glaſs, they would laugh *exceſſively*.

But upon the leaſt Reproof of their Parents, they were thrown into inexpreſſible Anguiſh, and roar as exceſſively. It uſually took up abundance of time to *dreſs* them or *undreſs* them, thro' the ſtrange Poſtures into which they would be *twiſted*, on purpoſe to hinder it; and yet the *Dæmons* did not know our Thoughts: for if we us'd a *Jargon*, and ſaid, *untie his Neckcloth*, but the Party bidden underſtood our meaning to be *untie his Shooe*; the *Neckcloth*, and not the *Shooe*, has been by *writhen Poſtures*, rendred ſtrangely *inacceſſible*. In their Beds they would be ſometimes *treated* ſo, that no Cloaths could for an Hour or two be laid upon them. If they were bidden to do a *needleſs* thing (as to rub a *clean Table*) they were able to do it unmoleſted; but if to do any *uſeful* thing (as to rub a *dirty Table*) they would *preſently*, with many Torments be made uncapable.

They were ſometimes hindred from eating their *Meals*, by having their *Teeth* ſet, when any thing was carrying unto their Mouths. If there were any Diſcourſe of *God*, or *Chriſt*, or any of the *Things which are not ſeen, and are Eternal*, they would be caſt into *intolerable Anguiſhes*. All praying to God, and reading of his Word, would occaſion 'em a very *terrible Vexation*. Their *own* Ears would then be ſtopt with their *own* Hands, and they would roar, and howl, and ſhriek, and hollow, to *drown* the Voice of the Devotions; yea, if any one in the Room took up a Bible, to look into it, tho' the Children could ſee nothing of it, as being in a *Crowd* of Spectators, or having their Faces another way, yet would they be in *wonderful Torments* till the *Bible* was laid aſide. Briefly, *No good thing* might then be endur'd near thoſe Children, which while they were *themſelves* lov'd every good thing, in a meaſure that proclaim'd in them the Fear of God. If I ſaid unto them, *Child, cry to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt!* their *Teeth* were inſtantly ſet. If I ſaid, *Yet, Child, look unto him!* their *Eyes* were inſtantly pull'd ſo far into their Heads, that we fear'd they could never have us'd them any more.

It was the Eldeſt of theſe Children that fell chiefly under my own Obſervation: For I took her home to my own Family, partly out of compaſſion to her Parents, but chiefly, that I might be a critical Eye-Witneſs of things that would enable me to confute the *Sadduciſm* of this Debauch'd Age. Here ſhe continu'd well for ſome Days; applying *her ſelf* to Actions of Induſtry and Piety: But *Nov.* 20. 1688. ſhe cry'd out, *Ah, they have found me out!* and immediately ſhe fell into her Fits; wherein *we* often obſerv'd, that ſhe would cough up a Ball as big as a ſmall Egg, into the ſide of her *Wind pipe*, that would near choak her, till by *Stroaking* and by *Drinking* it was again carry'd *down*.

When I pray'd in the Room, firſt her Hands were with a *ſtrong*, tho' not *even* Force, clapt upon her Ears: And when her Hands were by our Force pull'd away, ſhe cry'd out, *They make ſuch a Noiſe, I cannot hear a Word!* She complain'd that *Glover*'s Chain was upon her Leg; and aſſaying to go, her Gate was exactly ſuch as the *chain'd Witch* had before ſhe dy'd. When her *Tortures* paſs'd over, ſtill Frolicks would ſucceed, wherein ſhe *would* continue *Hours*, yea, *Days* together, talking perhaps never *wickedly*, but always *wittily* beyond her ſelf: And at certain Provocations her Torments would *renew* upon her, till we had left off to Give them; yet ſhe frequently told us in theſe Frolicks, *That if ſhe might but ſteal or be drunk, ſhe ſhould be well immediately.* She told us, *that ſhe muſt go down to the bottom of our Well*, (and we had much ado to hinder it) *for they ſaid there was Plate there, and they would bring her up ſafely again.*

* We *wonder'd* at this: For ſhe had never heard of any Plate there; and we our *ſelves*, who had newly bought the Houſe, were ignorant of it: but the *former Owner* of the Houſe juſt then coming in, told us *There had been Plate for many Years loſt at the Bottom of the Well.* Moreover, one ſingular Paſſion that frequently attended her, was this:

An *inviſible Chain* would be clapt about her, and ſhe in much pain and Fear, cry out when [*They*] began to put it on. Sometimes we could with our Hands knock it off, as it began to be faſten'd: But ordinarily, when it was on, ſhe *would* be pull'd out of her Seat, with ſuch Violence, *towards* the Fire, that it was as much as one or two of us could do to keep her out. Her *Eyes* were not brought to be perpendicular to her Feet, *when* ſhe roſe out of her Seat, as the *Mechaniſm* of an humane Body requires in them that riſe; but ſhe was dragg'd *wholly* by other Hands. And if we ſtamp'd on the Hearth, juſt between her and the Fire, ſhe ſcream'd out, *That by jarring the Chain, we hurt her.*

I may add, that [*They*] put an unſeen Rope, with a cruel Nooſe, about her Neck, *whereby* ſhe was choak'd until ſhe was black in the Face: And tho' it was got off before it had kill'd her; yet there were the Red Marks of it, and of a Finger and a Thumb near it, remaining to be ſeen for ſome while afterwards. Furthermore, not only upon her own looking into the Bible, but if any one elſe in the Room did it, *wholly unknown* to her, ſhe would fall into unſufferable Torments.

A *Quaker's Book* being brought her, ſhe could quietly read whole Pages of it; only the Name of GOD and CHRIST, ſhe ſtill skipp'd over, being unable to pronounce it, except ſometimes,

 ſtam-

ſtammering a Minute or two, or more upon it: And when we urg'd her to tell what the Word was that ſhe miſs'd, ſhe would ſay, *I muſt not ſpeak it: They ſay I muſt not. You know what it is: 'Tis G, and O, and D.* But a Book againſt *Quakeriſm* [*They*] would not *allow* her to meddle with. Such Books, as it might have been profitable and edifying for her to read, and eſpecially her Catechiſms, if ſhe did but offer to read a Line in them, ſhe would be caſt into hideous Convulſions, and be toſt about the Houſe like a Foot-ball: But Books of Jeſts being ſhewn her, ſhe could read them well enough, and have cunning Deſcants upon them. *Popiſh Books* [*They*] would not hinder her from reading; but [*They*] would from reading Books againſt Popery. A Book which pretends to prove *That there are no Witches,* was eaſily read by her; only the Name *Devils* and *Witches* might not be utter'd. A Book which proves *That there are Witches*, being exhibited unto her, ſhe might not read it: And that Expreſſion in the Story of *Ann Cole*, about running to the Rock, always threw her into ſore Confuſions.

Divers of theſe Trials were made by many Witneſſes: But I conſidering that there might be a Snare in it, put a ſeaſonable Stop to this fanciful Buſineſs. Only I could not but be amaz'd at one thing: A certain Prayer-Book being brought her, ſhe not only could read it very well, but alſo did read a large Part of it over, calling it her *Bible*, and putting a more than ordinary Reſpect upon it. If ſhe were going into her Tortures, at the Tender of this Book, ſhe would recover her ſelf to read it: Only when ſhe came to the Lord's Prayer now and then occurring in that Book, ſhe would have her Eyes put out; ſo that ſhe muſt turn over a new Leaf, and then ſhe could read again. Whereas alſo there are *Scriptures* in that Book, ſhe could read them there: but if any ſhew'd her the very ſame Scriptures in the *Bible* it ſelf, ſhe ſhould ſooner die than read them: And ſhe was likewiſe made unable to read the *Pſalms* in an ancient Metre, which this Prayer-Book had in the ſame Volume with it.

Beſides theſe, there was another inexplicable Thing in her Condition. Ever now and then, an Inviſible Horſe would be brought unto her by thoſe whom ſhe only call'd [*Them,*] and [*Her Company,*] upon the Approach of which, her Eyes wou'd be ſtill clos'd up: For (ſaid ſhe) *They ſay I am a Tell-tale, and therefore they will not let me ſee them.* Hereupon ſhe would give a Spring as one mounting an Horſe, and ſetling her ſelf in a riding Poſture, ſhe would in her Chair be agitated, as one ſometimes Ambling, ſometimes Trotting, and ſometimes Galloping very furiouſly. In theſe Motions we could not *perceive* that ſhe was mov'd by the Streſs of her *Feet* upon the Ground, for often ſhe touch'd it not. When ſhe had rode a Minute or two, ſhe would ſeem to be at a *Rendezvous* with [*Them*] that were [*Her Company,*] and there ſhe would maintain a Diſcourſe with them, aſking them many Queſtions concerning her ſelf [we gave her none of ours] and have Anſwers from them which indeed none but her ſelf perceiv'd. Then would ſhe return and inform us, *How* [They] *did intend to handle her for a Day or two afterwards*, and ſome other things that ſhe inquir'd. Her Horſe would ſometimes throw her with much *Violence*; eſpecially if any one ſtabb'd or cut the Air under her. But ſhe would briskly mount again, and perform her Fantaſtick Journies, moſtly in her Chair; but *ſometimes* alſo ſhe would be carry'd from her Chair, out of one Room into another, very odly, in the Poſtures of a riding Woman. At length, ſhe *pretended*, that her Horſe could ride up the Stairs; and unto admiration ſhe rode, (that is, was toſs'd as one that rode) up the Stairs. There then ſtood open the Study of one belonging to the Family: Into which entring, ſhe ſtood immediately on her *Feet*, and cry'd out, *They are gone! They are gone! They ſay that they cannot,—— God won't let 'em come here!* Adding a Reaſon for it, which the *Owner* of the Study thought more *Kind* than *True*. And ſhe *preſently* and *perfectly* came to her ſelf, ſo that her whole Diſcourſe and Carriage was alter'd unto the greateſt *meaſure of Sobriety*; and ſhe ſate reading of the Bible and other good Books, for a good part of the Afternoon. Her Affairs calling her anon to go down again, the *Dæmons* were in a quarter of a Minute as bad upon her as before; and her *Horſe* was *waiting* for her. Some then to ſee *whether* there had not been a Fallacy in what had *newly* hapned, reſolv'd for to have her up unto the Study, where ſhe had been at eaſe before; but ſhe was then ſo ſtrangely diſtorted, that it was an *extream Difficulty* to drag her up ſtairs. The *Dæmons* would pull her out of the *Peoples* Hands, and make her *heavier* than perhaps *Three* of her ſelf. With incredible Toil, (tho' ſhe kept ſcreaming, *They ſay I muſt not go in.*) She was pull'd in; *where* ſhe was no ſooner got, but ſhe could ſtand on her *Feet*, and with an alter'd Note, ſay, *Now I am well.*

She would be faint at firſt, and ſay, *She felt ſomething to go out of her!* (the Noiſes whereof *we* ſometimes heard, like thoſe of a *Mouſe*) but in a Minute or *two* ſhe could apply her ſelf to *Devotion*, and expreſs her ſelf with *Diſcretion*, as *well as ever* in her Life.

To ſatisfie ſome Strangers, the *Experiment* was divers times with the ſame Succeſs, *repeated*; until my Lothneſs to have any thing done like making a Charm of a Room, caus'd me to forbid the Repetition of it. But enough of this. The Miniſters of *Boſton* and *Charlſtown*, kept another Day of *Prayer with Faſting*, for *Goodwin*'s afflicted Family: After which, the Children had a *Senſible*, but a *Gradual Abatement* of their Sorrows, until *Perfect Eaſe* was at length reſtor'd unto them. The young Woman dwelt at my Houſe the reſt of the Winter; having by a *vertuous Converſation* made her ſelf enough *welcome* to the Family. But e're long, I thought it convenient for me to entertain my Congregation with a *Sermon* on the *memorable Providences* wherein theſe Children had been concern'd, [*afterwards publiſh'd.*] When I had begun to ſtudy my Sermon, her *Tormentors* a-

again ſeiz'd upon her, and manag'd her with a ſpecial Deſign, as was plain, to diſturb me in *what* I was then about.

In the worſt of her Extravagancies formerly, ſhe was more dutiful to my ſelf than I had reaſon to expect: But now her *whole Carriage* to me was with a *Sawcineſs*, which I was not us'd any *where* to be treated *withal*. She would knock at my Study door, affirming *That ſome below would be glad to ſee me*; tho' there was none that ask'd for me: And when I chid her for telling *what* was falſe, her *Anſwer* was *Mrs Mather is always glad to ſee you!* She would call to me with numberleſs Impertinencies: And when I came *down*, ſhe *would throw* things at me, tho' none of them could ever hurt me: And ſhe would Hector me at a ſtrange rate for ſomething I was doing above, and threaten me with *Miſchief* and *Reproach* that ſhould revenge it. *Few* Tortures now attended her, but ſuch as *were* provok'd. Her Frolicks were numberleſs; if we may call them hers. I *was* in Latin telling ſome young Gentlemen, That if I ſhould bid her look to God, her Eyes *would* be put out: Upon *which* her Eyes were preſently ſerv'd ſo. Perceiving that her Troublers underſtood *Latin*, ſome Trials were thereupon made *whether* they underſtood *Greek* and *Hebrew*, which it ſeems, they alſo did; but the *Indian* Languages they did ſeem not ſo *well* to underſtand.

When we *went* unto prayer, the *Dæmons* would *throw* her on the Floor at the Feet of him that pray'd, where ſhe would whiſtle, and ſing, and yell, to *drown* the Voice of the Prayer, and ſhe would fetch *Blows* with her Fiſt, and Kicks with her Foot, at the Man that pray'd: But ſtill her Fiſt and Foot would always recoyl, when they came within an Inch or *two* of him, as if rebounding againſt a Wall: and then ſhe would beg hard of other People to ſtrike him, which (you may be ſure) not being done, ſhe cry'd out, *He has wounded me in the Head.* But before the Prayer was over, ſhe would be laid for dead, *wholly* ſenſeleſs, and (unto appearance) breathleſs, with her Belly ſwell'd like a Drum; And ſometimes with croaking Noiſes in her. Thus wou'd ſhe lie, moſt exactly with the Stiffneſs and Poſture of one that had been *two* Days laid out for dead. Once lying thus, as he that was praying, was alluding to the Words of the *Canaanites*, and ſaying, *Lord, have mercy on a Daughter vex'd with a Devil*, there came a big, but low Voice from her, in which the Spectators did not ſee her Mouth to move, *There's two or three of us.* When Prayer was ended, ſhe would revive in a Minute or two, and continue as frolickſome as before.

She thus continu'd until *Saturday* towards the Evening; when ſhe aſſay'd with as nimble, and various, and pleaſant an Application, as could eaſily be us'd, for to divert the young Folks in the Family from ſuch Exerciſes, as it was proper to meet the *Sabbath* withal: But they refuſing to be diverted, ſhe fell faſt aſleep, and in two or three Hours wak'd perfectly her ſelf, weeping bitterly to remember what had befallen her. When *Chriſtmas* arriv'd, both ſhe at my Houſe, and her Siſter at home, were by the *Dæmons* made very drunk, tho' we are fully ſatisfied they had no *Strong Drink* to make them ſo; nor *would* they *willingly* have been ſo, to have gain'd the World. When ſhe began to feel her ſelf *Drunk*, ſhe complain'd, *Oh! they ſay they will have me to keep* Chriſtmas *with them. They will diſgrace me, when they can do nothing elſe.* And immediately the ridiculous Behaviours of one drunk, were with a wondrous Exactneſs repreſented in her *Speaking*, and *Reeling* and *Spewing*, and anon *Sleeping*, till ſhe was well again. At laſt the *Dæmons* put her upon ſaying that ſhe was *dying*, and the matter prov'd ſuch, that *we* fear'd ſhe really *was*; for ſhe lay, ſhe toſs'd, ſhe pull'd, juſt like one dying, and urg'd hard for ſome one to die with her, ſeeming loth to *die alone*. She argu'd concerning *Death*, with Paraphraſes on the *Thirty firſt Pſalm*, in Strains that quite amaz'd us: And concluded, that tho' ſhe was *loth to die*, yet if God ſaid ſhe muſt, *ſhe muſt!* Adding, that the *Indians* would quickly ſhed much Blood in the Countrey, and *horrible Tragedies* would be acted in the Land. Thus the Vexations of the Children ended.

But after a *while*, they began again; and then one particular Miniſter taking a particular Compaſſion on the Family, ſet himſelf to ſerve them in the Methods preſcrib'd by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Accordingly, the Lord being *beſought thrice* in *Three* Days of Prayer, with Faſting on this occaſion, the Family then ſaw their *Deliverance* perfected; and the Children afterwards all of them, not only approv'd themſelves Devout *Chriſtians*; but unto the Praiſe of God reckon'd theſe their Afflictions among the ſpecial *Incentives* of their Chriſtianity.

The Miniſters of *Boſton* and *Charlſtown*, afterwards accompany'd the printed Narrative of theſe things with their Atteſtation to the Truth of it. And when it was re-printed at *London*, the famous Mr. *Baxter* prefixed a Preface unto it, wherein he ſays, *This great Inſtance comes with ſuch convincing Evidence, that he muſt be a very obdurate* Sadducee, *that will not believe it.*

The Tenth Example.

William Davies with *Nine Sailers*, whereof one was a Negro, and one Boy, and one Paſſenger, ſail'd out of *Boſton*, *Dec.* 28. 1695. in the Ship called *The Margaret*, of about Eighty Tuns, bound for *Barbadoes*, laden with Fiſh, Beef and a ſmall parcel of Lumber. Within a few Days, one of the *Sailers*, nam'd *Winlock Curtis*, being at the Helm, about 8 a-clock at Night call'd unto the Captain, telling him, that he cou'd ſteer no longer; whereof, when the Captain ask'd him the Reaſon, he beſought the ſaid Captain to think him *neither drunk nor mad*, and then added, *That he had but a little time to tarry here*; conſtantly affirming *therewithal*, That a Spirit appearing by the *Biddekel*, accus'd him of *killing* a Woman, (*which* the Sailer ſaid, that he had left alive.) and reported unto him that the reſt of the Ships Company had ſigned *The BOOK*, which he was from that Argument now urg'd alſo to ſign. The

Sail-

Sailer declared his Reſolution, that he would never hearken to the Devil, and requeſted that he might be furniſh'd with a Bible; in the reading whereof he was at firſt greatly interrupted; but at length he was able diſtinctly to read it. On the day following he was violently and ſuddenly ſeiz'd in an *unaccountable manner*, and furiouſly *thrown down* upon the Deck, where he lay *wallowing* in a great Agony, and foam'd at the Mouth, and grew black in the Face, and was near ſtrangled with a *Great Lump* riſing in his Neck nigh his Throat, like that which *bewitch'd* or *poſſeſs'd* People uſe to be attended withal. In a *few* days he came a little to himſelf; but ſtill behav'd himſelf, as one much under the Power of ſome Devil; talking of the Viſions which he *ſaw* in the Air, and of a Spirit coming for him with a Boat. The Ships Company, to prevent his going over-board to that *Inviſible Spirit*, which he attempted once to do, *confin'd* him to his Cabin, and there ty'd him, and bound him ſo that they thought they had him faſt enough: But he ſoon came forth without Noiſe, to their great Aſtoniſhment. He then fell into a Sleep, wherein he continu'd for *Twenty four Hours*; after *which* he came to himſelf, and remain'd very ſenſible, giving a particular Narrative of the odd Circumſtances which he had been in, and calling for *Pen*, and *Ink*, to *write them down*. But he put off doing it until the Ship, then under a freſh Gale, ſhould be a little quieter; and ſo it came to be altogether neglected.

Upon *Jan.* 17. in the North Lat. 19. ſailing S.W. with a freſh Gale Eaſt, and E. and by S. about 9 at Night a ſmall White Cloud aroſe without Rain, or any extraordinary Increaſe of Wind; Which falling upon the Ship, immediately preſſed her down to Star board at once: And the Hatches flying out, ſhe was immediately ſo full of Water, that it was impoſſible to recover her. If ſhe had not been laden with Lumber, ſhe muſt have ſunk to the Bottom: Whereas now being full of Water, which *drown'd* the Boy ſleeping in the Cabin, She ſoon righted, but floated along *overflow'd* with the Sea, after this, for Eleven Weeks together, in which time there hapned the *Enſuing Paſſages*.

Firſt, Within a *few Days*, one Mr. *Dibs*, the *Paſſenger*, who formerly had been very undaunted and courageous, began to talk odly of ſeveral Perſons in *Barbadoes*; adding, *That one ſtood at the Main Maſt who came for him with a Wherry*. And ſoon after this, he was gone inſenſibly, none knowing *when* or *how*. About a Fortnight after this, one *John Jones* was in the ſame *inſenſible manner* carry'd *away*, and ſo was the above mention'd *Winlock Curtis*. Within about a Fortnight more, one of their Number dy'd, thro' the unconquerable Difficulties of the Voyage. And about a Fortnight further, the *Negro* ſitting as not in his right *Mind*, and another Sailer, were in the Night *inſenſibly* carry'd away. About a Week after, one *Sterry Lion*, the *Carpenter*, not being in any diſorder of Mind at all, often ſpoke of his End being at hand, and that it would be by a *Wave* of the Sea, fetching him away. Him they *ſaw* carry'd away by a Wave about Nine a-clock in the *Morning*.

All this while their *Food* was *only* Fleſh, which they eat raw, becauſe they could *now* have no Fire; and freſh *Fiſh*, which in great *Quantities* came into the Veſſel unto them. At ſeveral times, and eſpecially before the taking *away* of any one of their Number, they heard various and wondrous Noiſes like the Voice of Birds, as Turkeys and other *Fowl*. While they were in this *Condition*, they ſaw three Veſſels, and judg'd that all the three *ſaw* them: Nevertheleſs none came a-near them to relieve them. Their Lodging was on two Boards plac'd *athwart* the Rail, near the *Taffril*, cover'd with a Sail: And the firſt Land they diſcover'd, was *Deſiado*; but a Northerly *Current* hinder'd their *landing* there. The next *Land* was *Grand Terra*; but the Wind in the North *hinder'd* their *landing* there alſo. At laſt, with a little Sail, being reduc'd unto Three in Number, they ran their Ship aſhore at *Guadalupa*, the ſixth of *April*, about 2 a-clock on *Monday morning*, where the *French* kindly *entertain'd* them, not as *Priſoners* but as *Travellers*. Thence they came to *Barbadoes*, and there they made Oath to the Truth of this Narrative.

The Eleventh Example.

Reader, into this Chapter, with too much of Reaſon, may be *tranſcrib'd* a Paſſage, which I have had occaſion formerly to publiſh in a Book about *the Cauſe and Cure of a wounded Spirit*.

'There are very cruel *Self Murders* whereto 'the Wounds on Peoples *Conſciences* have driven 'them. Such a *Conſternation* is upon them, that 'they can't pitch upon any other Project for 'their *own* Repoſe, than that of *Hanging*, *Drowning*, *Stabbing*, *Poyſoning*, or ſome ſuch Foaming 'piece of *Madneſs*. But, in God's Name, *think* '*again*, before you do ſo vile a thing! Think, by 'whoſe *Impulſe* 'tis that you are dragg'd into this 'curs'd Action. Truly 'tis a more than ordinary 'Impulſe of the Devil, whereof I have ſeen 'moſt prodigious Evidences.

'One that came to me with a *wounded Soul*, 'after all that I could plead with him, left me 'with theſe Words, *Well, the Devil will have me* '*after all!* And ſome Company juſt then *hindring* me from going after him, as I *intended*, 'e're I could get at him, he was found ſitting in 'his Chamber, choak'd unto death with a *Rope*, 'which *Rope* nevertheleſs was found, not about 'his Neck, but in his *Hand* and on his *Knee*.

'The ſenſible *Aſſiſtance* which the Devil has 'frequently among us, given to theſe *unnatural* '*Executions*, does manifeſtly ſhew, that They 'who dogg'd the *Swine* into the Deep of old, are 'the ſame that compel Perſons to be ſo much 'worſe than *Swine*, as to kill themſelves. Theſe 'doleful Creatures we have ſeen ſometimes hang 'themſelves to death, while their Feet are yet 'upon the Ground: Yea, by a Line which hath 'preſently broken, and yet left them dead. And,

'I think ſome that have been found and fetch'd 'before their Life was wholly extinguiſh'd in 'them, have confeſs'd unto me to this purpoſe: '*That they had no ſooner given the firſt ſtop unto their* '*Breath, but they preſently loſt all ſort of Senſe: On*'*ly they felt ſuch a Load immediately upon their* '*Shoulders, that they could not help themſelves, tho*' '*their Knees were upon the Floor all the while.*

'Moreover, the ſtrange Obſtructions that are 'given to Mens coming into a Probability of '*Deliverance* from their Hurries, do further ma'nifeſt, that the Armies of Hell are herein be'leaguering of them. How often have People 'been at a Miniſter's door to have ſpoken with 'him; but having no power to knock, they 'have gone away and laid violent hands upon 'themſelves! People at the Threſhold of this 'very Meeting-houſe, have had a forcible and 'furious kind of Whiſper made into their Minds 'that they muſt be gone to ſome other Congre'gation: But at length overcoming their invi'ſible Pull-backs, they have come in; and a 'large part of my Sermon hath been to diſſwade 'any hurry'd Souls from the murdering of them'ſelves: which God has bleſs'd unto the ſaving 'of them. It ſeems the bloody *Dæmons* had 'unto their Vexation, ſome way learnt what I 'was to preach about. The Reſult of all is thus 'much, ſince 'tis the Devil which puts you upon 'thus wronging of your ſelves, don't reſign your 'ſelves unto the Conduct of that helliſh Murder'er. Are the Devil's Hands, I pray, ſo deſira'ble, that you will needs throw your ſelves into 'them, while the Hands of the Saviour are 'yet open to receive you, to relieve you! *Oh, do* '*thy ſelf no harm!*

The Twelfth Example.

Strange *Premonitions* of Death approaching, are matters of ſuch a frequent occurrence in Hiſtory, that one is ready now to look upon them as no more than matters of common Occurrence. The Learned know that *Suetonius* hardly lets one of his Twelve *Cæſars* die without them: And the Vulgar talk of them as things happening every day amongſt their ſmaller Neighbours.

Even within a Fortnight of my writing this, there was a Phyſician who ſojourn'd within a Furlong of my own Houſe. This Phyſician for three Nights together was miſerably diſtreſt with Dreams of his being drown'd. On the third of theſe Nights his Dreams were ſo troubleſome, that he was caſt into extream Sweats, by ſtruggling under the imaginary Water. With the Sweats yet upon him, he came down from his Chamber, telling the People of the Family what it was that had ſo diſcompos'd him. Immediately there came in two Friends that ask'd him to go a little way with them in a Boat upon the Water. He was at firſt afraid of gratifying the Deſire of his Friends, becauſe of his late Preſages. But it being a very calm time, he recollected himſelf, *why ſhould I mind my Dreams, or miſtruſt the Divine Providence?* He went with them, and before Night, by a Thunder-ſtorm ſuddenly coming up, they were all three of them drown'd.

I have juſt now enquir'd into the Truth of what I have thus related; and I can aſſert it.

But *Apparitions* after Death are things which when they occurr, have more of *Strangeneſs* in them. And yet they have been often ſeen in this Land: Particularly, Perſons that have died abroad at Sea, have within a day after their death been ſeen by their Friends in their Houſes at home. The Sights have occaſion'd much Notice and much Diſcourſe at the very time of them; and Records have been kept of the time, (Reader, I write but what hath fallen within my own Perſonal Obſervation;) and it hath been afterwards found that they dy'd near that very time when they thus appear'd.

I will, from ſeveral *Inſtances*, which I have known of this thing, ſingle out one, that ſhall have in it much of *Demonſtration*, as well as of Particularity.

It was on the Second of *May*, in the Year 1687. that a moſt ingenious, accompliſh'd, and well-diſpos'd *young Gentleman*, Mr. *Joſeph Beacon* by Name, about 5 a-clock in the *Morning* as he lay, whether ſleeping or waking, he could not ſay, (but judg'd the latter of them,) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, although he was now himſelf at our *Boſton*, diſtanc'd from him a thouſand Leagues. This, his Brother appear'd to him in the *Morning*, (I ſay) about five a-clock, at *Boſton*, having on him a *Bengale* Gown which he uſually wore, with a Napkin ty'd about his Head: His *Countenance* was very pale, ghaſtly, deadly, and he had a bloody Wound on one ſide of his Forehead. *Brother!* ſays the affrighted *Joſeph*. *Brother!* anſwer'd the Apparition. Said *Joſeph*, *what's the matter Brother! How came you here!* The Apparition reply'd, *Brother! I have been moſt barbarouſly and inhumanly murder'd by a debauch'd Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my Life.* Whereupon he gave a particular Deſcription of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, this Fellow, changing his Name, is attempting to come over unto* New England, *in* Foy *or* Wild: *I would pray you, on the firſt Arrival of either of theſe, to get an Order from the Governour to* ſeize *the Perſon whom I have now deſcrib'd; and then do you indict him for the Murder of me, your Brother. I'll ſtand by you, and prove the Indictment.* And ſo he vaniſh'd. *Mr. Beacon* was extreamly aſtoniſh'd at what he had ſeen and heard: And the People of the Family not only obſerv'd an *Extraordinary Alteration* upon him for the Week following, but have alſo given me under their Hands a full Teſtimony that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition. All this while, Mr. *Beacon* had no Advice of any thing amiſs attending his Brother then in *England:* But about the latter End of *June* following, he underſtood by the common ways of Communication, that the *April* before his Brother going in haſte by Night to call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in Drink with his Doxy in his hand. Some way or o-

other the Fellow thought himſelf affronted in the haſty Paſſage of this *Beacon*, and immediately ran in to the Fire ſide of a neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-Fork, wherewith he grievouſly wounded *Beacon* on the Skull, even in that very part where the Apparition ſhew'd his Wound. Of this Wound he languiſhed until he dy'd, on the 2*d* of *May*, about 5 of the clock in the *Morning*, at *London*. The Murderer, it ſeems, was indeavouring an Eſcape, as the Apparition affirm'd; but the Friends of the Deceas'd *Beacon* ſeiz'd him; and proſecuting him at Law, he found the Help of ſuch Friends, as brought him off without the loſs of his Life: Since which, there has no more been heard of the Buſineſs.

This Hiſtory I receiv'd of Mr. *Joſeph Beacon* himſelf, who, a little before his *own* pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story, written and ſign'd with his *own* Hand, and atteſted with the Circumſtances I have already mention'd.

I *know* not how far the Reader *will* judge it agreeable unto the Matters related in this *Article*, if I do inſert,—— But *I will* here inſert a Paſſage which I find thus enter'd among my *own Adverſaria*.

14 *d.* 2*m.* 1684.

'Mr. *J. C.* a Deacon of the Church in '*Charlſtown*, told me, that his Wife having been 'ſick for divers Months, was on the 31*ſt* of *Au*'*guſt* laſt, ſeiz'd with the Pangs of Death; in '*which* being delirious, and asking divers times '*who would go with her, whither ſhe was going?* At 'length ſhe ſaid, *Well; my Son* Robert *will go.* 'and addreſſing her Speech thereupon as unto 'him, ſhe expreſs'd her Satisfaction that they 'ſhould *go together*. This Son of hers was at 'that time in *Barbadoes*; and his *Friends* here 'have ſince learn'd that he alſo dy'd there, and 'this at the very *Hour* when his Mother here gave 'up the Ghoſt; and (which is further odd) not '*without* the like Expreſſions concerning his Mo'ther, that his Mother had concerning him.

The Thirteenth Example.

In this preſent *Evil World*, it is no Wonder that the Operations of the Evil Angels are more ſenſible than of the Good ones. Nevertheleſs 'tis very certain, that the Good Angels *continually* without any Defilement, fly about in our defil'd *Atmoſphere*, to miniſter for the Good of them that are to be the *Heirs of Salvation.*

The Natives of Heaven, as Dr. *Fuller* phraſeth it, grudge not to guard thoſe who are only Free Denizens thereof. The Excellent *Rivet* hath well expreſs'd what is to believ'd of this matter, *That every one of them, who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation, hath, beſides what may be with him on Extraordinary Occaſions always one particular Angel with him, is a probable Truth, and not againſt the Scripture. Albeit, we cannot from thence infer that it is always the ſame Angel.* Now, tho' the *Angelical Miniſtration* is uſually *behind the Curtain* of more *viſible Inſtruments* and their Actions; yet ſometimes it hath been with *Extraordinary Circumſtances* made more obvious to the Senſe of the Faithful.

Of all that hath occurr'd in this Land, this only ſhall here be expreſs'd.

I find in the Diary of my Dear, and Reverend, and Excellent Friend Mr. *John Baily*, a wonderful Paſſage concerning his Eminently pious Wife, who dy'd at our *Watertown*; which I will here tranſcribe.

'*April* 14. 1691. ſhe was *dying* all day. To'ward Sun ſet ſhe ſaid unto me eſpecially, and 'alſo unto others, that we had done her the 'greateſt Diskindneſs that ever ſhe met with ſince 'ſhe was born, in keeping her back, and not de'livering her up to God in Chriſt, whom ſhe 'lov'd above all, and long'd to be withal. She 'begg'd as for her Life, that *We* would, and *I* 'eſpecially, take off our *Love* wholly from her, 'and give our All to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, as ſhe 'had often done, and was now willing again to 'do. She would never be quiet, until I promi'ſed before all thoſe Witneſſes preſent (which 'were many) and before the *Holy Angels*, who 'ſhe deſired would ſeal to it with their Golden 'Seals, that I would be willing to part with her 'and let her go; and that I would give my *All* 'up to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt (even Her ſelf, and 'every thing elſe:) which in the Name of Chriſt, 'I promis'd to labour to be willing, and I would 'be willing to do.

'This gave her ſome Content; and ſhe ſaid, 'that God had appear'd unto her, and that ſhe 'was full of the Joys of the Holy Ghoſt, and 'that ſhe had whole Floods of the Love of God 'in her Soul, and ſhe could not ſtand under it. 'She often ſaid, that ſhe had Rivers of Joy, and 'that ſhe could ſcatter it about the Town, and 'that all this was to her the worſt of Sinners; 'and that it was not only undeſerv'd, but alſo 'unexpected. She deſir'd every one to take heed 'of ſlighting the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and ſhe aſ'ſur'd them, that if they entertain'd him, they 'ſhould be as full of Love and Joy as ſhe: And 'ſhe adviſ'd them to give up all unto God, and 'make much of him; for there was none like 'him; and as long as ſhe had a Tongue or a 'Breath, ſhe would praiſe him: And ſhe ask'd 'us all, that if we would not, or could not praiſe 'him on our own Accounts, yet we would do it 'on hers; for ſhe was Top-full, Brim-full, and 'running over. She ſaid, Death had no Terror 'at all in it; but ſhe could as freely die as ever 'ſhe went to ſleep. She ſaid, *I deſerve none of* '*this Love; but if Chriſt will give it, who can* '*hinder it? Go to him; he is no Niggard, he has* '*Love and Grace enough for you all: I cannot* '*bear it, it is ſo heavy!* Ay, ſaid ſhe, *my poor Huſ*'*band, tho' a diſconſolate Man, Jeſus Chriſt will* '*fit him with all this Love before he dies; and he* '*will fill you all, if it be not your own Fault.* She 'ſaid unto me, *If any body want me, this poor Man* *will:*

'*will: Yet, as well as I love him, and I now love* '*him better than ever, and ſhall bleſs God through* '*all Eternity for him; Yet I would not be hir'd by* '*Millions of Worlds to live a Day or an Hour with* '*him from Chriſt: And yet, if God would have me* '*to live, I would live. This Hour is the happieſt* '*Hour that ever I had ſince my Mother bound my* '*head. There was never ſuch an Inſtance of* Free-'*Grace, as I am perſwaded, ſince the World begun.* '*Let all take notice, to the Glory of* Free Grace, *that* '*I go off the Stage nobly and honourably.* She ſaid, 'That ſhe was going to the Lord, and if thouſands 'of Devils ſhould tell her otherwiſe, ſhe would 'not believe them. God had now made her a-'mends for all the Troubles ſhe had met withal 'in the World. She then deſir'd that we would 'ſing ſome Pſalm of Praiſe to the Riches of 'Free Grace: But our Harps were hang'd on 'the Willows, we did it not. Yet there was me-'lodious Singing at that very time! I heard it 'my ſelf, but intended never to ſpeak of it until 'the Nurſe *B.* and *M. S.* ſpoke of it. They 'went unto the Fire, thinking it was there; but 'they heard it beſt, when within the Curtains. 'God, by his Holy Angels, put an Honour upon 'my dear little Woman; and by it reprov'd us 'that ſeeing we would not ſing, (being bad at 'it) they would!

The Fourteenth Example.

To conclude our Wonders of the Inviſible World, there will doubtleſs be expected an Account of the Wonders that afflicted *New-England* in the Year 1692. Now having in my Hands a moſt unexceptionable Account thereof written by Mr. *John Hales*, I will here content my ſelf with the Tranſcribing of that. And I will aſſure the Reader that he hath now to do with a Writer, who would not for a World be guilty of over-doing the Truth in an Hiſtory of this importance.

Sadduciſmus debellatus.

§. 1. IN the latter end of the Year 1691. Mr. *Paris*, Paſtor of the Church in *Salem-Village* had a Daughter of Nine, and a Niece of about Eleven Years of Age, ſadly afflicted of they knew not what Diſtempers: And tho' he made his Application to Phyſicians, yet ſtill they grew worſe. At length one Phyſician gave his Opinion *That they were under an Evil Hand*. This the Neighbours took up, and concluded, they were *bewitch'd*. He had alſo an *Indian* Man-ſervant, and his Wife, who afterwards confeſs'd that without the Knowledge of their Maſter or Miſtreſs, they had taken ſome of the afflicted Perſons Urine, and mixing it with Meal, had made a Cake, and bak'd it, to find out the Witch, as they ſaid. After this, the afflicted Perſons cry'd out of the *Indian* Woman nam'd *Tituba*, that ſhe did pinch, prick, and grievouſly torment them; and that they ſaw her here and there, where no body elſe could; yea, they could tell where ſhe was, and what ſhe did when out of their Humane Sight. Theſe Children were bitten and pinch'd by inviſible Agents; their Arms, Necks, and Backs turn'd this way and that way, and return'd back again; ſo as it was impoſſible for them to do of themſelves, and beyond the power of any *Epileptick Fits*, or natural Diſeaſes to effect.

Sometimes they were taken dumb, their Mouths ſtopp'd, their Throats choak'd, their Limbs rack'd and tormented, ſo as might move an Heart of Stone to ſympathize with them, with Bowels of Compaſſion for them. I will not enlarge in the Deſcription of their cruel Sufferings, becauſe they were in all things afflicted as bad as *John Goodwin*'s Children at *Boſton* in the Year 1689. So that he that will read Mr. *Mather*'s Book of *Memorable Providences*, may read part of what theſe Children, and afterwards ſundry grown Perſons ſuffer'd by the Hand of Satan at *Salem-Village* and Parts adjacent, *An.* 169½. Yet there was more in theſe Sufferings than in thoſe at *Boſton*, by *Pins* inviſibly ſtuck into their Fleſh, pricking with *Irons*, &c. as is in part publiſh'd in a Book printed 1693, *viz. The Wonders of the Inviſible World.*

Mr. *Paris* ſeeing the diſtreſs'd Condition of his Family, deſir'd the Preſence of ſome worthy Gentlemen of *Salem*, and ſome Neighbour-Miniſters, to conſult together at his Houſe; who, when they came, and had enquir'd diligently into the Sufferings of the afflicted, concluded they were preternatural, and fear'd the Hand of Satan was in them.

§. 2. The advice given to Mr. *Paris* about them, was, That he ſhould ſit ſtill and wait upon the Providence of God, to ſee what Time might diſcover, and to be much in Prayer for the Diſcovery of what was yet ſecret. They alſo examin'd *Tituba*, who confeſs'd the making a Cake, as is above-mention'd, and ſaid, her Miſtreſs in her own Countrey *was* a Witch, and had taught her ſome means to be us'd for the Diſcovery of a Witch, and for prevention of being bewitch'd: but ſaid, that ſhe her ſelf was not a Witch.

§. 3. Soon after this, there were two or three Private Faſts at the Miniſter's Houſe; one of *which* was kept by ſundry Neighbour Miniſters; and after this, another in publick at the Village; and ſeveral Days afterwards of Publick Humiliation, during theſe Moleſtations, not only there, but in other Congregations for them: and one General Faſt, by order of the General Court, obſerv'd throughout the Colony, to ſeek the Lord, that he would rebuke Satan, and be a Light unto his People in this Day of Darkneſs. But I return to theſe Troubles. In a ſhort time after, other Perſons who were of age to be Witneſſes, were moleſted by Satan, and in their Fits cry'd out upon *Tituba*, and Goody *O.* and *S. G.* that they or Spectres in their Shapes, did grievouſly torment them. Some of their Vil-

lage-Neighbours complain'd unto the Magiſtrates at *Salem*, deſiring they would come and examine the Afflicted and the Accus'd together; the which they did: The effect of which Examination was, that *Tituba* confeſs'd ſhe was a *Witch*; and that ſhe, with the two others accus'd, did torment and bewitch the Complainers; and that theſe, with two others, whoſe Names ſhe knew not, had their *Witch-meetings* together, relating the times when, and places where, they met, with many other Circumſtances elſewhere to be ſeen at large. Upon this, the ſaid *Tituba* and O. and G. were committed to Priſon upon ſuſpicion of acting *Witchcraft*. After this, the ſaid *Tituba* was again examin'd in Priſon, and own'd her firſt Confeſſion in all points, and then was her ſelf afflicted, and complain'd of her Fellow-Witches tormenting of her for her Confeſſion, and accuſing them; and being ſearch'd by a Woman, ſhe was found to have upon her Body the Marks of the Devil's wounding her.

§. 4. Here were theſe things rendred her *Confeſſion* credible:

1. That at this Examination ſhe anſwer'd every Queſtion juſt as ſhe did at the firſt. And it was thought, that if ſhe had feign'd her Confeſſion, ſhe could not have remember'd her Anſwers ſo exactly. A Lyar, we ſay, had need have a good Memory: But Truth being always conſiſtent with it ſelf, is the ſame to day as it was yeſterday.

2. She ſeem'd very penitent for her Sin in covenanting with the Devil.

3. She became a Sufferer her ſelf, and, as ſhe ſaid, for her *Confeſſion*.

4. Her Confeſſion agreed exactly (which was afterwards verify'd in the other Confeſſors) with the Accuſations of the Afflicted.

Soon after, theſe afflicted Perſons complain'd of other Perſons afflicting of them in their Fits, and the Number of the Afflicted and the Accus'd began to increaſe. And the Succeſs of *Tituba*'s Confeſſion encourag'd thoſe in Authority to examine others that were ſuſpected; and the Event was, that more confeſs'd themſelves guilty of the Crimes they were ſuſpected for. And thus was the matter driven on.

§. 5. I obſerv'd in the Proſecution of theſe Affairs, that there was in the *Juſtices, Judges*, and others concern'd, a conſcientious Endeavour to do the thing that was right; and to that end, they conſulted the Precedents of former times, and Precepts laid down by learn'd Writers about *Witchcraft*; as, *Keeble* on the Common Law, Chapt. *Conjuration*, (an Author approv'd by the Twelve Judges of our Nation:) Alſo Sir *Matthew Hales*'s Trials of Witches, printed *An.* 1682. *Glanvil*'s Collection of ſundry Trials in *England* and *Ireland* in the Year 1658, 61, 63, 64, and 81. *Bernard*'s Guide to Jury-men; *Baxter*'s and R. B. their Hiſtories about Witches, and their Diſcoveries; *C. Mather*'s Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts, printed 1685.

§. 6. But that which chiefly carry'd on this matter to ſuch an Height, was the increaſing of Confeſſors until they amounted to near upon fifty; and Four or Six of them upon their Trials own'd their Guilt of this Crime, and were condemn'd for the ſame, but not executed. And many of the Confeſſors confirm'd their Confeſſions with very ſtrong Circumſtances; as their exact agreement with the *Accuſations* of the *Afflicted*, their punctual agreement with their Fellow-Confeſſors, their relating the Times when they covenanted with Satan, and the Reaſons that mov'd 'em thereunto; their Witch-meetings, and that they had their Mock-Sacraments of *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*, in ſome of them; their ſigning the Devil's Book, and ſome ſhew'd the Scars of the Wounds which they ſaid were made to fetch Blood with to ſign the Devil's Book; and ſome ſaid they had Imps to ſuck them, and ſhew'd Sores raw, where they ſaid they were ſuck'd by them.

§. 7. I ſhall give the Reader a Taſte of theſe things in a few Inſtances. The *Afflicted* complain'd that the Spectres which vex'd them, urged them to ſet their hands to a Book, repreſented to them (as to them it ſeem'd) with Threatnings of great Torments if they ſign'd not, and Promiſes of Eaſe if they obey'd. Among theſe, *D. H.* as ſhe ſaid (which ſundry others confeſs'd afterwards) being overcome by the Extremity of her pains, did ſign the Book preſented, and had the promis'd Eaſe, and immediately upon it a Spectre in her Shape afflicted another Perſon, and ſaid, *I have ſign'd the Book, and have Eaſe: now do you ſign, and ſo ſhall you have Eaſe!* And one day this afflicted Perſon pointed at a certain place in the Room, and ſaid *There is* D. H. Upon which, a Man with his Rapier ſtruck at the Place, tho' he ſaw no Shape; and the *Afflicted* call'd out, ſaying, *You have given her a ſmall Prick about the Eye.* Soon after this, the ſaid *D. H.* confeſs'd her ſelf to be made a Witch, by ſigning the Devil's Book, as aboveſaid, and declar'd that ſhe had afflicted the Maid that complain'd of her, and in doing of it, had receiv'd *Two Wounds* by a *Sword* or *Rapier*; a ſmall one about the Eye, which ſhe *ſhew'd* to the Magiſtrates, and a bigger on the Side, of which ſhe was ſearch'd by a diſcreet Woman, who reported that *D. H.* had on her Side the Sign of a Wound newly heal'd. This *D. H.* confeſſed that ſhe was at a Witch-meeting at *Salem Village*, where were many Perſons that *ſhe* nam'd, ſome of whom were in Priſon then, or ſoon after, upon ſuſpicion of Witchcraft; and *ſhe* ſaid *G. B.* preach'd to them, and ſuch a Woman was their Deacon, and there they had a Sacrament.

§. 8. Several others after this, confeſs'd the ſame things with *D. H.* In particular, Goody *F.* ſaid, that *ſhe*, with two others, (one of whom acknowledg'd the ſame) rode from *Andover* to the ſame Village Witch-meeting, upon a Stick above the Ground, and that in the Way the Stick brake,

brake, and gave the ſaid *F.* a Fall, *whereby,* ſaid ſhe, *I got a Fall and Hurt, of which I am ſtill ſore.* I hapned to be preſent in Priſon when this *F.* own'd again her former Confeſſion to the Magiſtrates —— I asked her if *ſhe* rode to the Meeting on a Stick? She ſaid, *Yea.* I inquired what *ſhe* did for Victuals: She anſwered, That *ſhe* carried Bread and Cheeſe in her Pocket, and that *ſhe* and the *Andover* Company came to the Village before the Meeting began, and ſat down together under a Tree, and eat their Food; and that *ſhe* drank Water out of a Brook to quench her Thirſt; and that the Meeting was upon a plain Graſſy Place, by which was a Cart-path, in which were the Tracks of Horſes Feet; and *ſhe* alſo told me how long they were going and returning, and ſome time after, told me *ſhe* had ſome Trouble upon her Spirit; and when I enquired what, *ſhe* ſaid, *ſhe* was in fear that *G. B.* and *M. C.* would kill her; for they appeared unto her (in Spectre, for their Perſons were kept in other Rooms in the Priſon) and brought a Sharp-pointed Iron, like a *Spindle,* but four-ſquare, and Threatned to ſtabb her to death, becauſe *ſhe* had confeſſed her Witchcraft, and told of them that they were with her; and *M. C.* above-named was the Perſon that made her a Witch. About a Month after, the ſaid *F.* took occaſion to tell me the ſame Story of her Fears that *G. B.* and *E. C.* would kill her; ſo that the thing was much on her Spirit.

§. 9. It was not long before *M. L.* Daughter of the ſaid *F.* confeſs'd that *She* rode with her Mother to the ſaid Witch-meeting, and confirm'd the Subſtance of her Mother's Confeſſion. At another time *M. L. junior,* the Grand-daughter, aged about 17 Years, confeſſes the Subſtance of what her Grand-mother and Mother had related, and declares that when they, with *E. C.* rode on a Stick or Pole in the *Air, ſhe* the ſaid Grand-daughter, with *R. C.* rode upon another (and the ſaid *R. C.* acknowledged the ſame) and that they ſet their Hands to the Devil's Book: and *(inter alia)* ſaid, *O Mother, why did you give me to the Devil?* twice or thrice over. The Mother ſaid, *ſhe* was ſorry at the heart for it; it was through that wicked one. Her Daughter bad her repent and call upon God, and ſaid, *Oh Mother! your Wiſhes are now come to paſs; for how often have you wiſhed that the Devil would fetch me away alive!* and then ſaid, *Oh, my Heart will break within me!* Then She wept bitterly, crying out, *O Lord comfort me, and bring out all the Witches.* And *ſhe* ſaid to her Grandmother, *Oh Grandmother, why did you give me to the Devil? Why did you perſwade me? O Grandmother, do not deny it.* Then the Grandmother gave account of ſeveral things about their Confederates and *Acts* of Witchcraft, too long to rehearſe. Moreover, another declared, that *ſhe* with Widow *S.* went to Captain *W. S.* and the ſaid *S.* gave him a Blow with a great Stick, and yet was to him inviſible. Captain *W.* declar'd he had a ſore Blow, as if with a great Stick, but ſaw no body. The Widow *S.* denied that *ſhe* ſtruck him. Then *M. P.* the Confeſſor very boldly look'd up into her Face, and ſaid, *Goody* S. *you know you did ſtrike him, and I ſaw you do it,* and then told the manner how it was done, and how they came to him, and returned.

§ 10. Nextly, I will inſert the Confeſſion of a Man, about forty years of age, *W. B.* which he wrote himſelf in Priſon, and ſent to the Magiſtrates, to confirm his former Confeſſion to them.

God having call'd me to confeſs my Sin and Apoſtacy in that Fall, in giving the Devil Advantage over me, appearing to me like a Black, in the Evening, to ſet my hand to his Book, as I have own'd to my ſhame. He told me that I ſhould not want, ſo doing. At Salem-Village, *there being a little off the Meeting-houſe, about an hundred fine Blades, ſome with Rapiers by their ſides, which was call'd (and might be more for ought I know) by* B. *and* Bu. *and the TRUMPET ſounded, and Bread and Wine which they called the* Sacrament; *but I had none; being carried over all upon a Stick, never being at any other Meeting. I being at* Cart Saturday *laſt all the Day, of Hay and Engliſh Corn, the Devil brought my Shape to* Salem, *and did afflict* M. S. *and* R. F. *by clitching my Hand: And on* Sabbath-day *my Shape afflicted* A. M. *and at Night afflicted* M. S. *and* A. M. E. J. *and* A. F. *have been my Enticers to this great Abomination, as one hath owned and charged her other Siſter with the ſame. And the Deſign was to deſtroy* Salem-Village, *and to begin at the Miniſter's Houſe, and to deſtroy the Churches of God, and to ſet up Satan's Kingdom, and then all will be well. And now I hope God hath made me in ſome meaſure ſenſible of my Sin and Apoſtacy; begging Pardon of God, and of the honourable Magiſtrates, and all God's People; hoping, and promiſing by the Help of God, to ſet to my Heart and Hand to do what in me lieth to deſtroy ſuch wicked Worſhip; humbly begging the Prayers of God's People for me, I may walk humbly under all this great Affliction, and that I may procure to my ſelf the ſure Mercies of* David.

Concerning this Confeſſion, note, 1. It was his own Free Act in Priſon. 2. He ſaid [*The Devil, like a black Sheep.*] This he had before explain'd to be like a *Black Man.* 3. That on a certain day was heard in the *Air* the *Sound of a Trumpet* at *Salem-Village,* nigh the Meeting-houſe, and upon all Enquiry, it could not be found that any mortal Man did ſound it. 4. The Three Perſons, he ſaith, the Devil in his Shape afflicted, had been, as to the time and manner, afflicted as he confeſſeth. 5. That *E. J.* confeſſed as much as *W. B.* chargeth her with. 6. Many others confeſs'd a Witch-meeting or Witch-meetings at the Village as well as he.

Note alſo, that theſe Confeſſors did not only witneſs againſt themſelves, but againſt one another, and againſt many, if not all thoſe that ſuffer'd for that Crime. As for Example: When *G. B.* was tried, ſeven or eight of theſe Confeſſors, ſeverally call'd, ſaid they knew the ſaid *B.* and ſaw him at a Witch-meeting at the Village, and heard him exhort the Company to pull down the Kingdom of God, and ſet up the

Kingdom of the Devil. He deny'd all; yet ſaid he juſtify'd the Judges and Jury in condemning, of him: becauſe there were ſo many poſitive Witneſſes againſt him; but ſaid he dy'd by falſe Witneſſes. *M C.* had to witneſs againſt her two or three of her own Children, and ſeveral Neighbours, that ſaid they were in Confederacy with her in her Wichcraſt. *A. F.* had three of her Children, and ſome of the Neighbours, her own Siſter, and a Servant, who confeſs'd themſelves Witches, and ſaid, ſhe was in Confederacy with them. But alaſs, I am weary with relating Particulars: Thoſe that would ſee more of this kind, let them have recourſe to the Records.

§. 11. By theſe things you may ſee how this matter was carry'd on, *viz.* chiefly by the Complaints and Accuſations of the Afflicted (Bewitch'd ones, as it was ſuppos'd) and then by the Confeſſions of the *Accus'd* condemning themſelves and others. Yet Experience ſhew'd, That the more there were apprehended, the more were ſtill afflicted by Satan; and the Number of Confeſſors increaſing, did but increaſe the Number of the *Accuſed*; and the executing of ſome, made way for the apprehending of others: For ſtill the *Afflicted* complain'd of being tormented by new Objects, as the former were remov'd. So that thoſe that were concern'd, grew amaz'd at the Number and Quality of the Perſons accus'd, and feared that Satan by his Wiles had enwrapped Innocent Perſons under the Imputation of that Crime. And at laſt, it was evidently ſeen, that there muſt be a Stop put, or the Generation of the Children of God, would fall under that Condemnation. Henceforth therefore the Juries generally acquitted ſuch as were tried, fearing they had gone too far before. And Sir *William Phips* the Governour, reprieved all that were condemn'd, even the Confeſſors as well as others. And the Confeſſors generally fell off from their Confeſſion, ſome ſaying, *They remembred nothing of what they had ſaid*; others ſaid, *They had belied themſelves and others.* Some broke Priſon and ran away, and were not ſtrictly ſearched after. Some acquitted, ſome diſmiſſed, and one way or other, all that had been accuſed, were ſet or left at Liberty. And, altho' had the Times been calm, the Condition of the Confeſſors might have called for a *Melius inquirendum*; yet, conſidering the Combuſtion and Confuſion this matter had brought us unto, it was thought ſafer to under-do than over-do, eſpecially in matters Capital, where what is once compleated, cannot be retrieved; but what is left at one time, may be corrected at another, upon a Review and clearer Diſcovery of the State of the Caſe. Thus this matter iſſued ſomewhat abruptly.

§. 12. It may be queried, How doth it appear that there was a going too far in this *Affair*?

A. 1. By the Numbers of the Perſons accus'd, which at length increas'd to about an hundred; and it cannot be imagin'd that in a place of ſo much Knowledge, ſo many in ſo ſmall a compaſs of Land, ſhould ſo abominably leap into the Devil's Lap all at once.

2. The Quality of ſeveral of the Accus'd was ſuch, as did beſpeak *better things, and things that accompany Salvation*; Perſons, whoſe blameleſs and holy Lives before did teſtifie for them; Perſons that had taken great pains to bring up their Children in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord; ſuch as we had Charity for, as for our own Souls: And Charity is a Chriſtian Duty commended to us.

3. The Number of the Afflicted daily increaſed until about fifty Perſons were thus vex'd by the Devil. This gave juſt ground to ſuſpect ſome Miſtake, which gave advantage to the *Accuſer of the Brethren* to make a Breach upon us.

4. It was conſiderable, That *Nineteen* were executed, and all denied the Crime to the death, and ſome of them were knowing Perſons, and had before this been accounted blameleſs *Livers.* And, it is not to be imagin'd, but that if all had been guilty, ſome would have had ſo much Tenderneſs, as to ſeek Mercy for their Souls, in the way of Confeſſion and Sorrow for ſuch a Sin. And as for the *Condemn'd Confeſſors* at the Bar (they being repriev'd) we had no Experience whether they would ſtand to their ſelf-condemning Confeſſions when they came to die.

5. When this Proſecution ceas'd, the Lord ſo *chain'd up Satan*, that the *Afflicted* grew preſently well: The *Accuſed* are generally quiet; and for five years ſince, we have no ſuch Moleſtation by them.

6. It ſways much with me, which I have ſince heard and read, of the like Miſtakes in other Places. As in *Suffolk* in *England*, about the year 1645. was ſuch a Proſecution, until they ſaw, that unleſs they put a ſtop, it would bring all into Blood and Confuſion. The like hath been in *France*, until Nine hundred were put to death. And in ſome other places the like. So that *New-England* is not the only place circumvented by the *Wiles of the wicked and wily Serpent* in this kind.

Wierus de Præſtigiis Dæmonum, pag. 678. relates, That an Inquiſitor in the *Subalpine Valleys*, enquir'd after Women-witches, and conſum'd above an hundred in the Flames, and daily made New Offerings to *Vulcan* of thoſe that needed *Hellebore* more than Fire. Until the Countrey-People roſe, and by force of Arms hinder'd him, and referr'd the matter to the Biſhop. Their Husbands, Men of good Faith, affirmed, that in that very time, they ſaid of them, that they had play'd and danc'd under a Tree, they were in Bed with them.

In *Chelmsford* in *Eſſex*, *Anno* 1645. there were thirty try'd at once before Judge *Coniers*, and fourteen of them hang'd, and an hundred more detain'd in ſeveral Priſons in *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*.

As to our Caſe at *Salem*, I conceive it proceeded from ſome miſtaken Principles: As, that Satan cannot aſſume the Shape of an *Innocent Perſon*, and in that Shape do miſchief to the Bodies and

and Eſtates of Mankind: and that the Devil when he doth harm to Perſons in their Body or Eſtate, it is (at leaſt, moſt commonly, generally and frequently) by the help of our Neighbour, ſome Witch in covenant with the Devil; and that when the Party ſuſpected looks on the Parties ſuppos'd to be bewitch'd, and they are thereupon ſtruck down into a Fit, as if ſtruck with a Cudgel, it is a Proof of ſuch a Covenant. *Cum multis aliis.*

The worthy Author, from whoſe Manuſcript I have tranſcrib'd this Narrative, does there confute theſe miſtaken *Principles*; and in his confuting of one, *viz. That if the Party ſuſpected appear in Spectre to the Afflicted, and the Afflicted give a Blow with Knife, Sword,* &c. (or ſome other on their behalf) *and the Spectre ſeems wounded or Bleeding, or to have their Garment torn by the Blow receiv'd; and the party Spectrally repreſented, be preſently ſearched, and there is found upon their Body a Wound or Blood, even on the ſame part of their Body, or a Rent on the ſame part of the Garment which appeared on the Spectre to the Afflicted, this hath been accounted a ſtrong Evidence to prove the Party ſuſpected to be a Confederate with Satan in afflicting the Complainer.* He hath divers notable Paſſages. One of them is this:

'The Perſon or Garment ſo repreſented to 'the *Afflicted* by the Spectre, was wounded, or 'bleeding, or cut, or rent before: And the Devil 'knowing this, repreſents to the *Afflicted* that 'part of the Spectre which anſwers to the Body 'wounded, or Garment rent; and then the 'Searchers finding ſuch Wounds upon, or Rents 'about the Perſon ſuſpected, are ready to conclude it was done by the Stroke at the Spectre, 'which was done before. There was at *Chelmſford* an afflicted Perſon, that in her Fits cried 'out againſt a Woman, a Neighbour, which Mr. '*Clark*, the Miniſter of the Goſpel there, could 'not believe to be guilty of ſuch a Crime. And 'it hapned, while that Woman milked her Cow, 'the Cow ſtruck her with one Horn upon the 'Forehead, and fetch'd Blood: And while ſhe 'was thus bleeding, a Spectre in her Likeneſs 'appear'd to the Party afflicted; who pointing 'at the Spectre, one ſtruck at the place, and the '*Afflicted* ſaid, *You have made her Forehead bleed!* 'Hereupon ſome went unto the Woman, and 'found her Forehead bloody, and acquainted 'Mr. *Clark* with it; who forthwith went to the 'Woman, and ask'd, *How her Forehead became 'bloody?* and ſhe anſwer'd, *By a Blow of the 'Cows Horn*, as abovesaid: Whereby he was ſatisfy'd, That it was a Deſign of Satan to render 'an innocent Perſon ſuſpected.

Another Inſtance was at *Cambridge* about 40 years ſince. 'There was a Man much troubled 'in the Night with Cats, or the Devil in their 'Likeneſs, haunting of him. Whereupon he 'kept a Light burning, and a Sword by him as he 'lay in Bed; for he ſuſpected a Widow-Woman 'to ſend theſe Cats or Imps, by Witchcraft, to 'bewitch him. And one Night as he lay in Bed, 'a Cat, or Imp, came within his Reach, and he 'ſtruck her on the Back: and upon Enquiry, he 'heard this Widow had a ſore Back. This confirm'd his Suſpicion of the Widow, he ſuppoſing 'it came from the Wound he gave the Cat. But 'Mr. *Day*, the Widow's Chirurgeon, clear'd the 'matter; ſaying, this Widow came to him, and 'complain'd of a Sore in her Back, and deſir'd 'his Help, and he found it to be a Boyl, and ripen'd and heal'd it as he us'd to do other Boyls. 'But while this was in cure, the ſuppos'd Cat 'was wounded, as is already rehears'd. Again, 'I knew a Woman that was Spectrally repreſented unto an *Afflicted Maid*, who complain'd that 'ſhe was in ſuch a part of the Room; whereupon 'one ſtruck at it with his Rapier in the Scabbard, 'and the afflicted ſaid, *You have rent her Gown in 'ſuch a Place, and her Gown is green.* Afterwards 'this Woman was obſerv'd when apprehended, 'to have that green Gown on (which doubtleſs 'ſhe would not have worn then, if ſhe had 'known any thing of its being rent, by 'ſtriking at her Spectre) and there was found a 'Rent ſow'd up, juſt in the place the *Afflicted* 'had ſaid it was torn by the Scabbard in the ſame 'manner. I afterward ask'd this Woman how 'her Gown came ſo torn: She anſwer'd, by going into ſuch a Yard about a Year before, and ſuch 'an one knew it to be ſo.

The Author elſewhere ſpeaking of another *miſtaken Principle*, takes occaſion to mention the following Paſſage.

'I remember, when there was a great Diſcourſe 'about Witches, a very holy Man heard his Wife 'ſay, ſhe deſir'd a Sucking Pig: and he going 'to a Neighbour's Houſe, ſaw a Sow with a Litter of Pigs, and took a Fancy to one of them in 'particular for his Wife, and asked the Owner 'for *that Pig*. The Owner denied him: Hereupon 'he went away in a great Paſſion, very unſuitable 'to ſuch a Perſon; and that very Pig left its Dam 'and Company, and followed this Man to his 'home. This was obſerved, and it was ſuppoſed 'Satan might have ſome hand in it; taking advantage upon the Paſſion of ſo good a Man, to 'render him ſuſpected by ſuch an *Accident*, if he 'could.

Upon the whole, the *Author* ſpends whole Chapters to prove that there yet is a *Witch*: and he gives this Definition of one, *viz.* a Perſon, 'that having the free uſe of Reaſon, doth 'knowingly and willingly ſeek and obtain of the 'Devil, or of any other God, beſides the true 'God *Jehovah*, an *Ability* to do or know ſtrange 'things, or things which he cannot by his own 'Humane *Abilities* arrive unto. This Perſon is a 'Witch.

But thus much for that Manuſcript.

AP-

AN APPENDIX.

A Token for the Children of *NEW-ENGLAND.*

OR,

Some Examples of Children in whom the Fear of God was remarkably Budding before they died; in ſeveral Parts of NEW-ENGLAND. Preſerved and Publiſhed, for the Encouragement of PIETY in other Children.

IF the Children of *New-England* ſhould not with an early Piety, ſet themſelves to know and Serve the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the God of their Fathers, they will be condemn'd, not only by the Examples of pious Children in other parts of the World, the publiſh'd and printed Accounts whereof have been brought over hither; but there have been *Exemplary Children* in the midſt of *New-England* it ſelf, that will riſe up againſt them for their Condemnation. It would be a very profitable thing to our Children, and highly acceptable to all the Godly Parents of the Children, if, in Imitation of the Excellent *Janoway*'s *Token for Children*, there were made a true Collection of Notable Things, Exemplified in the Lives and Deaths of many amongſt us, whoſe Childhood have been ſignaliz'd for what is Vertuous and Laudable.

In the *Church-Hiſtory of* New-England there will be found the Lives of many Eminent Perſons, among whoſe Eminencies, not the leaſt, was *Their fearing of the Lord from their youth*, and their being *loved by the Lord when they were Children.*

But among the many other Inſtances, of a Childhood and Youth deliver'd from Vanity, by ſerious Religion, which *New England* has afforded, theſe few have particularly been preſerved.

EXAMPLE I.

LIttle more than Thirteen Years old was *John Clap* of *Scituate* when he dy'd; but it might very truly be ſaid of him, *That while he was yet young, he began to ſeek after the God of his Father.* From his very Infancy he diſcover'd a ſingular Delight in the Holy Scripture, whereby he was made wiſe unto Salvation; and he also made himſelf yet further Amiable by his Obedience to his Parents, and his Courteſie to all his Neighbours. As he grew up, he ſignaliz'd his Concern for Eternity, not only by his diligent Attendance upon both Publick and Private Catechiſing, but alſo by the like attendance on the Miniſtry of the Word, which he would ponder, and apply, and confer about, with much Diſcretion of Soul, and pray for the good Effect thereof upon his own Soul. Yea, 'twas even from his Childhood obſervable in him, that ever after he began to ſpeak reaſonably, he would both affectionately regard the Family Prayers, and likewiſe, both Morning and Evening, with a moſt unweary'd Conſtancy recommend himſelf by his own Prayers unto the Mercies of God.

Arriving higher in his *Age*, he was very conſcientious of his Duty, both to God and Man; and particularly careful of his Father's Buſineſs, which now became his own Calling. At Work with his Father in the Field, he would frequently be propounding of Queſtions, by the *Anſwers* whereof

whereof he might be promoted in the knowledge of God: and at the ſeaſons which others uſually employ to vain purpoſes, he would be abounding in the Exerciſes of Devotion. But of all the imitable things to be ſeen in him, he was exemplary for nothing mo e than his Endeavours in *Preparation* for, and *Sanctification* of, the Lord's Day. Yea, his Parents have affirmed, that for a year or two before he dy'd, *They never heard an unprofitable Word come out of his Mouth*; but he would often bewail the Idle, Trifling, Vain Diſcourſes of other People.

About a Year and a half before he died, the good Spirit of God, bleſs'd him with yet a more thorow Conviction of his Miſery by reaſon of *Sin* both Original and Actual: Whence, tho' he had been ſuch a Pattern of *Innocency*, yet he would aggravate his own *Sinfulneſs* with Lamentations truly extraordinary. And for his Relief againſt the Terrors of God, wherewith he was now diſtracted, he was brought unto an utter Deſpair of his own Righteouſneſs and Abilities; but in this condition he came to adore the Grace of God, offering a JESUS who is able *to ſave unto the uttermoſt*: In his *Longings* to enjoy the Love of God through *Jeſus*, he was like the *Hart panting after the Water brooks!*

The Wounds of his Spirit were accompanied with a *Languiſhing* and *Conſuming* of his Fleſh; yet with great Patience he endur'd the Hand of God, and he follow'd the Lord with Prayers, with Cries, with Tears, for the *Manifeſtation* of the Divine Love unto him.

It was alſo obſerv'd and admir'd, that when he was abroad at the publick Worſhip in the time of his Weakneſs, he would ſtand the whole time of the long Exerciſes, and be ſo affectionately attentive, that one might ſee every Sentence utter'd in thoſe Exerciſes, make ſome Impreſſion upon him. The beſt Chriſtians in the place profeſs'd themſelves made aſham'd by the Fervency of this young *Diſciple!* And in Days of *Publick Humiliations*, or *Thankſgivings*, kept with regard unto the general Circumſtances of the Countrey, he would bear his part with ſuch a ſenſe of the publick *Troubles* or *Mercies*, as argu'd more than a common meaſure of a publick Spirit in him.

The Miniſter of the Place viſiting of him, after Sickneſs had confin'd him, found him in an extream Dejection of Soul; his very Body ſhook through his Fear leſt the Day of Grace were over with him; yet juſtifying of God, though he ſhould be for ever caſt among the Damned. But yet his Fears were accompany'd with Hopes in the all ſufficient Merits of the bleſſed Jeſus: in which Hopes he continu'd, uſing all the means of Grace according to his Capacity and Lamenting after thoſe whereof he was not Capable.

A Month before he dy'd, he kept his Bed; the *Firſt Fortnight* whereof he was very comfortleſs, and yet very patient; abounding all this while in Gracious Admonitions unto other *Young People*, that they would be concern'd for their own *Eternal Salvation*. And you ſhould not now have heard him complain, that he wanted *Health* and *Eaſe*, though he did ſo; but that he wanted *Faith*, and *Peace*, and *Chriſt*: Yet expreſſing a profound Submiſſion to the Will of God. But in the *Laſt Fortnight* of his Life, this poor Child of God had his weary Soul more comfortably ſatiated with the Promiſes of the new Covenant. God fill'd him with a marvellous Aſſurance of his Love, and ſo ſeal'd him with his own Spirit, that he rejoic'd with Joy unſpeakable and full of Glory. He would often be ſaying, *Whom have I in Heaven but thee? And there is none on Earth that I deſire beſides thee: My Fleſh and my Heart faileth, but God is the Strength of my Heart, and my Portion for ever.* And, *I know that my Redeemer lives, and that he ſhall ſtand at the Latter day upon the earth.* And, *If I live, I ſhall live unto the Lord; if I die, I ſhall die unto the Lord; and whether I Live or Die, I am the Lord's.* And, *When Chriſt, who is my Life, ſhall appear, then ſhall I alſo appear with him in Glory.* He would profeſs that his Communion with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, was inexpreſſible, and the Spectators judg'd his Conſolations to be as great as could be born in a mortal Body. Being now asked, *whether the Thoughts of dying troubled him or not?* He reply'd, *No, Death is no Terrour to me, becauſe Chriſt has taken away my Sin, which is the Sting of Death.* But being ask'd, *Whether he was willing to live?* He anſwer'd, *I am willing to ſubmit unto the Will of God; but if God hath appointed me to Life, I deſire I may live to his Glory.* And being asked, whether God had put out of doubt, his Intereſt in a dying and riſing Jeſus? He return'd, *Yes; and God has fully anſwer'd my Deſires; I am now going to a thouſand times better World.* He told his Mother, *I love you as dearly as my own Life; yet I had rather die, and be with Chriſt.*

He continu'd *Six Days* with his Teeth ſo ſhut, as that they could not be open'd: and for the firſt Three Days and Nights he took no Suſtenance; afterwards, though this but ſeldom, he ſuck'd in between his Teeth nothing but a little *Cold Water*; in which time, they that laid their Ears to his Lips could over-hear him continually expreſſing his Comfort in God. But juſt before his Death, his Teeth were open'd; when he would often ſay, *Oh! how precious is the Blood of Chriſt, it is worth more than a thouſand Worlds!* and often pray, *Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly!* and at laſt, he gave up himſelf to God in thoſe Words, *Lord Jeſus, receive my Spirit.* He deſired his Mother to turn his Face unto the Wall; whereupon ſhe ſaid, *John, doſt thou now remember* Hezekiah*'s turning his Face unto the Wall?* He ſaid, *Yes, I do remember it:* and as ſhe turn'd him in her Arms, he ſo quietly breath'd his Soul into the Arms of his bleſſed Saviour.

Extracted out of the Account written and printed by Mr. *Witheral* and Mr. *Baker*, Miniſters of *Scituate*; and Prefac'd by Mr. *Urian Okes*, who takes that occaſion to ſay of this *John Clap*, *He was a young old Man, full of Grace, though not full of Days.*

EX

EXAMPLE. II.

MR. *Thomas Thornton*, the aged and faithful Paſtor of *Yarmouth*, was bleſs'd with a Daughter nam'd *Priſcilla*, which at the Age of Eleven, left this World, having firſt given Demonſtrations of an Exemplary Piety.

She was one remarkably grave, devout, ſerious; very inquiſitive about the matters of Eternity; and in her particular Calling very diligent. She was nevertheleſs troubled with ſore Temptations and Exerciſes about the State of her own Soul; the Anguiſh of her Spirit, about her *Body of Death*, caus'd her to pour out many Tears and Prayers; and ſhe preſs'd, That ſome other pious Children of her acquaintance might with her keep a Day of Humiliation together, *That* (as ſhe expreſſed it) *they might get power againſt their ſinful Natures.* But it pleaſed God at length to bleſs the Words of her Godly Mother, for the quieting of her Mind. It was her ſingular Happineſs, that ſhe had ſuch Godly Parents; but it was her Opinion and Expreſſion, *We truſt too much to the Prayers of our Parents, whereas we ſhould pray for our ſelves.*

At laſt ſhe fell mortally ſick. In the beginning of her Sickneſs, ſhe was afraid of dying: *For*, ſaid ſhe, *I know of no Promiſe to encourage me.* She could not but own that ſhe had in ſome meaſure walked with God; yet ſhe complained, *That ſhe had not found God meeting her in her Prayers, and making her Heart willing to be at his Diſpoſe*; and that the Pride of her Heart now lay as a Load upon it. She own'd, That ſhe had many Thoughts of Jeſus Chriſt, and that *it grieved her that ſhe had ſinned againſt him, who had* Done *and* Dy'd *for her.*

But many Days were not paſt, before ſhe could profeſs her ſelf willing to die, with ſome Aſſurance of her then going to Eternal Bleſſedneſs. Many Thanks and Loves did ſhe now render to one of her Superiours, declaring, *'twas becauſe they had curb'd her and reſtrain'd her from ſinful Vanities.* And ſhe ſaid, *Were I now to chooſe my Company, it ſhould be among the People of God; I ſee plainly that they are the only Company.* She was not without her Conflicts in this time, wherein one of her Speeches was, 'Damnation, that is 'the worſt thing of all, but Chriſt is of all, the 'beſt: I find it ſo: Chriſt is to me Wiſdom, 'Righteouſneſs, Sanctification and Redemption. She told her Father, ſhe knew ſhe was made up of all manner of Sin; but, ſaid ſhe, 'I hope 'God has humbled me, and pardon'd me in the 'Merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Unto her affectionate Mother ſhe ſaid, 'Mother, why do 'you weep, when I am well in my Soul? Well, 'Will you mourn, when I am ſo full of Joy? I 'pray rejoice with me.

When ſhe was extreamly ſpent, ſhe ſaid unto her Parent, 'O my Father, I have been much 'troubled by Satan, but I find Chriſt is too hard 'for him, and Sin and all. She now ſaid, *I know now that I ſhall die.* And being ask'd whether ſhe were afraid of Death, with a ſweet Smile ſhe replied, *No, not I; Chriſt is better than Life!* And ſo ſhe continu'd in a moſt joyful frame till ſhe died; a little before which, it being the Lord's Day, ſhe ask'd what time of the day 'twas, and when they told her, 'twas Three of the clock, ſhe reply'd, *What? Is the Sabbath almoſt done? Well, my Eternal Sabbath is going to begin, wherein I ſhall enjoy all Felicity, and ſing Hallelujahs to all* Eternity. And hereupon ſhe quickly fell aſleep in the Lord.

EXAMPLE. III.

MR. *Nathanael Mather* dy'd Oct. 17. 1688. at the age of Nineteen, an Inſtance of more than common Learning and Vertue. On his Grave-ſtone at *Salem*, there are theſe Words deſervedly inſcribed, *The Aſhes of an hard Student, a good Scholar, and a great Chriſtian.*

He was one who uſed an extraordinary Diligence to obtain Skill in the ſeveral Arts that made an accompliſh'd Scholar; but he was more diligent in his Endeavours to become an experienc'd Chriſtian.

He did with much of Solemnity enter into Covenant with God when he was about fourteen years old, and afterwards he renew'd that ſolemn Action in ſuch a Form as this:

'I do renounce all the Vanities and wretched 'Idols and evil Courſes of the World.

'I do chooſe, and will ever have the Great 'God for my beſt Good, my laſt End, my only 'Lord. He ſhall be the Only One, in the glorifying and enjoying of whom ſhall be my Welfare, and in the ſerving of whom ſhall be my 'Work.

'I will ever be rendring unto the Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt my proper *Acknowledgements*, as unto my 'Prieſt, my Prophet, and my King; and the 'Phyſician of my Soul.

'I will ever be ſtudying what is my Duty in 'theſe things; and wherein I find my ſelf to fall 'ſhort, I will ever count it my Grief and Shame; 'and betake my ſelf to the Blood of the Everlaſting Covenant.

'Now, humbly imploring the Grace of the 'Mediator to be ſufficient for me, I do as a further Solemnity hereunto ſubſcribe my Name 'with both Heart and Hand.

Having done this, he did for the reſt of his Life, walk with much Watchfulneſs and Exactneſs.

One of the Directories which he drew up for himſelf, was This:

'O that I might lead a Spiritual Life! Wherefore let me regulate my Life by the Word of God 'and by ſuch Scriptures as theſe.

'1. For regulating my Thoughts, *Jer.* 4. '14. *Iſa.* 55. 7. *Mal.* 3. 17. *Pſal.* 104. 34. '*Phil.* 4. 8. *Prov.* 23. 26. *Deut.* 15. 9. *Eccleſ.* '10. 20. *Prov.* 24. 9. *Mat.* 9. 4. *Zech.* 8. 17.

'2. For regulating my Affections, *Col.* 3. 2, 5. '*Gal.* 5. 24. For my Delight, *Pſal.* 1. 2. *Pſal.* '37. 5. For my Joy, *Phil.* 4. 4. *Pſal.* 43. 4. 'My Deſire, *Iſa.* 26. 8, 9. *Ezek.* 7. 16. My 'Love, *Mat.* 22. 37. *Pſal* 119. 97. My Ha-'tred, *Pſal.* 97. 10. My Fear, *Luke* 12. 4, 5. 'My Hope, *Pſal.* 39. 7. My Truſt, *Pſal.* 62. 8. '*Iſa.* 26. 4.

'3. For regulating my *Speech*, *Eph.* 4. 29. '*Col.* 4. 6. *Deut.* 6. 6, 7. *Pſal.* 119. 46. '*Pſal.* 71. 8, 24. *Prov.* 31. 26.

'4. For regulating my Work, *Tit.* 3. 8. '2 *Tim.* 2. 12. 1 *Tim.* 5. 10. *Tit.* 2. 14. '*Mat.* 5. 47. 1 *Tim.* 6. 8. *Rev.* 3. 2. *Rom.* 13. '12. *Acts* 26. 20.

Another of his Directories was form'd into an Hymn.

'Lord, what ſhall I return unto
'Him from whom all my Mercies flow?
'(I.) To me to live, it Chriſt ſhall be;
'For all I do, I'll do for Thee.

'(II.) My Queſtion ſhall be oft beſide,
'*How thou mayſt moſt be glorify'd?*
'(III.) I will not any creature love;
'But in the Love of Thee above.

(IV.) Thy Will I will embrace for mine,
'And every Management of thine
'Shall pleaſe me. (V.) A Conformity
'To thee, ſhall be my Aim and Eye.

'(VI.) Ejaculations ſhall aſcend
'Not ſeldom from me. (VII.) I'll attend
'Occaſional Reflections, and
'Turn all to Gold that comes to hand.

'(VIII.) And in particular among
'My Cares, I'll try to make my Tongue
'A Tree of Life, by ſpeaking all
'As be accountable who ſhall.

'(IX.) But laſt, nay, firſt of all I will,
'Thy Son my Surety make, and ſtill
'Implore him that he would me bleſs
'With Strength as well as Righteouſneſs.

He would alſo keep whole Days of Prayer and Praiſe, by himſelf: And he would ſet himſelf to conſider much on that Queſtion, *What ſhall I do for God?*

He was much in Meditation, and often wrote the chief Heads of his Meditation. He would read the Scripture with a Note, and a Wiſh fetched out of every Verſe. And at Night he would aſk,

I. *What has God's Mercy to me been this day?*
II. *What has my Carriage to God been this day?*
III. *If I die this Night, is my immortal Spirit ſafe?*

Many more ſuch imitable things are in the Hiſtory of his Life (divers times printed at *London*) reported of him.

EXAMPLE. IV.

ANNE GREENOUGH, the Daughter of Mr *William Greenough*, left the World, when ſhe was but about five years old, and yet gave aſtoniſhing Diſcoveries of a Regard unto God and Chriſt, and her own Soul, before ſhe went away. When ſhe heard any thing about the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhe would be ſtrangely tranſported, and raviſhed in her Spirit at it; and had an unſpeakable Delight in Catechiſing. She would put ſtrange Queſtions about Eternal Things, and make Anſwers her ſelf that were extreamly pertinent. Once particularly ſhe asked, *Are not we dead in Sin:* and preſently added, *But I will take this way: the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhall make me alive.* She was very frequent and conſtant in Secret Prayer, and could not with any Patience be interrupted in it. She told her gracious Mother, *That ſhe there prayed for her!* And was covetous of being with her Mother, when ſhe imagin'd ſuch Duties to be going forward. When ſhe fell ſick at laſt of a Conſumption, ſhe would not by Sports be diverted from the Thoughts of Death, wherein ſhe took ſuch pleaſure, that ſhe did not care to hear of any thing elſe. And if ſhe were asked, *Whether ſhe were willing to die?* She would ſtill chearfully reply, *Ay, by all means, that I may go to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

EXAMPLE V.

AT *Boſton*, 12 *d.* 3 *m.* 1694. there died one *Daniel Williams*, in the Eighteenth year of his Age.

There was a Collection made of ſome of his dying Speeches.

Being asked, *Whether he loved God*, he replied, *Yes, I love him dearly*; *for, Lord, whom have I in Heaven but thee?*

He ſaid, 'God has promis'd, *They that ſeek* '*him early, ſhall find him:* Ever ſince I was a 'Child, I dedicated my ſelf to ſeek and ſerve 'the Lord. Though I have not had ſo much 'time as ſome others, yet that little time which 'I had, I ſpent in waiting on, and wreſtling with 'God by Prayer: and I ſaid, *I will not let thee* '*go, till thou haſt bleſſed me.*

Seeing ſome of his Relations weep, he ſaid, *Why do you cry, when I am ready to ſing for joy?*

They ſaying, They knew not how to part with him, he reply'd, *Why? are you not willing I ſhould go to my heavenly Father? I ſhall quickly be*

with my heavenly Father, and with his holy Angels, where they are ſinging of Hallelujahs. It is better being there than here. When I am there, I ſhan't wiſh my ſelf here in this troubleſome World again. I have a Deſire to depart, and to be with Chriſt, which is beſt of all.

He was much concerned for poor periſhing Souls. He would ſay, 'Oh, that I had but 'Strength! How would I pray, and ſigh, and 'cry to God for the poor World that lives in Sin 'and Pride!

He expreſſed himſelf moſt pathetically to his Relations, when he took his leave of them.

At laſt, he asked, *What Angel that was that he ſaw before him? Well,* ſaid he, *I ſhall quickly be with him: Come, Lord Jeſus, come quickly!*

A Friend asking him how he did, he ſaid, '*I am one bound for Heaven*: I would not 'have you pray for my Life; I am afraid 'you do.

On the day of his Death, being full of pain, he ſaid, 'Jeſus Chriſt bore more than this, and 'he died for me; and ſhall I be afraid to die, 'and go to him? No, I am not.

Then ſaid he, *O Death, where is thy Sting! O Grave, where is thy Victory!*

FINIS.

Eccleſiarum Prælia:

O R,

A Book of the Wars of the Lord.

The Seventh BOOK

OF THE

New Engliſh Hiſtory:

RELATING THE

Afflictive Diſturbances

WHICH THE

Churches of New-England

HAVE

Suffered from their Various ADVERSARIES:

AND

The Wonderful METHODS and MERCIES whereby the Churches have been Delivered out of their Difficulties.

Compoſed by COTTON MATHER.

Nunquam Bella piis, nunquam Certamina deſunt.

Nunquam Majori Triumpho Vicimus quam
Cum Decem Annorum Strage Vinci non
Potuimus. Sulpic.

Niteris incaſſum Chriſti Submergere Navim;
Fluctuat, at Nunquam Mergitur illa Ratis.

LONDON:

Printed for *Thomas Parkhurſt*, at the *Bible* and *Three Crowns* in *Cheapſide*. 1702.

The INTRODUCTION.

IF any one would draw the Picture of of the Church, (*ſaith* Luther) Let him take a ſilly poor Maid, ſitting in a Wilderneſs, compaſſed about with hungry Lions, Wolves, Boars and Bears, and all manner of Cruel and Hurtful Beaſts; and in the midſt of many Furious Men aſſaulting her every Moment: For this is her Condition in the World. *Behold that* Picture of the Church *Exemplified in the Story of* New-England, *and now Writ under it,* Having obtained help from God, ſhe continues to this Day.

But before I have done my Work, I ſhould remember, without having Pliny *for my Remembrancer,* Ingenuum eſt Confiteri per quos profeceris. *Indeed our* Hiſtory of New-England *is as little to be compared with Sir* Walter Rawleigh's *Famous* Hiſtory of the World, *as* New-England *it ſelf is to be compared with the* Whole World. *Nevertheleſs, the Incomparable Colonel* Sydney *aſſures me,* He was ſo well aſſiſted in his *Hiſtory of the World,* That an ordinary Man with the ſame Helps might have performed the ſame Things. *Whereas I muſt in the firſt place humbly Complain of it, that, I believe, ſuch a Work as this was never done with ſo little* Aſſiſtance *from the Communications of Inquiſitive and Intelligent Friends. Two Reverend Perſons, indeed, namely,* Mr. John Higginſon *and* Mr. William Hubbard, *have aſſiſted me, and much obliged me with Informations for many Parts of our* Hiſtory; *and I have a Parent alſo, who has often, to full Satisfaction, anſwered many things that I have therein had occaſion to be asking after. Some other particular Perſons have ſometimes favoured me with* Memorable Paſſages, *which* they *knew concerning their own Relations; and yet I know that many will ungratefully complain of me for not Inſerting of things which* they *never ſent me, tho' they had an early* Advertiſement *of my Undertaking: Yea, the Abſurd and Brutiſh* Treats *which I have ſometimes had from the Relations of ſome whoſe* Lives *and* Names *I have heretofore, unto the beſt of my Capacity, Eternized in Compoſures already Publiſhed, have cauſed me to know that there are* Baſe *People deſcended from* Good *ones. But every Undertaking of this Nature being* Expenſive, *'tis highly Reaſonable that I ſhould make a Publick and Thankful mention of thoſe Worthy Perſons who have generouſly expreſſed their good Will to my Endeavours, by bearing ſome of the* Expences *which this Work hath called for. Our Honourable Lieutenant Governour,* WILLIAM STOUGHTON, *Eſq; the Worſhipful* Samuel Sewal, *Eſq; the Worſhipful* John Foſter, *Eſq; the Worſhipful* Adam Winthrop, *Eſq; and my good Friends,* Mr. Robert Bronſdon, *and* Mr. Samuel Lilly; *are thoſe that have kindly* Mecenated *theſe my Labours: May their* Names *be found* Written *in* the Lamb's Book of Life, as well as ours!

After all, and above all, I muſt not incur that Rebuke, Deus hic nihil fecit! *I do on the Bended Knees of my Soul give Thanks to the Lord JESUS CHRIST, thro'* whom ſtrengthening of me, *I have done all that I have done.* Bleſs that Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me, Bleſs his Holy Name!

The Seventh BOOK.

Eccleſiarum Prælia:

OR, THE

DISTURBANCES

GIVEN TO THE

Churches of New-England.

CHAP. I.

Mille Nocendi Artes: *Or, Some General Heads of* TEMPTATION *with which the* CHURCHES *of* NEW-ENGLAND *have been Exerciſed.*

Habet & Eccleſia Dies Caniculares. Tert.

§. 1. IT is Written concerning our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *That he was led into the Wilderneſs to be Tempted of the Devil*; and the People of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *led into the Wilderneſs* of *New-England*, have not only met with a continual *Temptation* of the *Devil* there; the *Wilderneſs* having always had *Serpents* in it; but alſo they have had in almoſt every new *Luſtre* of Years, a new Aſſault of Extraordinary *Temptation* upon them; a more than Common *Hour and Power of Darkneſs.* Beſides the general Diſturbances which were given unto the Minds of Men, when the *Eccleſiaſtical Controverſies*, which called for *Synods* to Compoſe them, were generally agitated; there have been ſucceſſive *Days of Temptation*, relating to the Poſture of Things in the *Commonwealth.* Sometimes the Conteſtations about the *Negative*, have made us too nigh the *denying* of *Reaſon* to one another: Sometimes the Meaſures of *Compliance* with Demands from the other Side of the *Water*, have occaſioned ſome *Fire* of Contention among us. And there have been ſucceſſively many *Days of Temptation*, in this and that particular *Plantation* throughont the Country: One while the Rebuilding and Removing of *Meeting Houſes*, has unfitted the Neighbours for lifting up of *Pure Hands without Wrath* in thoſe Houſes: One while the Encloſing of *Commons*, hath made Neighbours that ſhould have been like *Sheep*, to *Bite and Devour one another*; and one while the Diſpoſal of little Matters in the *Militia*, has made People almoſt ready to fall upon one another with *Force of Arms.* It is to be added, there ſcarce ever was any *One Great Man* engaged much in the Service of this People, but the People have at ſome time or other made it an Extraordinary *Day of Temptation* for that Man. And ſometimes little *Piques* between ſome *Leading Men* in a Town, have *miſled* all the Neighbours far and near into moſt unaccountable *Party-making.* Reader, every Clauſe that thou haſt hitherto read in this *Paragraph*, is a Subject upon which my Obſervant Country-men can give themſelves an *Ample Hiſtory*; and unto their own Reflections I leave it, with the Confeſſions which the *Synods* in the Primitive Times often (and I think, *too often*) made, *Peccavimus Omnes!*

§. 2. There have been in the Country, on the one ſide, Rigid and High-flown *Presbyterians*, on the other ſide, Separating, *Morellian*, and *Browniſtical Independents*: And not only have both of theſe had ſuch a *Jealous Eye* upon one another, as has produced much *Temptation* unto both, but alſo the true *Congregational Man*, aſſerting the *Authority* of the *Presbytery*, and yet not rejecting the *Liberty* of the *Fraternity*, maintaining the *Deciſive Power* of *Synods*, and yet leaving to *Particu-*

lar

lar Churches the management of their own *Particular Affairs*, with a Power of *Self-Preſervation* and *Self-Reformation*; theſe have, between both, met with ſuch things as have had no little *Temptation* in them. One of our Magiſtrates, namely, Major-General *Deniſon*, has written an *Irenicum*, relating to theſe Differences, which has a *Good Spirit* breathing in it; whereas there have been Perſons among us which would make one think of Dr. *Sibs*'s memorable Words; *When Blindneſs and Boldneſs, Ignorance and Arrogance, Weakneſs and Wilfulneſs meet together in One, it renders Men Odious to God, Burdenſome in Society, Dangerous in their Counſels, Troublers of better Deſigns, Untractable and Uncapable of better Direction, Miſerable in the Iſſue.* Between ſuch *Violent* Perſons on both *Extreams*, the truly *Moderate* have ſometimes been ſo cruſht, that they have thought themſelves, with *Ignatius*, between the *Teeth* which would have *Ground* them, to be made *Manchet* for Heaven: For it has not at all times been the Good Hap of all Men to believe with *Ambroſe* of Old, *Si Virtutum Finis ille ſit maximus, qui Plurimorum ſpectat Profectum, Moderatio prope Omnium eſt Pulcherrima.* Yea, ſo *Violent* once was one of theſe *Factions*, that in a General Court of a Colony they Exhibited a certain Inſtrument, wherein the *Miniſters* of the Churches indefinitely were charged with *A Declenſion from Primitive Foundation-Work, Innovation in Doctrine and Worſhip, Opinion and Practice, Invaſion of the Rights, Liberties and Priviledges of Churches, Uſurpation of a Lordly Prelatical Power over God's Heritage, and the like things, which are the Leaven, the Corrupting Gargreen, the Infecting, Spreading Plague, the Provoking Images of Jealouſie ſet up before the Lord, the Accurſed Thing which hath provoked Divine Wrath, and further threatens Deſtruction.* Even *Good Men* have terribly and openly, at this rate, charged one another:

Tantæ ne Animis Cœleſtibus Iræ?

§. 3. If the *Miniſters* in this Country, from the very beginning of it, might have their Complaints heard, they would complain of extream *Temptation* attending them in the Buſineſs of their *Maintenance*. The People being, as one of the Ancients expreſſes it, πρὸς τὰ θεῖα μικρολογούμενοι, have many times been content, that their *Paſtors* be accounted rather the *Stars* than the *Lamps* of the Churches, provided, like the *Stars*, they would *Shine* without the Supply of any *Earthly Contributions* unto them. All the Proviſion hitherto made for the *Maintenance* of the Miniſtry, has been this: That while many *Miniſters* chuſe to leave their *Salaries* unto the Voluntary *Contributions* of the People, who *upon the Firſt Day of the Week make their Collections*, as the Apoſtles directed the Primitive Churches to do; there are other Miniſters, who (ſenſible of what the great *Voetius* Writes, *Hominum ſæpe tanta eſt Injuſtitia, Fallacia, Lubricitas, Profanitas, ut expediat Contractum intercedere*,) make their *Contracts* with the People at their firſt coming among them, or, perhaps, from Year to Year, for certain *Stipends*; and though the *Stipends*, by theſe *Contracts* engaged, are uſually ſmall enough; yet by *bad Payments*, (which are in the Country known by the Name of **Synecdoctical Pay**, being a certain Figure in our Avaritious and Sacrilegious *Rhetoric*, by which there paſſes, *pars pro Toto*,) they are uſually made much ſmaller; nevertheleſs, if any ſhould go to take the Remedy which the *Law* gives him for the Recovery of his *Arrearages*, he would find the *Remedy* much worſe than the *Diſeaſe*, and by uſing the *Law*, wound all his future Succeſs in Preaching the *Goſpel*. *Rabbi Tarphon*, (who was probably the *Tryphon*, with whom *Juſtin Martyr* had his Famous Diſputations,) was called, הכהן העשיר *The Wealthy Prieſt*. But ſuch a ſight has been much a Stranger in any of our *Chriſtian Synagogues*.

The National *Synods*, in the *French Churches*, were often put upon renewing of Declarations, like that at *Poictiers*; *The Conſiſtories of the Reſpective Churches ſhall be adviſ'd, that for the time to come they do better diſcharge their Duty towards their Miniſters, by ſuccouring them in their Neceſſities, and raiſing Maintenance for them and their Families, becauſe Forreign Countries have been exceedingly Scandalized at the Neglect and Ingratitude of divers Churches, even in this particular:* And like that at *Paris*; *A Miniſter complaining of his Churches Ingratitude, the Provincial Synod ſhall take Cogniſance thereof, weighing diligently the Poverty of the Church, and the Temporal Eſtate of the Miniſter; and in caſe that Church be guilty of very Great and Notorious Ingratitude, the Synod ſhall have full Power to remove him for his better Accommodation elſewhere; and all the Churches ſhall be deſired to ſhun Ingratitude unto their Miniſters (a Sin too riſe among us) and to take ſpecial Care that they be more reſpected, and their Labours better rewarded; not to enrich or fatten them, but to give them a becoming and a ſufficient Maintenance:* And like that at *Montauban*; *Foraſmuch as the Ingratitude of divers Perſons in not contributing to their Miniſters Subſiſtence, is more Notorious than ever, and that this crying Sin threatens the Churches with a Total Diſſipation; after Mature Deliberation, we do Decree, That in caſe theſe ungrateful Wretches, having been ſeveral times admoniſhed by their Conſiſtory, do perſiſt obſtinately in this their Sin, their Conſiſtory ſhall deprive them of Communion with the Church in the Sacraments.* The *Crime* of *Ingratitude* unto their *Miniſters* in the *French Churches*, has been too frequent in the *New-Engliſh*; but with this *Difference*, that *here* no *Synods* ever did, as *there* the *Synods* often did, with juſt

Cor-

Corrections Animadvert upon it. The beſt Miniſters of *New-England* have generally been *Calviniſts*, in reſpect of that Contempt of *Riches* which the Great *Calvin* expreſſed, when he wrote, *Clara Voce pronunciavimus, Epiſcopum Furem eſſe, qui ex Opibus Eccleſiaſticis; plus in Uſum ſuum convertit, quam, quod neceſſe eſt ad Sobriam frugalemq; vitam Suſtinendum: Teſtati ſumus, Eccleſiam peſſimo veneno tentatam eſſe, dum tanta Opum affluentia Onerati ſunt Paſtores, quæ ipſos poſtea obrueret; Conſilium dedimus ut Miniſtris tantum erogaretur, quantum ad frugalitatem Ordine ſuo Dignam ſufficeret, non quod ad Luxum rendundaret.* But they have not all enjoyed the *Competent* and *Moderate* Subſiſtence, which would thus have well contented them; while the *Law* has exempted them from *Taxes*, they have in Reality been *Taxed* above any one Rank of Men whatſoever; nor does any but the Lord Jeſus Chriſt know the *Temptation* that many of them have endured, when they have been cheated of the *Dues* promiſed unto them, and when a *Res Anguſta Domi* has broken their *Spirits*, and hindred their *Studies*, and ruined the *Liberal Education* of their Families. *Antigonus* wondring to ſee that Studious Philoſopher *Cleanthes* grinding his own Corn at the Mill, *Cleanthes* told him, *I muſt either Grind, or Starve:* Whereupon *Antigonus* noted it as a great Indignity, That the *Hands* whereby Excellent things had been Written, ſhould be *galled* with *Mechanick Labours*. But *New-England* hath often cauſed the *Hands* which *Baptized* its People, and broke the *Bread of Life* unto them, to be *Galled* with *Inferiour Labours* for the getting of *Bread*; they muſt either *Plough* or *Starve*. The People have uſually pretended their *Poverty* as the Cauſe of their thus *withholding more than is meet*; but it would be a *Scriptural*, and therefore a *Rational* Concluſion, if they ſhould conclude, that their thus *withholding more than is meet* has been one Moral Cauſe of their *Poverty*. However, there has been the Wiſdom of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt in thus ordering his Miniſters to Preach *under the Croſs!*

§. 4. Sometimes in this Country there have been Prodigious and Aſtoniſhing *Scandals* given, by the Extraordinary *Miſcarriages* of ſome that have made a more than ordinary *Profeſſion of Religion*; and Incredible *Temptation* has hereby been laid before the Minds of Multitudes. The Wiſe Man ſays, *A Righteous Man falling before the Wicked, is as a Troubled Fountain, and a Corrupt Spring.* There have been among us thoſe Perſons who have made ſuch a Profeſſion of *Righteouſneſs*; that much notice has been taken of them, and others have been ready to think, *Surely Chriſtianity is juſt ſuch a thing as the Lives of theſe Men do repreſent it:* Now the *Falls* of theſe Men, before the Wicked among us, have been *as a Troubled Fountain and a Corrupt Spring*; juſt as if one had thrown *Poiſon* into the *Well* that all the Town was to fetch Water at. So were the Heathen of Old Poiſoned, when they ſaid, *Chriſtiani Sancte Vixiſſent, ſi Chriſtus Sancta Docuiſſet.* Alas, How often have we ſeen this Lamentable thing! *Satan*, who is often the Executioner of the *Wrath of God* upon a Sinful World, hath *deſired* leave to ſingle out ſome High Profeſſors of Religion, and puſh them on to ſome Scandalous Enormities; he hath *deſired* leave to do the Part of a *Devil*, it may be, on ſome one Man, that he might *Poiſon* all the Town by the *Falls* of that Man. The Dreadful Juſtice of God, who *gives none Account of his Matters*, has permitted the *Experiment*; and lo, upon the *Experiment*, ſome *Strict*, and, it may be, ſome *Old* Profeſſor, that had been formerly Troubleſome to all the Sinners in the Neighbourhood; *he* has not only proved a *Covetous*, and a *Self-ſeeking* ſort of a Perſon, in his whole Conduct of himſelf; but ſome *Unclean* Devil, or ſome *Drinking* Devil, or ſome *Cheating* Devil, or ſome *Lying* Devil, has drawn him to do monſtrous things, and he hath played the *Devil* horribly! Such Doleful Inſtances hereof there have been among us, as would *Poiſon* a whole Neighbourhood, yea, a whole Colony, with *Atheiſm*, if the Lord Jeſus Chriſt had not an Almighty Arm to ſecure his own Religion. *Wo* hath been to Hundreds of Souls among us for the *Offences* that have thus been given! The Scandalous Fall of *David*, is by as Tranſcendent a Myſtery of Divine Sovereignty *Recorded*, as it was *Ordered*. Some of the *Pagans* in the Primitive Times would not be *Chriſtians*, becauſe *David* was one of our greateſt *Saints*, though he did ſuch Damnable things; and many of the *Chriſtians* would Sin as Damnably as the *Pagans*, pleading, *Si David, cur non & ego?* Why may'nt I, as well as *David?* I believe there are a Million of Men in *Hell* whoſe Damnation was occaſioned by the Fall of *David*, though *David* himſelf be gone to *Heaven* after all: But perhaps in his *Fall*, and not in his *Riſe* again, *David* has been ſometimes too much follow'd by ſome Eminent Profeſſors of Religion in this Land; and the Land has been fill'd with *Temptation* by ſo *Venemous* a Miſchief.

——Quis Talia Fando
Temperet a Lachrymis?

Such as theſe have all along been the more Comprehenſive *Temptations* that have exerciſed the Churches of *New-England*. But we will proceed unto an Hiſtory of *Troubles* more particular.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Little Foxes: *Or, The Spirit of* Rigid Separation *in one Remarkable Zealot, vexing the Churches of* NEW-ENGLAND; *and the Spirit of* Giddy Familiſm *in another. And ſome* Leſſer Controverſies *ariſing about* The Croſs in the Banner, *and about* Swearing on the Goſpels.

Hic ſe aperit Diabolus!

§. 1. IT is *Remarkable*, that in the Sacred Annals of that Matchleſs and Bleſſed *Church-Hiſtory*, which our God has given us in our *Bible*, there is a ſpecial *Mark* often ſet upon the *Firſt* Perſons that were Eminent in this or that way of *Sinning*, and were upon that ſcore, *The Chief of Sinners*; and they who have obſerved this *Remarkable*, have particularly *Marked* the Infamous *Corah*, the *Firſt Rebel* againſt the Divine *Church-Order* eſtabliſhed in the Wilderneſs, as one Inſtance to confirm the Obſervation. There are ſome, not thoughtleſs Perſons, who Innumerating the Troubleſome and Scandalous things that have diſturbed us in our *New-Engliſh* Wilderneſs, have complained of a Crime, which they have diſtinguiſhed by the Name of **Corahiſm**; or that Ligitious and Levelling *Spirit*, with which the *Separation* has been ſometimes Leavened. Now tho' I would chuſe rather to leave a *Veil* than a *Scar* upon the *Memory* of any Perſon, that by his Miſcarriage hath made himſelf too *Memorable*; yet our *Church-Hiſtory* will be but an *Unfiniſhed Piece*, if we do not ſet a *Mark* upon *that Man* who was one of the *Firſt* that made themſelves notable by their Oppoſition to the *Church-Order* of theſe Plantations; and this we may the more freely do, becauſe of an Injunction upon us, *To mark them that cauſe Diviſions*.

§. 2. In the Year 1654. a certain *Windmill* in the Low Countries, whirling round with Extraordinary Violence, by reaſon of a Violent Storm then blowing; the Stone at length by its *Rapid Motion* became ſo intenſly hot, as to Fire the Mill, from whence the Flames, being diſperſed by the High Winds, did ſet a whole Town on *Fire*. But I can tell my Reader, that above Twenty Years before this, there was a whole Country in *America* like to be ſet on *Fire* by the *Rapid Motion* of a *Windmill*, in the Head of one particular Man. Know then, that about the Year 1630. arrived here one Mr. *Roger Williams*; who being a Preacher that had leſs *Light* than *Fire* in him, hath by his own ſad Example, Preached unto us the Danger of that Evil which the Apoſtle mentions in *Rom.* 10. 2. *They have a Zeal, but not according to Knowledge.* Upon his Arrival, the Church of *Salem* invited him to aſſiſt Mr. *Skelton* in the Charge of their Souls; but the Governour and Council fearing leaſt not only that Church would ſoon come to have nothing of *Salem* in it, but alſo that the whole *Political*, as well as *Eccleſiaſtical* Conſtitution of the Country, would ſuffer by employing a Miniſter of his *Character*, did adviſe them to deſiſt from *Laying Hands too ſuddenly upon him.* And that which increaſed in them the Suſpicion of his *Ill Character*, was partly, indeed, his refuſing to *Communicate* with the Church of *Boſton*, becauſe they would not make a Publick and Solemn Declaration of Repentance, for their Communicating with the *Church* of *England*, while they were in the *Realm* of *England*; (which the *New-Engliſh Reformers* thought then would be to carry the Matter as far beyond their Senſe, as the Vulgar Tranſlation hath done to the Text in *Luke* 15. 8. Where, inſtead of *Everrit domum*, She *Swept* the Houſe; it reads, *Evertit domum*, or, She *Overſet* it:) but partly his violent urging, that the *Civil Magiſtrate* might not puniſh Breaches of the *Firſt Table* in the Laws of the *Ten Commandments*; which Aſſertion, beſides the Door which it opened unto a Thouſand *Profanities*, by not being duly *Limited*, it utterly took away from the Authority all Capacity to prevent the Land, which they had purchaſed on Purpoſe for their own *Receſs* from ſuch things; its becoming ſuch a *Sink of Abominations*, as would have been the *Reproach* and *Ruin* of *Chriſtianity* in theſe Parts of the World. The *Church* taking the Advice of their *Fathers* in the *State*, on this Occaſion Mr. *Williams* removed unto *Plymouth*, where he was accepted as a Preacher for the Two Years enſuing.

§. 3. But at *Plymouth* his Turbulent and Singular Opinions, not finding the Entertainment which he expected, *he* deſired a Diſmiſſion back to *Salem* from them; and *they* perceiving the Giddy Courſes of *Separation*, whereto he would *Abandon* himſelf, and whereby he might *Endanger* them, wiſely *Humour'd* what he *Deſired*. Coming to *Salem*, in the Time of Mr. *Skelton*'s Illneſs, the Church, Affected with the *Fierceneſs* of his *Talking* in Publick, and the *Starchneſs* of his *Living* in Private, ſo far forgat themſelves, as to renew their Invitations unto him to become their *Paſtor*; and tho' the Government again renewed their Advice unto the People to forbear a thing of ſuch Ill Conſequence, yet *they* raſhly purſued their Motion, and *he* quickly accepted it. It happened that ſoon after this, the *Church* made Suit unto the *Court* for a parcel of *Land*, which lay Commodious for their Affairs; but the *Court* offended at the Slight lately put upon them, delay'd their Grant of what the *Church* Petitioned for; whereupon, incenſed

incenſed Mr. *Williams* Enchants the Church to join with him, in Writing Letters of *Admonition* unto all the Churches, whereof any of the *Magiſtrates* were Members, that they might *Admoniſh* the *Magiſtrates* of *Scandalous Injuſtice* for denying this *Petition.* The Neighbouring Churches, both by Petitions and Meſſengers, took ſuch Happy Pains with the Church of *Salem*, as preſently recovered that Holy Flock to a Senſe of his *Aberrations*; which Mr. *Williams* perceiving, tho' he had a little before bragg'd, *That of all the Churches in the World, thoſe of* New-England *were the pureſt*; *and of all in* New-England, *that whereof himſelf was the Teacher*; yet he now ſtaying at Home, ſent unto the Church of *Salem*, then Aſſembled, a Letter, to give them notice, *That if they would not ſeparate as well from the Churches of* New-England, *as of* Old, *he would ſeparate from them.* His more conſiderate Church not yielding to theſe lewd Propoſals, he never would come to their Aſſemblies any more; no, nor hold any *Communion* in any Exerciſe of Religion with any Perſon, ſo much as his own *Wife*, that went unto their Aſſemblies; but at the ſame time he kept a Meeting in his own Houſe, whereto reſorted ſuch as he had Infected with his *Extravagancies*.

§. 4. Theſe things were, indeed, very Diſturbant and Offenſive; but there were *Two* other things in his *Quixotiſm*, that made it no longer Convenient for the *Civil Authority* to remain unconcerned about him. For, Firſt, Whereas the King of *England* had granted a Royal *Charter* unto the *Governour and Company* of this Colony; which *Patent* was indeed the very *Life* of the Colony; this Hot-headed Man publickly and furiouſly Preached againſt the *Patent*, as an *Inſtrument of Injuſtice*, and preſſed both Rulers and People to be humbled for their Sin in taking ſuch a *Patent*, and utterly throw it up; on an Inſignificant Pretence of *Wrong* thereby done unto the *Indians*, which were the *Natives* of the Country, therein given to the Subjects of the *Engliſh Crown.* Secondly, An Order of the Court, upon ſome Juſt Occaſion had been made, That an *Oath of Fidelity* ſhould be, though not *Impoſed* upon, yet *Offered* unto the *Freemen*, the better to diſtinguiſh thoſe whoſe *Fidelity* might render them capable of Imployment in the Government: Which Order this Man vehemently withſtood, on a Pernicious Pretence, that it was the Prerogative of our Lord Chriſt alone to have his *Office* Eſtabliſhed with an *Oath*; and that an *Oath* being the Worſhip of God, *Carnal Perſons*, whereof he ſuppoſed there were many in the Land, might not be put upon it. Theſe Crimes at laſt procured a Sentence of *Baniſhment upon him.*

§. 5. The Court, about a Year before they proceeded unto the *Baniſhment* of this *Incendiary*, ſent for the Paſtors of the Neighbouring Churches, to Intimate unto them their Deſign of thus proceeding againſt him; which yet they were loth to do, before they had Adviſed the *Elders* of it, becauſe *he* was himſelf an *Elder.* Mr. *Cotton*, with the Conſent of the other Miniſters, preſented a Requeſt unto the Magiſtrates, that they would pleaſe to *forbear* Proſecuting of him, till *they* themſelves, with their *Churches*, had in a *Church-way* Endeavoured his Conviction and Repentance; for they alledged, that they hoped his *Violences* proceeded rather from a *Miſguided-Conſcience*, than from a *Seditious Principle.* The Governour foretold unto them, *You are deceived in the Man, if you think he will Condeſcend to learn of any of you*; however the Propoſal of the Miniſters was approved and allowed. But ſeveral of the Churches having taken the beſt Pains they could, tho' they happily brought the Church of *Salem* to join with them in dealing with the Man, yet the Effect was, that he renounced them all, as *no Churches* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Whereupon the Court Ordered his Removal out of the *Juriſdiction.*

§. 6. One Paſſage that happened at his Trial was a little odd. He complained in open Court, that he was wronged by a Slanderous Report, as if he *held it unlawful for a Father to call upon his Child to eat his Meat.*

Mr. *Hooker* then preſent, being moved hereupon to ſpeak ſomething, replied, *Why? You will ſay as much again, if you ſtand to your own Principles, or be driven to ſay nothing at all.* Mr. *Williams* expreſſing his Confidence that he ſhould never ſay it; Mr. *Hooker* proceeded, *If it be Unlawful to call an Unregenerate Perſon to Pray, ſince it is an Action of God's Worſhip, then it is Unlawful for your Unregenerate Child to pray for a Bleſſing upon his own Meat. If it be Unlawful for him to Pray for a Bleſſing upon his Meat, it is Unlawful for him to Eat it, for it is Sanctified by Prayer, and without Prayer, Unſanctified:* [1 Tim. 4. 4, 5.] *If it be Unlawful for him to Eat it, it is Unlawful for you to call upon him to Eat it; for it is Unlawful for you to call upon him to Sin.* Hereupon Mr. *Williams* choſe to *hold his Peace*, rather than make any *Anſwer:* Such the Giddineſs, the Confuſion, the *Antocatacritic* of that *Sectarian* Spirit. I have read of a Gentleman who had an Humour of making Singular and Fanciful Expoſitions of Scripture; but one Doctor *Sim* gave him a Doſe of *Phyſick*, which when it had wrought, the Gentleman became *Orthodox* immediately, and expounded at the old rate no more. Pity but this Dr. *Sim* had undertaken the Cure of our Mr. *Williams.*

§. 7. Upon the Sentence of the Court, Mr. *Williams* with his Party going abroad (as one ſays) *To ſeek their Providences*, removed into the Southern Parts of *New-England*, where *he*, with a few of his own Sect, ſettled at a place called *Providence.* There they proceeded not only unto the *Gathering* of a thing like a *Church*, but unto the *Renouncing* of their *Infant-Baptiſm*; and at this further Step of *Separation* they ſtopped not, but Mr. *Williams* quickly told them, *That being himſelf miſled, he* had

had led them likewiſe out of the way; he was now ſatisfied, that there was none upon Earth that could Adminiſter *Baptiſm*, and ſo that their *Laſt Baptiſm*, as well as their *Firſt*, was a *Nullity*, for the want of a *called Adminiſtration*; he adviſed them therefore to *Forego* all, to *Diſlike* every thing, and Wait for the coming of *New-Apoſtles*; whereupon they diſſolved themſelves, and became that ſort of Sect which we term *Seekers*, keeping to that one Principle, *That every one ſhould have Liberty to worſhip God according to the Light of his own Conſcience*; but owning of no true *Churches* or *Ordinances* now in the World. It is a memorable Reflection made on this Occaſion by Mr. *Cotton*, in a Book which he Publiſhed for his own Vindication from the Printed Calumnies of Mr. *Williams*: 'It is a Wiſe Proverb, *ſaith he*, of a 'wiſer than *Solomon*; *The Backſlider in Heart* '(from any Truth or Way of God) *ſhall be filled with his own ways*. They that *ſeparate* 'from their Brethren further than they have '*juſt Cauſe*, ſhall at length find *Cauſe*, or at 'leaſt think they have found *Cauſe* juſt enough 'to *ſeparate* from one another. I never yet 'heard of any Inſtance to the contrary, either 'in *England* or *Holland*; and for *New-England*, 'there is no ſuch Church of the *Separation* at 'all that I know of. That *ſeparate Church*, '(if it may be called *a Church*) which *ſeparated* with Mr. *Williams*, firſt broke into a '*Diviſion* about a ſmall Occaſion (as I have 'heard) and then broke forth into *Anabaptiſm*, 'and then into *Antibaptiſm* and *Familiſm*, and 'now finally into *no Church* at all.

§. 8. Mr. *Williams* after this was very Inſtrumental in obtaining a *Charter* for the Government of *Rhode-Iſland*, which lay near and with his Town of *Providence*, and was by the People ſometimes choſen *Governour*: But for the moſt part he led a more private Life.

It was more than Forty Years after his Exile that he lived here, and in many things acquitted himſelf ſo laudably, that many Judicious Perſons judged him to have had the *Root of the Matter* in him, during the *long Winter* of this Retirement: He uſed many commendable Endeavours to Chriſtianize the *Indians* in his Neighbourhood, of whoſe Language, Tempers and Manners he printed a little Relation, with Obſervations, wherein he *Spiritualizes* the *Curioſities* with Two and Thirty Chapters, whereof he entertains his Reader. There was alſo a good Correſpondence always held between him and many Worthy and Pious People in the *Colony*, from whence he had been Baniſh'd; tho' his keeping ſtill ſo many of his Dangerous Principles, kept the Government, unto whoſe Favour ſome of the *Engliſh Nobility* had by Letters Recommended him, from taking off the Sentence of his Baniſhment. And againſt the *Quakers*, he afterward maintained the main Principles of the *Proteſtant Religion* with much Vigour in ſome Diſputations; whereof he afterwards Publiſhed a large Account, in a Book againſt *George Fox* and *Edward Burrowes*, which he Entituled, *George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes*. But having reported thus much concerning Mr. *Williams*, we ſhall now ſuperſede further mention of him, with the mention of another difference which happened in our *Primitive Times*, wherein he was indeed (but Obliquely and Remotely) concerned.

§. 9. It was about the Year 1633. that one in *ſome* Authority, under the *Heat* of ſome Impreſſions from the Miniſtry of Mr. *Williams*, did by his *own* Authority cut the *Red-Croſs* out of the King's Colours, to Teſtifie a Zeal againſt the Continuance or Appearance of a *Superſtition*. This *Hot Action* met with a *Warm Cenſure*; and beſides the Miſchiefs hereby occaſioned among the Trained Soldiers, whereof ſome were loth to follow the *Colours* which had the *Croſs*, leaſt they ſhould put Honour upon a Popiſh *Idol*; others were loth to follow the Colours which had not the *Croſs*, left they ſhould ſeem to caſt off their Allegiance to the Crown of *England*; the Buſineſs fell under Agitation in the *General Court*.

The Freemen of the Colony ſhow'd their Diſpleaſure at the Gentleman chiefly concerned in this Buſineſs, by Diſcarding him from his Place in the Government; and a *Committee* of thoſe Freemen, choſen by both Magiſtrates and People, judged him to be guilty of a great Offence, and worthy of *Admonition*, and ſo to be one Year diſabled for bearing any *Publick Office*. An *Harder* Sentence was not paſſed, becauſe real Tenderneſs and Perſwaſion of *Conſcience*, and not any *Ill-affected Mind*, was the real Original of his Offence: But *ſo hard* a Sentence was paſſed, as a Signification of the Deſire which was rooted in the Heart of the Country, to approve themſelves in all Points thorough *Engliſhmen* and *Good Subjects*. Now though the Action of Defacing the *Colours* was generally diſapproved, yet the *Rite* of the *Croſs in the Banner* became on this Occaſion a Matter of Controverſie, wherein many Pious and Able Men were differently perſwaded; and ſome of our Chief Worthies maintained their different Perſwaſions with *Weapons* indeed no more dangerous than eaſie *Pens*, and *Effects* no worſe than a little Harmleſs and Learned *Ink-ſhed*, It will not be a thing Unuſeful or Unpleaſant unto a Curious Reader, to have a brief *Diſplay* of that Controverſie.

§. 10. On the one ſide, they that pleaded againſt the Uſe of *the Croſs in the Banner*, argued after this manner. The Queſtion is not, whether a *Private* Man may not march after his *Colours*, which have the *Croſs* in them? For the *Chriſtian Legions* never ſcrupled following the *Labarum* of the *Roman* Emperor, which was an Idolatrous Enſign. Yea, the *Jews* themſelves, that made ſuch earneſt ſuit, firſt unto *Pilate*, and then unto *Petronius*, to have ſuch an Idolatrous Enſign removed from the Walls of their Temple, yet without any ſcruple followed it in the *Field*. Nor is it the Queſtion, whether the *Croſs* may be uſed in our *Colours*, as a Charm to protect us from

Enemies, to defend us from *Diſaſters*, to procure *Victories* unto us. The *Faith* which the *Roman Catholicks* have in it mentioned by *Hoveden* in the Reign of *Henry* II. when *England*, *France* and *Flanders* diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Varieties of it, ever ſince retained, is abominable to all *real Proteſtants*. But the Queſtion is, whether the *Croſs*, as repreſenting the *Croſs of Chriſt*, erected as a *Badge of Chriſtianity*, and a Sign of Diſtinction between *Chriſtians and Infidels*, may by any Prince or State be now in their *Banners* Reſerved and Employed? *This* they approved not, and that for theſe Reaſons. *Firſt*, That which *God* hath Commanded utterly to be *Deſtroyed*, ſhould not be *Retained* for the Important Uſes of *Men*; but God has Commanded the *Croſs in the Banner* to be *Deſtroyed*. This may be thus proved; *Images* of *Idols* are Commanded utterly to be *Deſtroyed*: But the *Croſs in the Banner* is the *Image* of an *Idol*, and the greateſt *Idol* in the Church of *Rome*. The Text in *Deuteronomy*, where this is Commanded, will affect *Chriſtians* as well as *Jews*; for the *Moral Reaſon* of the Command ſtill continues. If it be objected, that then the *Temples* of *Idols* were to be deſtroyed, it may be anſwered, *Theodoſius* made a *Law* that they ſhould be ſo. However, we may diſtinguiſh between *Temples* Dedicated unto *Idols*, and ſuch *Temples* as were Dedicated unto *God* with *Creatures*. The *Papiſts*, with *Aquinas*, deny their *Temples* to have been Dedicated unto *Saints*; but affirm them Dedicated unto the Honour and Service of *God*, for his Bleſſings Communicated by the *Saints*, whoſe Names are uſed on this Occaſion. Theſe *Temples* being purged from their *Superſtitious Deſignations*, may be ſtill uſed for our Chriſtian Aſſemblies, as our Saviour uſed the *Jewiſh Water-Pots* to turn the *Water* into *Wine*, tho' they were *Superſtitious Purifications* for which they were placed there. *Again*, there is no *Civil Honour* to be given unto the *Image* of an *Idol*; the *Second Commandment* forbids all ſort of *Honour*, not only *Sacred*, but *Civil* alſo, to ſuch an *Image*; yea, and elſewhere, all mention of it with *Honour* is prohibited. But now to advance the *Croſs* into the *Banner*, is to put a *Civil* and no little *Honour* upon it: It is the *Croſs* in the *Enſign*, which does now *Inſignire*, and render it *Inſign*; and it was the Intention of *Conſtantine* to *Honour* the *Croſs*, when he Interdicted all Executions of Malefactors upon it, but improved it for his *Banner*. *Further*, if the *Figure* of the *Altar in Damaſcus* might not be uſed as a Badge of the Religion and Profeſſion of the *Iſraelites*, then the Figure of the *Croſs* may not be uſed as a Badge of the Religion and Profeſſion of the *Proteſtants*. For there is a like Proportion; the Papiſts regard the *Croſs* as the *Altar* whereon our Lord was offered: Now ſuch a *Figure* of an *Altar* was unlawful to the People of God. *Once more*, that which was *Execrable* to our Lord, the Sign of it ſhould not be *Honourable* to us. But ſo was the *Croſs* of our Lord; it made his Death *Accurſed*; nor was it a pure *Inſtrument* of meer *Martyrdom* unto him. *Moreover*, if the partaking of *Idolothytes* in the places where the *Idols* are worſhipped, expreſs a Communion with *Idols* and *Idolaters*, then the ſetting up of the *Croſs* in the places where *Idolaters* do Worſhip it, namely, in the *Banner*, is an Expreſſion of Communion in their *Idolatry*. 'Tis true, ſuch *Meats* when ſold in the *Shambles*, might be Eaten without ſcruple of Conſcience; but beſides this, that it was only a *Common Place* where theſe might be eaten; whereas the *Croſs in the Banner* is in the *Temple*, where the *Apocalyptic Gentiles* do adore it; you may add, they were Creatures of *God*, whereas the *Croſs in the Banner* is only an Humane Contrivance. If it had been lawful for a Man to have bought the *Silver-Shrines* of *Diana*, and have cauſed them to be worn for the Cogniſance of his Family, or his Attendants; the *Croſs* might perhaps have been lawfully uſed in the *Banner* for a Cogniſance. *Finally*, if the firſt uſe of the *Croſs in the Banner*, by *Conſtantine*, were Superſtitious; then *the Firſt Fruits being unclean, the whole* Lump *of the following uſe is alſo unclean*. But now *Euſebius* will tell you, *That this ſaving Sign the Emperor uſed as a Protection againſt all Warlike and Hoſtile Powers*. And *Sozomen* will tell you, *That the Emperor changed the Image in the Roman* Labarum *for the Sign of the Croſs, that ſo the Soldiers, who were accuſtomed to Worſhip the Heathen Imperial Enſign, by the continual Sight and Worſhip of the Croſs might be weaned from their Country-Rites, and brought on to Worſhip that God alone whoſe Sign it was*. Theſe were the Chief of the Conſiderations then urged againſt the *Croſs* by the Faithful that were themſelves in a Wilderneſs, now Preaching and Suffering under the *Croſs*. That they thus argued, was not becauſe they were thoſe whom the Apoſtle calls *Enemies unto the Croſs of our Lord*; they knew, they felt, they conſented, that, *Omnis Chriſtianus eſt Crucianus*, every Chriſtian muſt be a *Croſs-Bearer*. Our King *Edward* I. was the Comelieſt of Men, tho' commonly called *Crook-Back*, by a miſtake of the Name *Crouch-Back*, [that is, *Croſs-Back*] which Name he has worn, becauſe of his wearing a *Croſs* on his *Back*. Our good Old Planters had the *Croſs* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt laid upon their *Back*, by the manifold Afflictions which they underwent for his Truths and Ways; but Mankind will be miſtaken, if they imagine thoſe Bleſſed Soldiers, under the *Banners* of their Lord Redeemer, to have been of a *Defective Stature* in Chriſtianity, becauſe of their not affecting to make the *Croſs* in their *Banners* the *Mark* of that Chriſtianity. It is *Catholickly*, that is *Ridiculouſly*, enough given as the Anſwer to the Second Queſtion in the *Catechiſm*, wherein the *French New-Converts* are inſtructed; the Queſtion, *Whereby ſhall one know a true Chriſtian?* The Anſwer, *A ce qu'il fait le Signe de la Croix*; that is,

By

By this, that he makes the Sign of the Croſs. Our *New-Englanders* were *Good Chriſtians*, but yet were loth to give the *Croſs* for the *Sign* of their being ſo; they choſe a *better Sign* of it, by being themſelves *Crucified* unto the Vanities of the World; that which made the *Croſs* diſagreeable to them, was its being the great *Idol* of *Popery*, which is but revived *Paganiſm*: And as the *Primitive Chriſtians*, when the *Pagans* charged them with the Veneration of the *Croſs*, anſwered, *Cruces nec Colimus, nec Optamus*; this might a *Minutius* on the behalf of our *New-Engliſh Chriſtians* have given for *their* Anſwer alſo: If *Tertullian* reckoned it a Scandal raiſed upon the *Primitive Chriſtians*, that they were, *Crucis Religioſi*, you ſee the *New-Engliſh Chriſtians* took an Effectual Courſe that they might not on that part be *Scandalized*.

§. 11. On the other ſide, they that pleaded for the uſe of *the Croſs in the Banner*, argued after this faſhion. To ſtate the Queſtion, we muſt know, that it is neceſſary that there ſhould be a *Banner* diſplayed; and a *Banner* with a *Croſs* in it, ſerves the end of a *Banner* as much as any other. Had the *Croſs* never been *Superſtitiouſly abuſed*, the *Civil uſe* of that Figure could not be queſtioned; but the *Superſtitious Abuſe* is a thing that is added unto the *Civil Uſe*, and accordingly the *Superſtitious Abuſe* may again be removed from it, otherwiſe what a Deſolation of *Bells* muſt be produced by a juſt *Reformation* of *Superſtitions?* Wherefore, if the preſent Authority does neither appoint nor declare any *Superſtition* in the Obſervation of any Civil Uſage, the *Superſtition* of that Uſage is at an end. Thus, tho' it be notoriouſly known, that many Perſons in Authority have their Superſtitious Conceits about *Churches*; yet inaſmuch as there is no *Injunction* of *Authority* upon private Perſons, to approve any ſuch Conceits, 'tis no Superſtition in ſuch Perſons to uſe thoſe *Churches* unto lawful Purpoſes. The Queſtion then is, whether the *Civil Uſe* of the *Croſs in the Banner* may not be ſeparated from the *Superſtitious Abuſe* of it? It ſeems that it may; for, *Firſt*, If *Names* that have been abuſed for the Honour of *Idols*, may in a *Civil way* be ſtill uſed, then *things* that have been ſo abuſed, may be in like manner uſed for a *Civil Diſtinction*. But we find the *Names* of *Apollo* and *Phœbe*, and the like, uſed in the *Apoſtolical Salutations*, altho' it had been a leſs difficulty for thoſe Perſons to have changed the *Names* at firſt ſinfully impos'd on them, than for *the Croſs in the Banner* to be now wholly laid aſide. If any Heathen King put an Honour upon his Idol *Bel*, by ſaying, O *Belteſhazzar*, the Spirit of God may ſpeak it without any Honour to that *Idol* at all. *Again*, it is one thing to deſcribe a *Croſs*, as an *Artificial* thing, by way of *Civil Signification*, and another thing to employ a *Croſs*, as a *Sacramental* thing, by way of *Sacred Obſervation*; and in the *Banner*, 'tis the *former*, not the *latter* way, that it is conſidered; when I am relating how a Papiſt *Croſſes* himſelf, I may lawfully expreſs it by making an *Aerial Croſs* like his; whereas it would not be lawful for me to make ſuch a *Croſs* upon the *ſame ends* with him. *Add*, what if the *Croſs*, as firſt uſed by *Conſtantine*, had in it ſomewhat unwarrantable? It follows not, that the *following Uſe* of it is of the ſame *Lump* with the *Firſt*; for if it now be uſed upon another Deſign, the *Uncleanneſs* is taken away. Beſides, *Conſtantine* brought the *Croſs* with as much Unwarrantableneſs into his *Coins*, as into his *Colours*; but it is believed, that moſt Men, at this Day, would count themſelves very ſorely *croſs'd*, and their Purſes very *unhappy*, if there were none of thoſe *Croſſes* in them. *To proceed*, *Meats* that were Sacrificed unto *Idols* might be *eaten*, when Sold and Bought in the *Market*; now a *Croſs*, as an Effect of *Art*, is a Creature of *God's*, as well as any of the *Meats* Bred and Cooked by Men. And what if the *Banner* be like the *Temple* to the *Idol?* One might have eaten the *Idolothytes* in a Chamber or Corner of an *Idol Temple*, if there had been any ſuch, where Beholders would not have been ſcandalized. Such were the *Colours of Good and Evil*, which were put upon the Uſe of the *Croſs in the Colours*, at the firſt Settlement of the *Militia* in theſe Plantations. But there was nothing like a *War* appearing in the Diſputations of the good Men, that thus *flouriſhed* the Matter on both ſides. All the Velitations were *peaceably furled up* in this Reſult; that the *Croſs* was kept in the *Banners* of *Caſtles* and *Veſſels* where it was neceſſary; and in the *Banners* of the *Trained Bands* it was generally omitted, until it was very lately introduced.

§. 12. It will be now not *Improper*, I am ſure it will not be *Unchriſtian*, in the ſame Chapter, which Reports the Diſturbances of *New-England* raiſed by Mr. *Williams*, to relate ſome further *Diſturbances* of the Country, to the extinguiſhing whereof, Mr. *Williams* very commendably contributed his Aſſiſtances: For I freely acknowledge with *Tully*, *Eſt iniqua in omni re Accuſanda, prætermiſſis Bovis, malorum Enumeratio, vitiorumq; Selectio.*

Know then, that in the Year 1636. arrived at *Boſton* one *Samuel Gorton*, who by one of the beſt Pens in thoſe Times is deſcribed as, *A moſt prodigious Minter of Exorbitant Novelties, and the very Dregs of* Familiſm. This *Gorton* continued at *Boſton*, till ſome Directions were ſent hither to Demand from him conſiderable Sums of Money, which he had Borrowed as *London*; and then he removed out of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony. Coming to *Plymouth*, he began to ſpread his Blaſphemous and Enormous Opinions; but being upon ſome *Civil Controverſie* with a Neighbour brought before the Court, he behaved himſelf ſo Mutinouſly, Seditiouſly and Outrageouſly, that he was *Fined* and ſent out of *that* Colony. From thence he went into *Rhode-Iſland*, where he affronted what little Government they had, with ſuch Intolerable Inſolencies, that he was

Bbbbbbb 2 there

there *Whipped*, and ſent out of *that* Colony. The *Knight Errant* then made his Progreſs over to *Providence*, with a miſled *Knot* of *Squires*, where the Humanity of Mr. *Williams* to them in that *Winter-Seaſon* was requited, *Snake*-faſhion, with ſuch cruel *Stings*, as made the Inhabitants implore Aid from the *Maſſachuſet-Bay*. Theſe wicked *Gortonians* began to ſeize the Lands of certain *Indians*, which had ſubmitted themſelves unto the Protection of the King of *England*, and ſow ſuch Diſcords among the Engliſh, as threatned all manner of bloody Confuſion. Wherefore the Authority of the *Maſſachuſet-Bay* being Addreſſed by the Diſtreſſed People, ſent their *Agents* to adjuſt the Differences which had happened, and prevent the Ruin of the *King's Intereſts*, not meerly in that *Fag-end of the World*, but in all theſe Plantations. In the mean time, this Crew of Miſcreants not only kept blowing up a Flame of War between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians*, but alſo ſent unto the *Engliſh* in the *Bay* one Libel upon the back of another, ſtuff'd with Scores of ſuch envenomed *Reproaches* againſt the Rulers and Churches, *Denials* of all Order, and *Blaſphemies* againſt every ſacred thing, that the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony could not in this Extremity do God and the King better Service, than by *going out of their Line*, (if it were a *going out of it*, for to ſend thus unto the help of our Confederates, under whoſe *weaker Juriſdiction* thoſe Wretches were ſo Obſtreperous, and upon whoſe *Earneſt Application* it was undertaken) to lay hold on theſe Malefactors as the *Enemies of Mankind*. Accordingly, being by a Band of Men brought unto *Boſton*, whither Mr. *Williams* and his *Fellow-Planters* had referred their Cauſe, againſt a Knot of *Incendiaries* that had expreſly Declared, *All Courts whatſoever to be Idols and the Devices of Satan, and all pretended Officers and Lieutenants of Chriſt to be Deſtroyers of the Holy One of Iſrael:* The Court proceeded unto an Examination of their Miſdemeanours. About Six of the Chief Ringleaders received Sentence to be kept at Work, in ſo many ſeveral Towns, during the Pleaſure of the Court; and they were alſo required, on a very ſevere Penalty, to utter none of their profane *Hereſies*, except in Conference with Miniſters, or ſuch as might be allowed thereupon to Confer with them; thus they were *Confined* for one Winter, and then *Baniſhed*. It were endleſs to reckon up the Frenſies of this Exorbitant and Extravagant Generation; but they held, *That Chriſt was but a Shadow, and Figure of what is done in every Chriſtian*; they held, *That Chriſt was incarnate in* Adam; *and was that Image of God wherein* Adam *was Created*; they held, *That our Lord's being Born afterwards of the Virgin, and Suffering was but a Manifeſtation of his Suffering in* Adam; they ſaid, *That Man's loſing of God's Image was the Death of Chriſt*; they ſaid, *That Faith and Chriſt is all One*; *Sermons* they called *Lies, Tales* and *Falſhoods*; *Churches*, their Name for them was, *Deviſed Platforms*; *Baptiſm*, they called, *Vanity and Abomination*; *The Lord's Supper*, they called, *An Abomination and a Spell*; and they called, *Miniſters, Magicians*. Now, tho' the *Miniſters*, whom they *ſo* called, uſed all due Pains to *Charm* theſe *Adders* with convincing Diſputations, when they were in the *Bay*, and indeed often drove them to a *Bay* with Argument, yet they would obſtinately maintain their unmaintainable Tenets. By the ſame Token, that unto that Nonſenſical Aſſertion of *Gorton*, *That the Death of Chriſt, was the Death of God's Image in the Fall of* Adam; it being reply'd by Mr. *Cotton*, *That the Death of Chriſt was the Price of our Redemption; whereas the Fall of* Adam *was not the Price of our Redemption, but the Cauſe of our Condemnation*; the Man by *Silence* thereupon, *loudly proclaimed* himſelf Confounded, and yet ye would not Revoke or Diſclaim his Heretical Nonſenſe. *Gorton* lived many Years after this; degenerated into ſuch a *Beaſt*, that *profeſſedly* as well as *practically* he declared, *That there is no Happineſs to be expected but in this Life*; and he would adviſe his Followers, *To make much of themſelves, becauſe they muſt have no more than what they ſhould enjoy in the World*. But it pleaſed God thus mercifully to deliver this his *New-Engliſh* People from the Troubles with which theſe *Peſtilences* did endanger them.

§. 13. Reader, Be content that the ſame Chapter which has related the *Controverſies* that have ſometimes diſturbed the Churches of *New-England* about Matters, the *Lawfulneſs* whereof has been *ſcrupled*, ſhould leap over half an Hundred Years to graſp at another of thoſe *Controverſies*, which as late as the Year 1688. was an Occaſion of ſome further Diſturbance: The *Affinity*, rather than the *Chronology* of the thing inviting us, in *this Place* to lodge the Hiſtory of that *Controverſie*.

When the Charter of *New-England* were taken away, the Governour, who with a Treaſonable and an Arbitrary Commiſſion then Tyrannized over the Colonies, at length drove the *New-Englanders*, to imitate the whole Engliſh Nation, in an happy *Revolution*, on the Eighteenth of *April*, 1689. And in the *Declaration*, which they publiſhed at and for this *Revolution*, One Article was this: *To plunge the poor People every where into deeper Incapacities, there was one very Comprehenſive Abuſe given to us: Multitudes of pious and ſober Men thro' the Land ſcrupled the Mode of* ſwearing on the Book, *deſiring that they might* Swear with an unlifted Hand, *agreeable to the ancient Cuſtom of the Colony; and tho' we think we can prove, that the* Common Law *amongſt us (as well as in ſome other places under the* Engliſh Crown) *does not only Indulge, but even Command and Enjoin the Rite* of lifting the Hand *in* Swearing, *yet they that had this doubt were ſtill put by from ſerving upon any* Juries, *and many of them were moſt unaccountably* Fined and Impriſoned. *This one Grievance is a* Trojan Horſe, *in the Belly of which*

'tis not eaſie to recount how many inſufferable Vexations have been contained. The Chriſtians of *New-England* were not the only Perſons that have ſcrupled the Lawfulneſs of *Swearing*, *Tactis Evangeliis*, on and by the *Goſpels*. Thoſe famous Divines, *Rivet*, *Paræus* and *Voetius*, have all of them Written againſt it; Dr. *Goodwyn*, and Mr. *Nye*, reckoned it *the worſt of all the Engliſh Ceremonies:* And that bleſſed Martyr, Mr. *William Thorp*, did refuſe to comply with that Mode of *Swearing*. Declaring that *Chryſoſtom* long before him was againſt a *Book-Oath*, as well as he; and arguing, *If I touch the Book, the meaning of that Ceremony is nothing elſe, but that I Swear by it, when it is not Lawful to Swear by any Creature.* It is well-known, that in *Scotland*, and the Reformed Churches abroad, that *Ceremony* is not uſed; and even in the *Engliſh* Courts of *Admiralty*, another *Form of Swearing* is frequently practiſed: Yea, there was once an *Ordinance* of *Parliament* in *England*, for the eaſe of thoſe Conſciences, which doubted ſuch a *Form of Swearing*. The varieties among the Primitive Chriſtians, in the *Modes of Swearing* are too *Many*, and ſome of them too *Faulty* to be recited: but this I am ſure of, *Athanaſius* of old would uſe no Rite in *Swearing*, but that of *lifting up the Hand unto Heaven.* However, it may be the Chriſtians of *New-England* are the only Ones in the World that ever ſuffered a Formal *Perſecution*, by *Fines* and *Gaols*, for bearing their Teſtimony unto *Purity of Worſhip*, in that great Point of *Worſhip*, an *Oath:* And perhaps theſe Chriſtians might bear a part in *Finiſhing the Teſtimony* to be born unto the Laws of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the World, by patiently Suffering this *Perſecution*, while the *Quakers*, who refuſed all *Swearing* at all, did undergo no ſuch Hardſhips from the Government. Now the Reaſons that moved theſe *Confeſſors* hereunto are eaſily underſtood. They were of this old *Puritan* Principle; that all *Religious Worſhip*, not *Commanded* by God, is *Forbidden*; and that all *Symbolical Ceremonies* enjoined on Men in *Religious Worſhip*, are made parts of it. More cloſely; they judged that our *Swearing* ON *the Goſpel*, is a *Swearing* BY *the Goſpel*, and therefore *Idolatrous*. That this Mode of *Swearing* was *Originally* a ſignification of *Swearing BY the Goſpel*, is evident from all the *Interpretation*, which not only the old *Canon-Law*, but alſo the old *Common-Law*, explain'd in old *Precedents*, has given of it; and no particular Magiſtrate has power to put any other *Interpretation* upon the *Law*, than what the *Law* has given of it ſelf; much leſs can a *private Perſon* do ſo. Yea, the Mode is *Naturally* and *Neceſſarily*, as well as *Originally*, a *Swearing BY the Goſpel*; for elſe it muſt ſignifie only the *Preſence* and *Conſent* of the Perſon that Swears. But firſt, our *Statute-Law* has poſitively Superſeded any ſuch pretence wherein the *Oath of Supremacy* concludes, *By the Contents of this Book*: And beſides, there is no *Proportion* of things to countenance that Pretence: The touching of a *Table*, would ſignifie this, as much as the touching of the *Bible*. The *Bible* is a *Sacred thing*; to put it unto a meer *Civil Uſe*, is a *Profane Abuſe* of it, in ſuch a ſolemn and ſerious Buſineſs, as the diſpenſing of Right between Man and Man: Why? It leaves out a reſpect unto the *Bible*, which is always due unto it. With a Contingent and Overly Act, I may perhaps look on the *Bible* only as a *Book* made of *Paper* and *Cover*; but in a Stated, Solemn, Serious *Act*, ſuch as a *Proceſs of Law*, the *Bible* may not be *ſingled out* for a leſs uſe, than what the Word of the moſt High God is to be preferred for. Whereas, if we take the *general Acknowledgment* of them that *Swear ON the Goſpel*, they tell us, 'tis to procure *Devotion*, and affect them with the Conſideration of the *Rules* they are to uſe in *Swearing*, and the *Woes* they incurr if they uſe them not. Now ſay we, our Lord hath directed us to do this, by *Hearing* and *Reading* his Word; not by a bare *Touching* of it: Nor may a *Tranſient Motive* to Piety, be made a *Stated Medium*. Or elſe, they tell us, 'tis to *expreſs* Devotion; 'tis in *this way* that they make their *Imprecation*, and their *Invocation*; 'tis their external Declaration, *That they Swear by the God who made this Book, and expect the Plagues written in this Book, if they Swear a Falſhood*; Now this is a *way of Worſhip* which the Lord never Inſtituted. In fine, 'tis a *wrong Religious Application in a Prayer*; an *Oath* is a *Prayer*, and a *Creature* is in this Mode of Swearing applied unto, as well as Almighty God; yea, God is applied unto thro' a *Creature:* And *Non-Conformiſts* reckon the *Second Commandment* violated by ſuch Applications. The *Religious Forms* of Addreſſing to God, we ſay, are to be appointed by none but God himſelf: Whereas the *Elevation of the Hand*, has even for *Sacred* as well as for *Civil* Uſes, and in an *Oath* particularly, had ſuch unexceptionable Aprobation, that the Faithful of *New-England* choſe it, and *choſe rather to ſuffer Affliction*, than to uſe a *Rite* in the Worſhip of God, which they ſuſpected *Sinful*.

Reader, We will only take this Occaſion to recite a good Paſſage of Dr. *Owen's*. *If inſtead of driving all ſorts of Perſons, the Worſt, the Vileſt of Men, on Slight, or Light, or no Occaſions unto Swearing, none might be in any Caſe admitted thereunto, but ſuch as Evidence in their Converſations ſuch a regard unto the Divine Rule and Governmen of the World, as is required to give the leaſt Credibility to an Oath, it would be much better with Humane Society.* And now we'll paſs on to other Matters.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Hydra Decapitata: *Or, The Firſt* SYNOD *of* NEW-ENGLAND, *quelling a Storm of* Antinomian *Opinions, and many remarkable Events relating thereunto.*

Sic Deus inducta noſtras Caligine Terras
Occuluit.

§. 1. THE Church of God had not long been in this *Wilderneſs*, before the *Dragon* caſt forth ſeveral *Floods* to devour it; but not the leaſt of thoſe *Floods* was one of *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical* Hereſies, with which the Country began betimes to be infeſted. *That* which was then the moſt conſiderable of our Churches, had ſeveral conſiderable Perſons belonging thereunto, who Broached certain *Opinions*; firſt of an *Antinomian*, and then of a *Familiſtical* Tendency; and the ſtir which they made about theſe *Opinions* grew ſo general, that they quickly affected all the Publick Affairs of the Country; but that which made the whole Buſineſs to be the more *perplexed*, was, that as that horrid Montaniſt, *Wightman*, profeſſed that he had all his Grounds from the Great *Arthur Hilderſham*, ſo the Name of the no leſs Great **John Cotton** was abuſed by theſe buſie *Sectaries*, for the Patronage of their Whimſies. 'Tis believed, that Multitudes of Perſons, who took in with both Parties, did never to their dying Hour underſtand what their *Difference* was; by the ſame Token, in the heighth and heat of all the *Difference*, when ſome Ships were going from hence to *England*, Mr. *Cotton*, in the whole Congregation, adviſed the Paſſengers to tell our Countrymen at Home, *That all the ſtrife here was about magnifying the Grace of God; the one Perſon ſeeking to advance the* Grace *of God* within *us, as to Sanctification; and another Perſon ſeeking to advance the* Grace *of God* towards *us, as to Juſtification*; and Mr. *Wilſon* ſtood up after him, declaring on the other ſide, *That he knew none that did not Labour to advance the* Grace *of God in both*. Nevertheleſs there did ariſe in the Land a *Diſtinction* between ſuch as were under a **Covenant of Works**, and ſuch as were under a **Covenant of Grace**; wherein the bigger Part of the Country in the management of that Enquiry, *By what Evidence muſt a Man proceed in taking to himſelf the Comforts of his Juſtification?* Laid upon our *Sanctification* the firſt and main Streſs of our Comfortable *Evidence*. But the *Opinioniſts* were for another ſort of *Evidence* as their *Chief*; namely, *The Spirit of God by a powerful Application of a Promiſe*, begetting in us, and revealing to us a powerful *Aſſurance* of our being *Juſtified*. Now tho' the *Truth* might eaſily have United *both* of theſe Perſwaſions; yet they that were of the *latter way*, carried the Matter on to a very *Perillous Door*, opened not only for New *Enthuſiaſtical Revelations*, but alſo for a neglect of ſuch *Qualifications* in all *Godlineſs* and *Honeſty*, as muſt be found in all that would be *Proſpered*, and not *Rejected* in their *Confidences*. Yea, they employed their Diſtinctions about a *Covenant of Works*, and a *Covenant of Grace*, at ſo Extravagant a rate, as threatned a Subverſion to all the peaceable Order in the Colonies. They drove at this, that the moſt Virtuous Man upon Earth might not be admitted into the *Churches*, without profeſſing, that Renouncing of *Sanctification*, as the *Evidence* of his good State, he waited for *Immediate Revelations* to aſſure him of it; and ſuch as were already in *Church-Communion*, unleſs they became fond of the *New-Lights* in this thing pretended unto, were preſently branded as favouring *A Covenant of Grace*. The Contention ſpread it ſelf even into *Families*, and all private and ſmaller *Societies*, who were to be accounted under a *Covenant of Works*, and ſo Enemies unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and who were *not?* Which was determined among the buſie *Sectaries*, by a Perſon's accommodating himſelf unto their *Fine-ſpun* Speculations. *Illic ipſum eſſe ſuit promereri.* The Diſturbance proceeded from thence into all the General Affairs of the publick: The Expedition againſt the *Pequot-Indians* was moſt ſhamefully diſcouraged, becauſe the Army was too much under a *Covenant of Works*; and the *Magiſtrates* began to be contemned, as being of a *Legal Spirit*, and having therewithal a tang of *Antichriſt* in them; nor could the ordering of *Town-Lots*, or *Town-Rates*, or any Meetings whatſoever, eſcape the Confuſions of this Controverſie. 'Tis incredible what Alienations of Mind, and what a very *Calenture* the *Devil* raiſed in the Country upon this *Odd Occaſion*: But it may not be amiſs to deſcribe a little more particularly the *Methods* whereof the *Devil* therein ſerved his Intereſts. The *Sectaries* acquainted themſelves with as many as poſſibly they could, and carried on their Acquaintance with all the *Courteſies* and *Kindneſſes* that they could contrive to Ingratiate themſelves in the Hearts of others, eſpecially of *New Comers* into the place. They herewithal appeared wondrous *Holy*, *Humble*, Self-denying and Spiritual, and full of the moſt charming Expreſſions imaginable. *Free Grace*, *Goſpel Truth*, *Glorious Light*, and *Holding Forth of Chriſt*, was all their Tone; and meeting with Chriſtians that had any *Doubts* in their Minds about their own future Happineſs, they would inſinuate into them, that they

had

had never taken a *Right Courſe for Comfort*, by going to *Evidence* their good Eſtate by their *Sanctification*, but that there was a more Evangelical way to peace, by which they themſelves were got above all their Fears for ever. They began uſually to ſeduce *Women* into their Notions, and by theſe *Women*, like their firſt Mother, they ſoon hook'd in the *Husbands* alſo. Having wrought themſelves any where into a good eſteem, they ſet themſelves with a manifold Subtilty to undermine the eſteem of the *Miniſters*, and intimate, that their *Teachers* themſelves, never having been *Taught of God*, had miſ-taught and miſ-led the People; whence it came to paſs, that even ſome who had follow'd theſe *Miniſters* Three Thouſand *Miles*, thro' Ten Thouſand *Deaths*, yet now took up ſuch Prejudices, not only againſt their *Doctrines*, but againſt their *Perſons* alſo, that they did never care to hear them, or ſee them any more. They adminiſtred their *Poiſons* in ſmaller *Doſes*, and not without *Preparatives*, wherein if any made a ny Boggle, they would preſently retreat, and ſay, *Nay, don't miſtake me, for I mean the ſame that you do; we differ only in Words.* And they would be ſure ſtill to Father their Whimſies upon ſuch Perſons as were held in moſt *Veneration* throughout the Country; but if they were brought Face to Face, they would ſtill winde out with ſome cunning *Evaſions*. Thus they went on, until they had got ſome Noted Perſons in *all Orders* to Patroniſe them; and then 'tis impoſſible to deſcribe the Cenſures, the Contempts, the Affronts caſt upon the beſt Men in the Law, as Men *Ignorant of Chriſt*; and the Terrible Diſorder and Contention that enſued in all Societies.

§. 2. The Miniſtry of the Country awakened by theſe *Noiſes* about the *Temple*, had ſeveral Meetings that they might ſet Matters to Rights; all which were ineffectual, until the *General Court* called a **Synod** of all the Churches in the Country to meet at *Cambridge*, in the Year 1637. In Preparation whereunto there were Three things attended. One was a Solemn Faſt kept in all the Churches for the good Succeſs of the Approaching *Synod*. Another was a *Collection* of all the Erroneous and Offenſive Opinions, which called for the Diſquiſitions that might extinguiſh them. A Third was a *Conference* with Mr. *Cotton* about any Poſitions or Expreſſions of his that might have Countenanced any of thoſe Opinions. But that my Reader alſo may be prepared for the Actions of the *Synod*, I would humbly ask him what he thinks of the Relation given us of the firſt *Nicene Synod* by *Eutychius*, an Author of the Firſt Ages, recommended by *Selden* and *Pocock*, as one of Irreproachable Fidelity? That Author, whoſe Hiſtory in *Arabic*, never ſeen, I ſuppoſe, by *Salmaſius* or *Blondel*, is by ſome thought in this Matter much more probable than that of *Euſebius* and *Socrates*, does relate unto us, that upon the Letters of *Conſtantine* ſummoning the *Synod*, there were no leſs than Two Thouſand and Forty-eight Biſhops who came to Town; but that the moſt by far of them were ſo groſly Ignorant and Erroneous, that upon the Recommendation of *Alexander*, the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, the Emperor ſingled out but Three Hundred and Eighteen, who were all of them *Orthodox Children of Peace*, and none of thoſe Contentious Blades that put out *Libels* of Accuſation one againſt another; and that by the Emperor's happy chuſing and heeding of theſe Three Hundred and Eighteen; [Reader, compare *Gen.* 14. 14.] the *Orthodox Religion* came to be Eſtabliſhed. Reader, The Government of *New-England* was not now put upon the *ſingling out* of a few *Biſhops* from a Multitude Conveened in a *Synod*, for the ſecuring of the *True Faith*; but thou ſhalt ſee them *all of one Heart in contending for the Faith once delivered unto the Saints.*

§. 3. Tho' the *Faſt* Prefatory to the *Synod* were not *for Strife*, yet there happened ſomething on the *Faſt* which did but more increaſe and inflame the *Strife*. A Miniſter who then Preached at *Boſton*, where was then the Chief Audience of the Country, in the Sermon let fall many Paſſages which amounted unto thus much, *That the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the Country walked in ſuch a Way of Salvation, and the Evidence thereof, as was a Covenant of Works:* Which Paſſages were Aculeated by reſembling ſuch as were under that *Covenant*, unto *Jews*, and *Herods*, and *Philiſtines*, and *Antichriſts*; and exhorting ſuch as were under the *Covenant of Grace*, to Combate thoſe as their greateſt Enemies, and quickening thoſe who feared, leſt a *Combuſtion* ſhould hence ariſe in the Commonwealth, by telling them of *Michael* and the *Dragon*, and the *Burning of the Whore*.

For theſe things, the Court proceeding to Animadvert upon this Preacher as guilty of great *Sedition* [having for *this* their Interpretation of his Miſdemeanour, a Warrant of both *Cicero*, according to whom, *Seditio, eſt Diſſentio Omnium inter ſe, cum eunt alii, in aliud*; and *Iſidore*, according to whom, *Sediſioſus eſt, qui Diſſentionem animorum facit & Diſcordias gignit*:] he was under ſuch *Enchantment* that he could be brought by no means to ſee his Evil; but they were compelled by his Obſtinacy to order his *Removal out of their Juriſdiction*. However, being a Man that had the *Root of the Matter* in him, after Six or Seven Years he *awoke* out of a *Sleep*, which had been as long as what *Cranzius* tells us befel a Scholar at *Lubec*, he addreſſed the Government, with acknowledging; 'Upon the 'Long and Mature Conſideration of things, I 'perceive that the main difference between '*your ſelves*, and ſome of the Reverend Elders 'and *me*, in point of *Juſtification*, and the *E*'*videncing* thereof, is not of that Nature as 'was then preſented unto me in the *Falſe Glaſs* 'of Satan's *Temptations*, and my own diſtemper'ed Paſſions; which makes me unfeignedly 'ſorry that I had ſuch an Hand in thoſe 'ſharp and vehement *Contentions* raiſed there-

'abouts,

'abouts, to the great Diſturbance of the Churches 'of Chriſt. It is the Grief of my Soul that 'I uſed ſuch *Vehement*, *Cenſorious Speeches* in 'the Application of my *Sermon*, or in any other 'Writing, whereby I reflected any Diſhonour 'on your Worſhips, the Reverend Elders, or 'any of the contrary Judgment unto my ſelf. I 'repent me that I did ſo much adhere to Per-'ſons of Corrupt Judgments, to the Countenan-'cing and Encouraging of them in any of their 'Errors or Evil Practices, tho' I intended no 'ſuch thing; and that in the *Synod* I uſed ſuch '*Unſafe* and *Obſcure* Expreſſions falling from 'me, as a Man *Dazzled with the Buffetings of* '*Satan*. I confeſs, that herein I have done ſin-'fully, and do humbly crave Pardon of your 'Honoured Selves; and if it ſhall appear to 'me by Scripture Light, that in any Carriage, 'Word or Writing, I have walked contrary to 'Rule, I ſhall be ready, by the Grace of God, to 'give Satisfaction. Upon this moſt Ingenious Acknowledgment he was reſtored unto his former *Liberty* and *Intereſt* among the People of God; and lived almoſt Forty Years after a valued Servant of the Church in his Generation. But that I may in all things do the part of an *Impartial Hiſtorian*, I muſt add, that this good Man being moved by *Jerome*'s Maxim, *In Suſpicione Hæreſeos nolo quenquam eſſe patientem*; and by *Auſtin*'s, *Qui fidens Conſcientiæ ſuæ negligit famam ſuam, crudelis eſt*; Publiſhed a Vindication of himſelf againſt the Wrongs that by Mr. *Weld*, and by Mr. *Rutherford*, had been done unto him. In this Vindication, he not only produces a Speech of Mr. *Cotton*, *I do conceive and profeſs, that our Brother* Wheelwright*'s Doctrine is according to God in the Points controverted*; but alſo a Declaration from the whole General Court of the Colony, ſigned by the Secretary, *Aug.* 24. 1654. upon the Petition of Mr. *Wheelwright*'s Church at *Hampton:* In which Declaration they profeſs, *That hearing that Mr.* Wheelwright *is, by Mr.* Rutherford *and Mr.* Weld, *rendred in ſome Books Printed by them as Heretical and Criminous, they now ſignifie, that Mr.* Wheelwright *hath for theſe many Years approved himſelf a Sound Orthodox, and Profitable Miniſter of the Goſpel among theſe Churches of Chriſt.*

§. 4. The *Synod* being Aſſembled, with the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, and Mr. *Peter Bulkly*, choſen its *Moderators* at *Cambridge* (then called by the Name of *New-Town*) on *Aug.* 30. 1637. there were produced about *Eighty Two* Erroneous Opinions and Expreſſions, which had been uttered in the Country by ſeveral Men at ſeveral times. The *Authors* of thoſe Errors were neither Mentioned nor Enquired; but the *Errors* themſelves were Conſidered, Confuted and Condemned from the plain *Word of God:* For, indeed, the Deſign of the *Synod* was not, *Jus Dare*, but only, *Jus Dicere*, and to exerciſe only a Power *Deciſive* of *Doctrines*, not *Judicial*, on *Perſons*; leaving it unto *particular Churches* to paſs their Cenſures on the *Perſons*, who ſhould hold the *Doctrines* by the Determination of the *Synod*, found ſubverſive to the *Fundamentals of Religion*. And hence, when ſome of the more Hypocritical *Sectaries* began to grow at laſt pretty clamorous, in demanding the *Names* of ſuch as held the *Dogmes* then oppoſed (for the *true Parents* of the Brats, began to diſcover themſelves when the Synod was going to employ the *Sword* upon them!) ſome of the *Civil Magiſtrates* then preſent, as *Members* of the Aſſembly, were forced, as *Juſtices of the Peace*, to preſerve the *Peace* of the Aſſembly, by Commanding Silence to thoſe Litigious *Talkers*. What theſe Errors were, 'tis needleſs now to repeat; they are *Dead* and *Gone*; and, for me, beyond hope of *Reſurrection*; 'tis pity to rake them out of their *Graves*; 'tis enough to ſay, they were of an *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical* Tendency. All that needs to be added, is, that the *Synod*'s Reſult upon theſe *Heterodoxies*, was not formed into ſuch Arbitrary and Hereticating *Anathema*'s, as were practiced in the Councils of the Ancients; but the *Error* being firſt fairly recited, there was only a ſhort Reflection made upon it after this manner, *This is contrary to ſuch and ſuch a Text of Scripture*, [then and there ſubjoined] which in the Quotation thereof being briefly applied unto the Caſe, did unto *Reaſonable Men* immediately ſmite the *Error* under the *Fifth Rib*.

The Reſult of the *Synod* was Publiſhed; and tho' the *Hydra* of *Error* were now ſtiring in the Country with ſuch a Virulent and Malignant Influence, yet that *Sword of the Lord*, the *Sacred Scripture*, being thus wiſely employed, ſoon diſpatched *the Apoſtate Serpent*.

§. 5. The *Synod* then thought it *Convenient*, nay, *Neceſſary* for them to come into a good Underſtanding with Mr. *Cotton*, who was himſelf not the *Leaſt part* of the Country; the rather, becauſe the *Sectaries*, through the Country, had baſely made uſe of his Name to Patronize their *Opinions*; and, indeed, his *Charity*, wherein he was known to be truly Eminent, inclining him to ſuſpect no more *Evil* of *them*, than what they would profeſs, or confeſs to him in their Perſonal Converſation with him, expoſed him the more to their Pretences of his Patronage.

There were Five Queſtions offered unto that Great Man, unto which *Queſtions* he gave *Anſwers*; and unto thoſe *Anſwers* the *Synod* gave *Replies*; and unto thoſe *Replies* he gave *Returns*; and unto thoſe *Returns* the *Synod* gave *Rejoinders*; till their *Colliſions* fetch'd I know not whether more *Light* or *Love* unto one another. Becauſe 'twill not be eaſie to give a fair and full Repreſentation of what paſſed on both ſides, without the Trouble of Tranſcribing whole Sheets of Paper, I ſhall not now Trouble the World with the *Debated Queſtions*, much leſs with the *Debates* upon the *Queſtions:* The *Reader* that is deſirous to ſee them, ſhall find them in Mr. *Cotton*'s Treatiſe about *the Way of Congregational Churches:* Only let it be remarked, that the Nature and Import of the *Queſtions*, and the Zeal with which they were

were handled, intimate ſomething of the *Holy Temper*, then prevailing among the Body of this People. The *Queſtions* were about the *Order* of things, in our *Union* with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; about the Influence of our *Faith*, in the Application of his *Righteouſneſs*; about the Uſe of our *Sanctification*, in Evidencing of our *Juſtification*; and about the Conſideration of the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* by Men, yet under a *Covenant of Works*.

Briefly, they were the Points whereon depend the Grounds of our *Aſſurance* for Bleſſedneſs in another and a better World. Now I cannot learn that Mr. *Cotton* ever made any notable Variation of his Opinions or Expreſſions in theſe Matters, from what we find publiſhed afterward in his Treatiſe of *The New Covenant*; a Treatiſe whereof I need ſay no more, but that the Famous Mr. *Caryl* uſhered it into the World with his Recommendations. Nor indeed am I without a vehement Suſpicion, that Mr. *Cotton* was really *One* with his Antagoniſts, whatever ſeeming *Difference* there was between them. And if my Reader will, as I do, believe Mr. *Baxter*, that neither *Neſtorius* nor *Cyril* were Heretical *De Re*; but that both of them were of *One Mind*, the one ſpeaking of the *Abſtract*, the other ſpeaking of the *Concrete*; and, that yet Intereſt, Prejudice and Faction put them upon ſuch Quarrelſome *Heretications* one againſt another, as enkindled a lamentable Flame in the World, which is not even to *this Day* extinguiſhed; he will eaſily believe, that theſe good Men might miſunderſtand one another. However, Mr. *Cotton* came to ſuch an Amiable and Amicable Correſpondence with the reſt of the Miniſters, that altho' in this *Time of Temptation*, he had throughout theſe Churches laboured under the hard Character of being the Chief *Abettor* to the Errors whereby the Tranquility of the Churches had been diſturbed, yet he now moſt effectually joined with the other Miniſters in Witneſſing againſt thoſe *Errors*; and having, like the *Moon* in its Eclipſe, with an Exemplary Patience held on his Courſe of ſerving the Church of God, until the ſtrength of the *Enchantments* attending this *Hour of Temptation* was a little diſſolved, he recovered all his former *Splendor* among the other *Stars*,

——Velut inter Ignes Luna Minores.

Yea, his latter Days were indeed *like the clear ſhining of the Sun after the Rain*. But if my Reader will not be ſatisfied without a more particular Account of Mr. *Cotton*'s Conduct in the *Synod*, I ſhall honeſtly tell him, that albeit, when the *Eighty-two Errors* were finally Condemned in the *Synod*, Mr. *Cotton* did (without ſetting his Hand unto the Condemnation) freely declare, *That he diſreliſhed all thoſe Opinions and Expreſſions, as being ſome of them Heretical, ſome of them Blaſphemous, ſome of them Erroneous, and all of them Incongruous.* Neverthleſs there was a *Dark Day* in the *Synod*, wherein Mr. *Cotton* did, with the great *Chamins*, ſeem to aſſert, *That the Habit of Faith in us, is the Effect of our Juſtification*; and Solemn Speeches were made with Tears, lamenting it, that they ſhould in this Important Matter diſſent from a Perſon ſo Venerable and Conſiderable in the Country. Such Arguments were brought, as being firſt *Called*, and then *Juſtified*: And *Faith* being in our *Union* with Chriſt, but our *Union* being in Order to our being *Juſtified*, and our being under the *Wrath* of God, while yet *Unbelievers*; and *Abraham*'s Believing, and ſo being *Juſtified*; and that otherwiſe, a Man muſt ſeek to be *Juſtified*, that ſo he may *Believe*; not ſeek to *Believe*, that ſo he may be *Juſtified*: And that the *Juſtification* handled in the Epiſtle to the *Romans* is God's Judicial Act, and not our bare Apprehenſion thereof; and that the *Place* which the *Falſe* Teachers aſſigned unto *Works* in *Juſtification* was *before* it, and that *Faith* took the place of thoſe *Works*. But after ſorrowful Diſcourſes, *Pro* and *Con*, upon theſe Arguments, Mr. *Cotton* the next Morning made an Excellent Speech unto the Aſſembly, tending towards an Accommodation of the Controverſie. This Diſpoſition in Mr. *Cotton* was very Nettling to the *Sectaries*, who ſtill promiſed themſelves great Advantages from his remaining in any thing a *Diſſenter*; and they tried by all the Obſtreperous Ways imaginable to hinder the Reconciliation. But the *Synod* greedily and joyfully laid hold on the Reconciling Offers of Mr. *Cotton*, and they at length agreed, *That we are not United and Married unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt without Faith, giving an actual Conſent of Soul unto it*: That *God's Effectual calling of the Soul unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Soul's apprehending by an Act of Faith the offered Righteouſneſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is in Order of Nature before God's Act of Juſtification upon the Soul*: That *in the Teſtimony of the Holy Spirit, which is the Evidence of our good Eſtate before God, the Qualifications of Inherent Graces, and the Fruits thereof, proving the Sincerity of our Faith muſt ever be Co-exiſtent, Concurrent, Co-apparent, or elſe the Conceived Teſtimony of the Spirit, is either a Deluſion or Doubtful.* An Happy *Concluſion of the whole Matter.*

§. 6. Mankind has heard the Doleful and Woful Complaints of the Renowned *Gregory Nazianzen*, concerning the *Councils* in his Days: 'Tis known in what *Epiſtle* of his he ſays, *If I muſt Write the very Truth, I am of the Mind to fly from every ſuch Meeting; for I never ſaw a joyful and happy End of any Council; nor any that procured not a greater Augmentation than Reformation of Miſchiefs*; and in what *Oration* of his, he ſays, *Our Votes follow either our Hatred or our Friendſhip; we are not conſtant to our ſelves, but even like the waving* Euripus; *and for my part I count it as unſeemly for me to join with them in their Councils, as it would be for me to leave my Studies, and go play with the Boys in the Street.*

But had our *Gregory* ſeen the Bleſſed Effects of this *Council*, he would not have expreſſed his Complaints in Terms thus *Univerſal*. The Miniſters returning from the *Synod* unto their ſeveral Churches, applied themſelves with a vigorous Unanimity in their Miniſtry, to *Root up* the Errors which had been by the *Synod* Thunder-ſtruck; and the good Underſtanding produced among the Members of the *Synod*, extended its influence unto all the Churches therein repreſented. But before the breaking up of the *Synod*, there were Two other things particularly ſpoken to. One thing was this, it had been a *Cuſtom* in many Congregations, that the Miniſters allowed their People the Liberty ſtill, after Sermon, to propoſe what *Queſtions* they thought fit for their further Satisfaction, about any Points which had been delivered; which *Liberty* was oftentimes made an Occaſion of much Contention, Vexation and Folly in the Aſſemblies: But this Cuſtom now underwent the Condemnations of the *Synod*. Another thing was this. The Governour knowing that the Country had been exerciſed with ſome Difficulties about *The way of raiſing a Maintenance for the Miniſtry*, now deſired that the *Synod* would propound the moſt *Evangelical way* for it, which the General Court might Enact into a *Law*: But they one and all ſaid, *That they did not care to meddle with that Matter, leſt it ſhould be reflected on them, that they were for their own Ends there come together.* At laſt, for the Cloſe of all, Mr. *Davenport*, at the Requeſt of the *Synod*, Preached on *Phil.* 3. 16. *Nevertheleſs, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the ſame Rule, let us mind the ſame Thing*; from whence laying down the true Original of Differences among the People of God, he Declared the Reſult of the preſent *Synod*, and Exhorted all to Endeavour the Peace of the Churches in the Proſecution of that Reſult. And from this time accordingly there was *Peace* with *Truth* Eſtabliſhed.

§. 7. Among the more Memorable *Occurrents*, which were the *Conſequents* of this moſt uſeful *Synod*, one was the *Diſcipline* Exerciſed in the Church of *Boſton* upon the Principal of the *Sectaries*; but I muſt herewithal put my Reader upon the *Wonder* of beholding, that as for the *Seditious Diſturbance* raiſed in the Country by the Diſtinction between *People under the Covenant of Works*, and *People under the Covenant of Grace*, whereby People were ſometimes hurried into *Works* that ſhew'd little of *Grace* in them, *Dux Fœmina Facti.*

The whole of *Tertullian*'s Complaint about the Antient *Gnoſticks* was inſtanced, and indeed overdone in our Opinioniſts, *Omnes tument, Omnes ſcientiam pollicentur, ipſæ Mulieres Hæreticæ quum ſunt procaces!* It is the Mark of Seducers, that *they lead Captive Silly Women*; but what will you ſay, when you hear of *Subtil Women* becoming the moſt *Remarkable* of the *Seducers?* 'Tis noted of *Seducers*, that like their Father the *Devil*, the Old, the Firſt *Seducer*, they uſually have a ſpecial Deſign upon the *Weaker Sex*, who are more eaſily *Gained* themſelves, and then are fit Inſtruments for the *Gaining* of their Husbands unto ſuch *Errors* as will cauſe them to *Loſe* their Souls at laſt. *Simon Magus* Traded with his *Helena*, and *Montanus* with his *Maximilla*, for the more Effectual Propagation of their Hereſies, as *Jerom* long ſince obſerved; and as *Epiphanius* tells us, *Arius* promoted his Blaſphemies by firſt Proſelyting Seven Hundred *Virgins* thereunto. Indeed a *Poyſon* does never Inſinuate ſo quickly, nor Operate ſo ſtrongly, as when *Womens Milk* is the *Vehicle* wherein 'tis given. Whereas the *Prime Seducer* of the whole Faction, which now began to threaten the Country with ſomething like a *Munſter* Tragedy, was a *Woman*, a Gentlewoman of *an Haughty Carriage, Buſie Spirit, Competent Wit, and a Voluble Tongue*; among whoſe Relations at this Day, there are ſo many Worthy and Uſeful Perſons, that for their ſakes I would gladly contrive ſome way to relate ſo Important a Story as that of her Affairs without mentioning of *Her Name*; and therefore I will cover it with a Convenient *Periphraſis*. Behold, Reader,

Nulla fere cauſa eſt, in qua non Fœmina Litem Moverit.

§. 8. This our *Erroneous Gentlewoman*, at her coming out of *Lincolnſhire* in *England* unto *New-England*, upon pretence of Religion, was well reſpected among the Profeſſors of *this* Religion; and this the more, becauſe at the Meetings of the Women, which uſe to be called *Goſſipings*, it was her manner to carry on very Pious *Diſcourſes*, and ſo put the Neighbourhood upon Examining their *Spiritual Eſtates*, by telling them how far a Perſon might go in *Trouble of Mind*; and being reſtrained from very many *Evils*, and conſtrained unto very many *Duties*, by none but a *Legal Work* upon their Souls, without ever coming to a *Saving Union with the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, that many of them were convinced of a very great Defect in the Settlement of their *Everlaſting Peace*, and acquainted more with the *Spirit of the Goſpel*, than ever they were before. This mighty *Show* and *Noiſe* of Devotion procured unto our Dame, [ANAGR.] **The Non-ſuch** the Reputation of a *Non-ſuch* among the People; until at length, under the Pretence of that Warrant, *That the Elder Women are to Teach the Younger*, ſhe ſet up weekly *Meetings* at her Houſe, whereto Threeſcore or Fourſcore People would Reſort, that they might hear the Sermons of Mr. *Cotton* repeated, but in ſuch a ſort, that after the *Repetition*, ſhe would make her Explicatory and Applicatory *Declamations*, wherein what ſhe confirmed of the Sermons muſt be *Canonical*, but what ſhe omitted all *Apocrypha*.

It was not long before 'twas found, that moſt of the *Errors*, then crawling like *Vipers* about

about the *Country*, were hatched at theſe Meetings; where this notable Woman, who called her ſelf another *Priſcilla*, to *Inſtruct others more perfectly*, did ſet her ſelf *moſt perfectly to confound* all the Intereſts of Chriſtianity with Damnable *Doctrines*, which maintained *our Perſonal Union with the Spirit of God*; and, *The Inſignificancy of Sanctification to be any Evidence of our good Eſtate*; and, *The Pertinency of Commands to work out our own Salvation with Fear and Trembling, and give all diligence to make our Calling and Election ſure, unto none but ſuch as were in a Covenant of Works*; and, *The ſetting up of Immediate Revelation about Future Events, to be believed as Equally Infallible with the Scriptures*: And it was wonderful to ſee with what a ſpeedy and ſpreading *Faſcination* theſe *Doctrines* did *bewitch* the Minds of People, which one would not have imagined Capable of being ſo *Beſotted*.

She was all this while ſo cunning, that Mr. *Cotton* could get no better *Evidences* of her broaching theſe Opinions, than ſhe had of her own *Juſtification*; but ſtill unto *him*, and ſuch as came from him, ſhe would expreſs her ſelf with a ſatiſfying *Orthodoxy*; however, whilſt Mr. *Cotton*'s Candor was thus abuſed, he faithfully told her, That he doubted ſhe would at laſt be found *Not Right*; and this for *Three Things* which he had obſerved in her; one was, that her *Faith* was not *produced*, and ſcarce ever *ſtrengthened*, according to her own Relation, by the *publick Miniſtry* of the Word, but by her own private *Meditations* and *Revelations*; another was, that ſhe clearly diſcerned her *Juſtification*, according to her own Confeſſion, but little or nothing at all her *Sanctification*: A third was, that ſhe was more ſharply *Cenſorious* about the States and Hearts of *other People*, than the *Self-judging Servants of God* uſed to be. And now attend the Iſſue!

§. 9. At laſt full proof was obtained, that this Gentlewoman was not the *Priſcilla* pretended, but rather deſerving the Name of the Propheteſs in the Church of *Thyatira*; it was proved, that more than a Score of *Antinomian* and *Familiſtical* Errors had been *held forth* by her, and the Church was Reſolved that ſhe ſhould no more *ſeduce* the *Servants* of our Lord. The *Admonitions* of the Church were by the Elders, according to the Rule of the Goſpel, given unto her; and after many Endeavours of Mr. *Cotton* to convince her, ſhe did ſeem to be convinced of her many Erroneous Ways, both in *Judgment* and *Practice*; therewithal preſenting under her own Hand, before the whole Church of *Boſton*, yea, before many Churches then aſſembled at the Lecture in *Boſton*, a *Recantation* of them. Nevertheleſs, under ſuch an Infatuation of *Pride* ſhe was, that whilſt the Church was debating about this *Recantation*, ſhe did with a ſtrange Confidence and Impudence Aſſert, *That ſhe never was really of any Opinion contrary to the Declaration ſhe had now made*; however, ſome of her Expreſſions had been miſconſtrued; whereupon many Witneſſes aroſe, which demonſtrated her guilty of groſs *Lying* in that Aſſertion: And that cauſed Mr. *Cotton* to ſay, that her *Caſe* was now altered; for being now Convicted of *Lying*, he thought ſhe was to be *caſt out* with them that *Love and Make a Lie*. So, with the full conſent of the Church, the Sentence of *Excommunication* was paſſed upon her.

§. 10. But the *Seditions* raiſed in the Country by the means of this *Virago*, procured the Animadverſions of the *Court*, as well as the *Church*, upon her; before which being brought, ſhe made a canting Harangue about her *immediate Revelations*; concluding her Speech with theſe Words, *I will give you one Place more which the Lord brought to me by* immediate Revelation; *and that doth concern you all*; *it is in* Dan. 6. When the Preſidents and Princes could find nothing againſt him, becauſe he was faithful, they ſought Matter againſt him concerning the Law of his God, to caſt him into the Lion's Den. *So it was Revealed unto me, that they ſhould Plot againſt me*; *but the Lord bid me not fear, for he that delivered* Daniel *and the Three Children, his Hand was not ſhortned. And ſee this Scripture this Day fulfilled in mine Eyes*; *therefore take heed what you go about to do unto me*; *for you have no Power over my Body, neither can you do me any Harm*; *for I am in the Hands of the Eternal* Jehovah *my Saviour*; *I am at his Appointment*; *the Bounds of my Habitation are caſt in Heaven*; *I fear none but the great* Jehovah, *who hath foretold me of theſe Things*; *and I do verily believe that he will deliver me, and this by Miracle, out of your Hands. Therefore take heed how you proceed againſt me*; *for I know, that for this you go about to do to me, God will Ruin you, and your Poſterity, and this whole State.* She alſo inſiſted much upon that Scripture, *Tho' I make a full End of all Nations, yet will I not make a full End of thee.*

But the Court put an *End* unto her vapouring Talk; and finding no hope of Reclaiming her from her Scandalous, Dangerous and *Enchanting* Extravagancies, ordered her to depart out of the Colony: So ſhe went firſt unto *Rhode Iſland*; but not liking to ſtay there, ſhe removed with her Family unto a *Dutch* Plantation called *Hellgate*: Where, within a little while, the *Indians* Treacherouſly and Barbarouſly Murthered *them*, to the Number of Sixteen Perſons, on the Occaſion of a Quarrel they had with the *Dutch* thereabouts; and *made an End* of ſcarce any but her Family among all the Neighbour *Nations*.

§. 11. While theſe things were managing, there happened ſome very ſurprizing *Prodigies*, which were lookt upon as Teſtimonies from Heaven, againſt the ways of thoſe greater *Prodigies*, the *Sectaries*. The *Erroneous Gentlewoman* her ſelf, convicted of holding about *Thirty* Monſtrous Opinions, growing Big with Child, and at length coming to her time of Travail, was delivered of about *Thirty* Monſtrous Births at once; whereof ſome were Bigger, ſome were

Leſſer; of ſeveral Figures; few of any *Perfect*, none of any *Humane* Shape. This was a thing generally then Aſſerted and Believed; whereas, by ſome that were Eye-witneſſes, it is affirmed, that theſe were no more *Monſtrous Births*, than what it is frequent for Women, labouring with *falſe Conceptions*, to produce. Moreover, one very nearly Related unto this Gentlewoman, and infected with her Hereſies, was on *October* 17, 1637. delivered of as hideous a *Monſter* as perhaps the Sun ever lookt upon. It had no *Head*; the *Face* was below upon the Breaſt; the *Ears* were like an *Apes*, and grew upon the Shoulders; the *Eyes* and *Mouth* ſtood far out; the *Noſe* was hooking upwards; the *Breaſt* and *Back* were full of ſhort Prickles, like a *Thorn-back*; the *Navel*, *Belly*, and the Diſtinction of Sex, which was Female, were in the place of the *Hips*; and thoſe *Back-parts* were on the ſame ſide with the *Face*; the *Arms*, *Hands*, *Thighs* and *Legs*, were as other Childrens; but inſtead of *Toes*, it had on each Foot three *Claws*, with Talons like a *Fowl*; upon the *Back* above the *Belly* it had a Couple of great *Holes* like Mouths; and in each of them ſtood out a Couple of pieces of Fleſh; it had no *Forehead*, but above the Eyes it had *Four Horns*; Two of above an Inch Long, Hard and Sharp; and the other Two ſomewhat Leſs. The Midwife was one ſtrongly ſuſpected of *Witchcraft*; and a prime *Familiſt*: Thro' whoſe *Witchcrafts* probably it came to paſs, that moſt of the Women preſent at the Travel were ſuddenly taken with ſuch a violent Vomiting and Purging, tho' they had neither Eaten or Drunken any thing to Occaſion it, that they were forced immediately to go Home; others had their Children ſo taken with *Convulſions*, which they never had before or after, that *they* alſo were ſent for Home immediately; whence none were left at the time of the *Monſter*'s Birth, but the *Midwife* and *Two* more, whereof one was fallen aſleep: And about the time of the *Monſter*'s Death, which was Two Hours before its Birth, ſuch an odd *Shake* was by inviſible Hands given to the Bed as terrify'd the Standers-by. It was Buried without any Noiſe of its *Monſtroſity*; but it being whiſpered a few Days after about the Town, the Magiſtrates ordered the opening of the Grave, whereby there was diſcovered this

Monſtrum, Horrendum, in forme, Ingens.

But of this *Monſter*, good Reader, let us talk no further: For at this Inſtant I find an odd Paſſage in a Letter of the famous Mr. *Thomas Hooker* about this Matter; namely this, *While I was thus Muſing, and thus Writing, my Study where I was Writing, and the Chamber where my Wife was ſitting, ſhook, as we thought, with an Earthquake, by the ſpace of half a quarter of an Hour. We both perceived it, and preſently went down. My Maid in the Kitchen obſerved the ſame. My Wife ſaid, it was the Devil that was diſpleaſed that we confer about this Occaſion.*

§. 12. It was but a few Years after theſe things, namely in the Year 1643. that the Government of *Barbados* being diſturbed by ſuch Turbulent and Tumultuous *Familiſts*, as thoſe which now peſtered *New-England*, were forced by their Outrages to ſentence them with *Baniſhment*. Nor muſt it be made a Reproach, if *New-England* alſo ordered a ſort of *Baniſhment* for theſe intoxicated Sectaries, who began to Deny or Degrade the *Magiſtracy* of the Country, and call the King of *England*, the King of *Babylon*; but you ſhall hear the effect of that Procedure. Being adviſed of an *Iſland* beyond *Cape-Cod*, and near the *Narraganſet-Bay*, they fairly purchaſed it of the Natives; thither they tranſplanted themſelves with their Families; in this Tranſplantation, accompanied by many others of their own *Uncertainty* in Religion; who yet had not come under any *Cenſures* of either the Court or the Church for their Miſdemeanours. Having peopled this Iſland, now known by the Name of *Rhode Iſland*, they ſwarmed over unto the Main, where they alſo purchaſed ſome Tracts of Land, now covered with the Two Towns of *Providence* and *Warwick*; for all of which they obtained at laſt a *Charter* from King *Charles* II. with ample Priviledges. I cannot learn that the Firſt Planters of this Colony were agreed in any one Principle ſo much as this, *That they were to give one another no diſturbance in the Exerciſe of Religion*; and tho' they have ſometimes had ſome Difference among them, as to the Exerciſe of that Principle alſo, I believe there never was held ſuch a variety of *Religions* together on ſo ſmall a Spot of Ground as have been in that Colony. It has been a *Colluvies* of *Antinomians*, *Familiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Antiſabbatarians*, *Arminians*, *Socinians*, *Quakers*, *Ranters*, every thing in the World but *Roman Catholicks*, and *Real Chriſtians*, tho' of the *Latter*, I hope, there have been more than of the *Former* among them; *ſo that if a Man had loſt his Religion, he might find it at this general Muſter of Opinioniſts!* 'Tis a good Peice of *Antiquity* that *Joſephus* has given us, when he tells us the Conſequences of *Nehemiah*'s chaſing away a Son of *Jojada*, the Son of *Eliaſh* the High-Prieſt, for Marrying the Daughter of *Sanballat* the *Horonite*, the chief Perſon among the *Samaritans*. The Father-in-law of this *Menaſſes* (for it ſeems that was his Name) built a Temple on *Gerizzim*, in Oppoſition to that at *Jeruſalem*, and obtained a Charter from the Kings of *Perſia* for the Encouragement thereof, that ſo his Daughter *Nicaſo* (for ſo ſhe was called) might not loſe her Husband, who was thus made a *Metropolitan*. After this time, all that were Indited for Crimes at *Jeruſalem* would fly to *Gerizzim*, and *Sichem* was now the common Receptacle and Sanctuary of Jewiſh Offendors: This, as R. *Abrah. Zacuth* tells us, *This was the beginning of Hereſie!* And now, with ſome Alluſion to that Piece of Antiquity, I may venture to ſay, That *Rhode Iſland* has uſually been the *Geriz-*

zim

zim of *New-England.* The Iſland is indeed, for the Fertility of the *Soil*, the Temperateneſs of the *Air*, the Commodiouſneſs of *Scituation*, the beſt *Garden* of all the Colonies; and were it free from *Serpents*, I would have called it, *The Paradiſe of* New-England: But the number of Senſible and Ingenious Gentlemen, whereof there are ſome upon the Iſland, will find it hard enough to Reſcue it from an extream Danger of that Character, *Bona Terra, Mala Gens.* The Condition of the *Riſing Generation* upon that Iſland, is indeed exceeding Lamentable! *Lactantius* complains of *Arceſilaus*, that having much conſidered the *Contradictions* of the Philoſophers one unto another, at laſt he contemned them all, and inſtituted a *New Philoſophy*, of *Not Philoſophiſing at all.* The *former Generation* of *Rhode Iſlanders*, is now generally gone off the Stage; and all the Meſſengers which the Churches of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, whereto any of them did belong, ſent with Admonitions after them, could Reclaim very few of them: The *Riſing Generation*, confounded by the *Contradictions* in *Religion* among their Parents, are under many horrible *Temptations*, and under ſome unhappy *Tendencies*, to be of *no Religion at all:* And when the *Miniſters* of this Province have ſeveral times, at their own united Expences, employ'd certain *Miniſters* of the Goſpel, to make a *Chargeleſs* tender of Preaching the Word among them, this *Charitable offer of Miniſters* has been refuſed: Tho' it ſeems they are now beginning to embrace it; the Indefatigable, and Evangelical, and very Laudable Induſtry of Mr. *John Danforth*, the Miniſter of *Dorcheſter*, has, with the Bleſſing of our Lord thereupon, overcome a Number of them, not only to hear the Goſpel, from a worthy young Preacher, Mr. *Nathanael Clap*, ſent thither, but alſo to build a Meeting-houſe for that purpoſe: Yea, and the liberal Merchants of *Boſton* have in this preſent Year 1695. been exemplary, by their bearing the Expences of *Miniſters* which we have ſent forth to make Tenders of the Goſpel unto other *Paganizing Plantations* on the *Main* belonging to that Colony; albeit ſome of thoſe Tenders alſo have been Scandalouſly Rejected by the Inhabitants. If I ſhould now Launch forth into a Narrative of the Marvellous *lewd Things* which have been done and ſaid by the giddy Sectaries of this *Iſland*, I confeſs the *Matter* would be agreeable enough to the Nature and the Deſign of a *Church Hiſtory*, and for a Warning unto all to take heed, how they forſake the *Word* of God and His Ordinances in the Societies of the Faithful, and follow the conduct of *New Lights*, that are no more than ſo many *Fools-Fires* in the Iſſue; but the *Merriment* ariſing from the Ridiculous and Extravagant Occurrences therein, would not be agreeable to the *Gravity* of ſuch an Hiſtory. Wherefore I forbear it; only wiſhing that the People of this Iſland may effectually feel the favourable Influences and Protections of the *Crown of* England, extended unto them, inaſmuch as the Ridiculouſly Comical Expreſſions of their late Addreſs to the *Queen*, *Jan.* 30. 1689. are, *May it pleaſe Your Excellent Majeſty*; *We humbly Petition Your moſt Excellent Majeſties Grace and Favour towards us Your moſt humble Subjects and Supplicants, that You would pleaſe being* Pater Patriæ, *to extend your* Fatherly *Care, in Granting a Confirmation to our Charter.* Whereupon they add, *Your Tranſcendent Love and Favour extended towards us, hath ſo Radicated it ſelf in our Hearts, never to be forgotten, that it obliges us to offer up our Selves, Lives and Fortunes, to be at Your Majeſty's Service, beyond the power of any Command.*

CHAP. IV.

Ignes Fatui: Or, *The Moleſtations given to the Churches of* New-England *by that* Odd Sect *of People called* Quakers. *And ſome uncomfortable Occurrents relating to a Sect of* Other *and* Better *People.*

Hæreſes non dolemus veniſſe, quia novimus eſſe Prædictas. Tertul.

§. 1. IF the Churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt muſt in *every Age* be aſſaulted by **Hereticks**, acting under the *Energy* of that old *Serpent*, who knowing that as the *Firſt Creation*, ſo the *New Creation* begins with *Light*, hath uſed Thouſands of *Blinds* to keep a ſaving *Light* from entring into the Souls of Men, that being a *People of wrong Underſtanding, he that made them ſhall not have Mercy on them:* It muſt be Expected that the Churches of *New-England* ſhould undergo ſome Aſſaults from the worſt of **Hereticks** that *this Age* has produced. Now I know not whether the Sect, which hath appeared in our Days under the Name of *Quakers*, be not upon many Accounts the worſt of *Hereticks*; for in *Quakeriſm*, which has by ſome been called, *The Sink of all Hereſies*, we ſee the *Vomit* caſt out in the By-paſt Ages, by whole *Kennels* of Seducers, lick'd up again for a *New Digeſtion*, and once more expoſed for the *Poiſoning* of Mankind; though it pretends unto *Light*, yet by the means of that very Pretence it leaves the bewildred Souls of Men *in Chains under Darkneſs*, and gives them up to the Conduct of an *Ignis Fatuus:* But this I know, they have been the

the moſt Venemous of all to the Churches of *America.* The beginning of this *Upſtart Sect* has been declared, by one who was a *Pillar* of it, in a Pamphlet written in the Year 1659. where this Paſſage occurs, *It is now about Seven Years ſince the Lord raiſed us up:* And the *North* of *England* was reckon'd the Place of its Nativity. Nevertheleſs, I can tell the World that the Firſt *Quakers* that ever were in the World, were certain *Fanaticks* here in our Town of *Salem*, who *held forth* almoſt all the Fancies and Whimſies which a few Years after were broached by them that were ſo called in *England*, with whom yet none of ours had the leaſt Communication; except my Reader will rather look for the Firſt *Quakers* at the *Delphian* Oracle upon *Parnaſſus*, [Originally perhaps פרענחש *Parai-nahas*, i. e. *Hiatus Divinationis*] where the Uſage was, for a certain Woman ſitting upon a *Tripos* over a Cave, to be poſſeſſed with a *Dæmon*, in the Scripture called *Ob*, which entring into her, ſhe was immediately taken with an extraordinary *Trembling* of her whole Body, and *Foaming* horribly, there Iſſued from her the *Prophecies* which *Enchanted* all the World into a Veneration of them. Our *Salem Quakers* indeed of themſelves died *Childleſs*; but the Numbers of thoſe in *England* increaſing, they did in the Year 1657. find a way into *New-England*, where they Firſt infeſted *Plymouth* Colony, and were for a while moſt unhappily ſucceſsful in ſeducing the People, not only to attend unto the *Myſtical Diſpenſations* of the *Light within*, as having the whole of *Religion* contained therein, but alſo to oppoſe the *good Order*, both *Civil* and *Sacred*, erected in the Colony. Thoſe Perſons in the *Maſſachuſets*-Colony, whoſe Office it was to be *Watchman* of it, were much Alarumed at the Approach of ſo great a *Plague*, and were at ſome Loſs how to prevent it, and avoid it. Altho' *Quakeriſm* has been by the *New-Turn*, that ſuch ingenious Men as Mr. *Penn* have given to it, become quite a *New Thing*; yet the old *Foxian Quakeriſm*, which then viſited *New-England*, was the groſſeſt Collection of *Blaſphemies* and *Confuſions* that ever was heard of. The **Chriſt** then *witneſſed* by the Quakers was, *A certain Heavenly, Divine Body, conſtituted of inviſible Fleſh, Blood and Bones, in which Chriſt came from Heaven; and he put that Body into the other Body of our Nature, which he took of the Virgin, and that outermoſt Body he left behind, when he aſcended into Heaven, no Body knows where; and this heavenly and ſpiritual Body,* (which the *Quakers* at length Evaporate into a meer *Myſtical Diſpenſation*, and at laſt it is nothing but that Excuſing and Condemning *Principle* in Man which we call, *The Natural Conſcience!*) *is the Man Chriſt, a meaſure of which is in the Quakers; upon which Accounts the Quakers made themſelves to be Chriſts, as truly as ever was Jeſus the Son of* Mary. There is in every Man a certain excuſing and condemning *Principle*; which indeed is nothing but ſome *Remainder* of the *Divine Image*, left by the compaſſion of God upon the *Conſcience* of Man after his Fall; and this *Principle* the *Quakers* called, *A meaſure of the Man Chriſt*, the *Light*, the *Seed*, the *Word*. The whole Hiſtory of the *Goſpel* they therefore beheld as Acted over again every Day as *Literally* as ever it was in *Paleſtine*; and what beſals this *Principle* in us, they advanced as the Truth of *Chriſt Sacrificed for us, Dying, Riſing, Sitting at the Right Hand of God, and coming in Clouds to Judgment.* They ſet themſelves hereupon to extinguiſh our whole *Chriſtian Religion*, for theſe Airy Notions to ſucceed in the Room thereof; they ſcoffed at *our Imagined God beyond the Stars*; and ſaid, *Your Carnal Chriſt is utterly denied by the Light*; the expreſs Words in the Preachments of theſe *Quaking Holders-forth* (as 'tis in Print atteſted by ſome of themſelves that had ſo much Chriſtianity as to leave them upon the *Scandal* of it) have been; *it is the Work of the Devil to cauſe People, that have profeſt the Appearance of Chriſt in the Heart, to reſpect the Perſon without them.* And, *it is a Deluſion to direct the Minds of the People to reſpect Chriſt, as he is now in Heaven above the Clouds.* They Stiled thoſe *Blind Beaſts and Liars, who ſhould ſay that the Scriptures reveal God*; and affirm'd it, *The greateſt Error in the World, and the Ground of all Errors, to ſay, The Scriptures are a Rule for Chriſtians.* They ſaid, *That the Scripture does not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Perſons in God, but that thoſe Three Perſons are brought in by the Pope.* They held, *That juſtification by that Righteouſneſs, which Chriſt fulfilled in his own Perſon without us, is a Doctrine of Devils.* They held, *That they that believe in Chriſt are not miſerable Sinners, nor do thoſe things they ought not to do.* They ſaid, *If the Bodies of Men riſe again, then there is a Preheminence in the Bodies of Men above the Bodies of Beaſts, which is to give* Solomon *the Lie.* They ſaid, *They are like to be deceived, who are expecting that Chriſt's ſecond coming will be Perſonal.* They ſaid, *Thoſe things called Ordinances, as Baptiſm, Bread and Wine, roſe from the Pope's Invention.* They ſaid, *As for that called, The Lord's Day, People do not underſtand what they ſay; every Day is the Lord's Day.* And for Prayer it ſelf, they ſaid, *All muſt ceaſe from their own Words, and from their own Time, and learn to be Silent, until the Spirit give them Utterance.* The ſaid— But it would be Endleſs to Enumerate their *Hereſies*; what we have already Enumerated is enough to Aſtoniſh us; in all of which I ſolemnly proteſt unto the Reader, that I have not wronged them at all, but kept cloſe to their *own Printed Words.* Reader, Thou canſt not behold theſe *Hereſies*, without the Exclamation Ordinarily uſed by the Bleſſed *Polycarp*, when he heard any ſuch Matters uttered; *Good God, unto what Times haſt thou reſerved me!* The Zeal of the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, to preſerve themſelves from the Annoyances of ſuch a Blaſphemous and Confuſed Generation of Men, cauſed them to make

Sharp

Sharp Laws againſt them, in hopes that the *Terror* thereby given to theſe *Evil Doers*, would keep them from any *Invaſion* upon the Colony. But *They muſt needs go whom the Devil drives*; theſe *Devil-driven* Creatures did but the more furiouſly puſh themſelves upon the Government, for the *Sharp* which had been turned upon them; whereupon the Government unhappily proceeded unto the Execution of the *Laws* in *Scourging*, and then *Baniſhing*, and (upon their Mad return) *Executing* Three or Four of the *Chief Offenders*: But they conſidered theſe Wretches, *Non qua Errones, ſed qua Turbones*, in thus proceeding againſt them. If the Reader enquire with what *Spirit* they died, I muſt ſincerely ſay, that as far as I can learn, they ſhow'd little enough of the *Spirit of Martyrdom*. They died not like the true *Martyrs* of Jeſus Chriſt, with the *Glorious Spirit of God reſting* on them. A Fierce, a Raging, a Sullen, and a Revengeful *Spirit*, and a Degree of *Madneſs* rather inſpired them; nor is the Fallacious Hiſtory of *Gerard Croeſe* concerning theſe Matters to be credited.

§. 2. A great Clamour hath been raiſed againſt *New-England* for their *Perſecution of the Quakers*; and if any Man will appear in the *Vindication* of it, let him do as he pleaſe; for my Part I will not. I am verily perſwaded theſe miſerable *Quakers* would in a little while (as we have *now* ſeen) have come to nothing, if the *Civil Magiſtrate* had not inflicted any *Civil Penalty* upon them; nor do I look upon *Hæreticide* as an *Evangelical way*, for the extinguiſhing of *Hereſies*; but rather ſay with the Judicious *Hommius*, *Magiſtratus, propter Solum Hæreſeos Crimen, non quenquam occidat, niſi forte horrendæ atq; intolerandæ in Deum Blaſphemiæ, vel manifeſtæ Seditionis Crimen accedat.* 'Tis true, theſe Quakers did manifeſt an Intolerable Contempt of *Authority*, and needleſly pull upon themſelves a Vengeance, from which the *Authority* would gladly have releaſed them, if they would have accepted of a Releaſe; but it is alſo true, that they were *Madmen*, a ſort of *Lunaticks*, *Dæmoniacks* and *Energumens*: He was a Wiſe and a Good Counſellor in *Plymouth*-Colony who propounded, *That a Law might be made for the Quakers to have their Heads Shaved*; the *Puniſhment*, I confeſs, was in ſome ſort *Capital*; but it would have been the beſt *Remedy* for them; it would have both *Sham'd* and *Cur'd* them: Or perhaps the Puniſhment which *A. Gellius* reports the *Romans* on certain Special Occaſions uſed upon their Soldiers, namely, *To let 'em Blood*, had been very agreeable for theſe *Quakers*. A *Bethlehem* ſeems to have been fitter for them than a *Gallows*. Nevertheleſs, I am not unwilling to Tranſcribe one Paſſage on this Occaſion, that ſo my Reader, upon the whole, may proceed unto what *Cenſure* he ſhall pleaſe to beſtow upon the Matter.

It ſhall be a few Lines of *A Declaration of the General Court of the* Maſſachuſets, *held at* Boſton, Octob. 18. 1659. Publiſhed for the Satisfaction of the People; a great part of whom were much diſſatisfied at what had been done.

'About Three Years ſince, diverſe Perſons 'profeſſing themſelves *Quakers* (of whoſe Pernicious Opinions and Practices we had received Intelligence from good Hands) both from '*Barbados* and *England*, arrived at *Boſton*, 'whoſe Perſons were only ſecured to be ſent away by the firſt Opportunity, without Cenſure 'or Puniſhment, although their profeſſed Tenets, 'Turbulent and Contemptuous Behaviour to Authority, would have juſtified a ſeverer Animadverſion.——A *Law* was made and Publiſhed, Prohibiting all Maſters of Ships to 'bring any *Quakers* into this Juriſdiction, and 'themſelves from coming in, on Penalty of the 'Houſe of Correction, till they could be ſent 'away. Notwithſtanding which, by a *Backdoor* they found Entrance; and the Penalty 'inflicted on them proving Inſufficient to reſtrain their Impudent and Inſolent Obtruſions, 'was increaſed — which alſo being too weak a 'Defence againſt their Impetuous and Fanatick 'Fury, neceſſitated us to Endeavour our Security; and upon ſerious Conſideration, a *Law* 'was made that ſuch Perſons ſhould be *Baniſhed on Pain of Death*, according to the '*Example of England*, in their Proviſion againſt '*Jeſuites*; which Sentence being regularly pronounced, at the laſt *Court of Aſſiſtents* againſt 'theſe Parties, and they either returning, or 'continuing preſumptuouſly in this Juriſdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and 'owning themſelves to be the Perſons *Baniſhed*, 'were ſentenced by the Court to *Death*—— 'which hath been Executed upon Two of 'them. *M. D.* upon the Interceſſion of a Son, 'had Liberty to depart, and accepted of it.— 'The Conſideration of our *Gradual Proceedings*, 'will vindicate us from the Clamorous Accuſations of *Severity*. Our own juſt and neceſſary Defence calling upon us (other Means 'failing) to offer the *Point*, which theſe Perſons 'have violently and wilfully ruſhed upon, and 'thereby became *Felones de ſe*,— as well as the 'ſparing of *One* upon an Inconſiderable Interceſſion, will manifeſtly Evince we deſire their '*Lives abſent*, rather than their *Deaths preſent*. *Thus the Declaration.*

Reader, If this alſo will further alleviate the Buſineſs, I muſt not conceal it; that it was very enraging unto the *Zeal* of thoſe Godly Men, who then govern'd us, to hear theſe Wretches ordinarily ſaying among the People, *We deny thy Chriſt! We deny thy God, which thou calleſt Father, Son and Spirit! Thy Bible is the Word of the Devil!* And the Spirit of that Crew was yet more Provoking. Pernicious and Perilous, as one of them has diſcovered it in a Writing Publiſhed, *Againſt all Earthly Powers, Parliaments, Laws, Charters, Magiſtrates and Princes. George Fox*, who of a *Shoemaker*, became the Grand *Apoſtle* of the *Quakers*; tho' he were unable to Write Common Senſe, yet wrote ſeveral Pamphlets; in one of which (Entituled,

(Entituled, *Papers given forth*) he bitterly inveigh'd againſt thoſe who *doated on an Earthly King*; and added, *Neither do you read that there were any Kings ſince the Apoſtles Days, but among the Apoſtate* Chriſtians *and the Falſe Church.* And one, who yet calls himſelf a *Quaker*, hath lately ſo far forſaken them, as to Publiſh a Diſcovery of the horrible Doings that he hath found among his *Friends*; and he particularly proves, that they do not own *any Government* for *God's Ordinance*, but that of thoſe who Witneſs to their *Light within*; and that they call every *other Government*, conſiſting of *Rulers, Judges, Juſtices, Lawyers and Conſtables*, a *Tree that muſt be cut down*, for the *Light* alone to Rule. I appeal to all the reaſonable part of Mankind, whether the Infant Colonies of *New-England* had not cauſe to guard themſelves againſt theſe *Dangerous Villains.* It was alſo thought that the very *Quakers* themſelves would ſay, that if they had got into a Corner of the World, and with an Immenſe Toyl and Charge made a *Wilderneſs* Habitable, on purpoſe there to be undiſturbed in the Exerciſes of their Worſhip, they would never bear to have *New-Englanders* come among them, and Interrupt their Publick Worſhip, and Endeavour to Seduce their Children from it, yea, and repeat ſuch Endeavours after mild *Entreaties* firſt, and then juſt *Baniſhments*, to oblige their departure. What ſhall I ſay? There was the Phrenſie of the Old *Circumcellions* in thoſe *Quakers*; and according to that Paſſage of the *Tragedian* in his *Hercules Furens*, *Solus, te jam præſtare poteſt Furor, inſontem*, thus I muſt ſay upon the *Mad* Subjects of theſe *Tragedies:* If they had not been *Mad*, they had been *Worthy to die.* But I will inform the World of a better *Vindication* for my Country than all *this*; namely, that they did by a Solemn Act afterwards Renounce whatever *Laws* are againſt a juſt *Liberty of Conſcience.* I would alſo intreat the World, that they would not be too ready to receive all Stories told by the *Quakers* about their *New-England-Perſecution*; becauſe the Quakers have in Print complained of a *New-England-Perſecution* upon Two Women of their Sect, who came Stark Naked as ever they were Born into our Publick Aſſemblies, and they were (*Baggages* that they were!) adjudged unto the Whipping-Poſt for that Peice of *Deviliſm.* Their Stories about the *Sufferings* are as little to be credited, as their Stories about their *Miracles*; and particularly that of *George Fox* having the *Gift of Tongues*; becauſe that proud Fool, who could ſcarce Write his Name, hath ſet his Name to a Book of above Thirty Languages, [called, *The Batteldoor*,] when it was afterwards found that certain *Jews* were hired to do that Work, and had Fourſcore Pounds for their Pains, and a Dozen Bottles of Wine over and above.

§. 3. The more ſenſible ſort of Men, that go under the Name of **Quakers**, finding the groſs *Hereſies* of the Old *Foxian-Quakeriſm* to be ſo Indefenſible and Abominable in the Reſentments of reaſonable People, have of later time ſet themſelves to refine it with ſuch Conceſſions and Confeſſions of *Truth*, as that in their *Syſtem* it is quite another thing than what once it was. But the *New-England Quakeriſm*, in thoſe Nooks of the Country where this *Choakweed of Chriſtianity* yet remains, is, as far as I can underſtand, ſtill that Old *Foxian Quakeriſm*, which does utterly renounce the *Letter* of every thing, that the Finer ſort of *New Quakers* are compelled now to own ſomething of; nevertheleſs theſe *New Quakers* cover their Sentiments with ſuch Fallacious and Ambiguous Expreſſions, that all *Fox's* groſs *Quakeriſm* can be at once either aſſerted or denied, under thoſe *Modes of ſpeaking*, which *Penn, Barclay, Whitehead*, and others uſe to ſerve their Finer *Hypotheſis*; and in our Combates with them, *Difficilius eſt Invenire quam Vincere.* There was one *Keith* particularly, who differed almoſt as much from the generality of the *New-Engliſh Quakers*, as *we* that *Perſecuted* them; and yet he did ſuch an *Unaccountable thing*, as to appear like a *Champion* for *them*, in Oppoſition to the Churches of *New-England*, until the Miniſters of *Boſton* were put upon Publiſhing of divers Books to maintain the Religion of our Churches againſt his Impetuous *Batteries.* But it came to paſs, that afterwards this very *Keith* appeared publickly in the Confutation of thoſe *Quakers*, that are by far the moſt numerous of any ſo Denominated, not only in *New-England*, but alſo in *Penſylvania.* In the Year 1694. he Printed a *Quarto* Treatiſe, in Confutation of above Thirty *Groſs Errors*, commonly held among them; and his *Teſtimonies*, at laſt, procured him and his few Adherents a Storm of *Perſecution* from the *Friends* at *Penſylvania*, who had formerly made ſuch Tragical Outcries againſt the *Perſecution* which *New-England* had heretofore uſed upon far greater Provocation. By the ſame Token that an *Almanack* for the Year 1694. compoſed by one of them, has this Article of Chronology.

Since the Engliſh *in* New-England *Hanged their Countrymen for Religion.*	Years 36.
Since at Philadelphia *ſome did little leſs, by taking away Goods, and Impriſoning ſome, and Condemning others without Trial, for Religious Diſſent.*	3.

There are many Grounds of Hope, *That the Days of prevailing* Quakeriſm *will be but Threeſcore Years and Ten; and if by reaſon of Mens weakneſs they be Fourſcore Years, yet the Strength of it will then be waſted, it will ſoon be cut off and fly away:* And among thoſe Grounds, I cannot but reckon the *Alterations* which the Sect of *Quakers* do experience, not only in the Points of their *Faith*, but alſo in that odd Symptom of *Quaking*, which

which by its uſing to Arreſt the Bodies of their Converts, gave Denomination to them; for as one of their own expreſſes it, *The mighty Motions of the Bodies of the Friends are now ceaſed, and Friends are ſtill cool and quiet; the ſhaking and quaking of Friends Bodies were to purge out Sin; but the ſtilneſs being come, the Mind is brought into a Capacity to diſcern the Voice of the Lord.* And indeed, as the *Quaking* which diſtinguiſhed theſe poor Creatures, was a Symptom of *Diabolical Poſſeſſion*; ſo e'er I diſmiſs this Matter, I muſt obſerve to my Reader, that there could be nothing leſs than a *Diabolical Poſſeſſion*, in many other things that attended and advanced *Quakeriſm* at its firſt appearance in the World, and that are in ſome ſorts of *Quakers* unto this Day to be Exemplified. It was no rare thing for the Old Set of *Quakers* to Proſelyte People meerly by *Stroaking* or by *Breathing* on them; they had no ſooner uſed ſome ſuch Action toward ſuch as they had a Deſign upon, but the *Bewitched* People would behave themſelves juſt as if a *Philtre* had been given them, and would follow their Converters in every thing, without being able to render any *Reaſon* for it. And there is, even at this Day, a Crew of *Quakers* called *Caſe's Crew*, the Diſciples of one *Tom Caſe*, who have been ſo Troubleſome and Vexatious, even to the other *Quakers* themſelves, that *they* have *denied* theſe; but of this Prodigious *Tom* and his Crew, there are things well known throughout this Country that are indeed prodigiouſly *Diabolical*. 'Tis well known, that ſome of thoſe whom this Villain had *led Captive at his Will*, were ſo much under his Influence, that if upon their coming where he was he faſtned his *Eye* upon 'em, they would preſently Tremble, and Stagger, and Fall, and Foam like *Epileptical* Perſons, and roul about upon the Ground, until they had roul'd themſelves unto his Feet, where he did what he pleaſed unto them. I am well acquainted with one very Devout Gentleman, recovered happily from the *Captivity* wherein this Fellow for many Years had held the Soul of him, who has aſſured me, that he was himſelf thus *Epileptical*, as often as this *Elymas* would pleaſe with his *Faſcinating* Eye to make him ſo, but never any ſuch way affected before or after, or upon any other Occaſion. 'Tis well known, that this Villain pretending to ſhow a *Miracle*, did but look upon a very Mad *Bull*, one perhaps as *Mad* as himſelf, and one that would approach no Man, except it were to Miſchief him, and this *Bull* would come tamely, gently, ſtrangely to him, and lick his Hands like a *Spaniel*. Nevertheleſs, when this Coxcomb once attempted the *Miracle* of a Reſurrection upon a *Dead Friend*, the Friend, it ſeems, was not in a Diſpoſition to *Riſe* upon his calling of him.

I will give my Reader the Entertainment of Two or Three very well atteſted Stories, and then aſk his leave to have done with a Generation which it can be no great Satisfaction to meddle with.

About the beginning of *November*, 1681. a Man whoſe Name was *Denham*, with Two Women, all belonging to *Caſe's* Crew, went unto *Southold* upon *Long-Iſland*, where they met with one *Samuel Banks* of *Fairfield*, the moſt Blaſphemous Wretch in the World. Theſe joining together with ſome others of their *Bran* at *Southold*, went into the Company of one *Thomas Harris*, a Young Merchant of *Boſton*, who had before this been a little inclining to the *Quakers*; and they fell to *Dancing* and *Singing* after their Deviliſh manner about him. After ſome time, *Thomas Harris* fell to *Dancing* and *Singing* like them, and ſpeaking of Extraordinary *Raptures*, and calling thoſe *Devils* that were not of this Religion, and a perfect Imitation of all their *Deviliſm*. When he had ſhown theſe Tokens of *Converſion*, as they accounted it, they ſolemnly admitted him into their Society, and one of them thereupon promiſed him, *Henceforward thy Tongue ſhall be as the Pen of a ready Writer, to declare the Praiſes of our Lord.* The Young Man, who before this was of a compos'd Behaviour, now ran about with an odd Note of *Joy! Joy! Joy!* And called them *Devils* that any way oppoſed him, and ſaid, (more than he intended,) *That his own Father was a Devil!* Quickly after this, going to Lodge at a Farm not far off, where dwelt a *Quaker* of the *Same Spirit*, he would go to Bed before the reſt of the Family; but upon another Young Man's coming to him, he ſaid, he muſt get up and return that Night unto *Southold*, where he had left his Company; and though the Young Man would have perſwaded him to lye ſtill until *Day*, he would not be perſwaded, up he got, and went his way. Within ſome while he was miſſing, and upon enquiry he could not be heard of, only his Hat, and Gloves, and Neckcloth were found in the Road from the Farm to the Town: Two Days after which, *Banks* looking into a Bible, ſuddenly ſhut it again, crying out, his Friend *Harris* was dead. On the Day following *Harris* was found by the Sea-ſide, about a quarter of a Mile from the place where his Appurtenances had been found before, having Three Holes like Stabs in his Throat, and **No Tongue** in his Head, nor the leaſt ſign thereof, but all clear to his Neck-bone within, his Mouth cloſe ſhut, and one of his Eyes hanging down upon his Cheek out of his Head, the other ſunk ſo deep in his Head, that although it was whole there, it was hardly to be come at. This was the end of a **Tongue** that was to be *as the Pen of a ready Writer!* The Night after he was Buried, Colonel *Young*, the *High Sheriff*, as himſelf aſſured me, was in the Dead of the Night awaked by the Voice of this *Harris*, calling very loudly at his Window, with a demand of him to ſee Juſtice done him; the Voice came Three times that Night with the like demand; and the Night after it came into the Colonel's Houſe, cloſe to his Bedſide, very loudly repeating of it. But the Author of the Murder could never be diſcovered!

About a Year or Two before this Tragical Accident, there was another not quite ſo Tragical. Some of *Caſe*'s Crew howled a Young Woman into their Company, who immediately fell to *Railing* on all the World, and then to *Raving* at ſuch a rate, that ſeveral Perſons watched her, though ſhe was now grown ſo preternaturally ſtrong, as to break away from them, let 'em do what they could. In the Dead of the Night, thoſe that watched her heard a doleful Noiſe, like the Crying of a Young Child, in the Yard or Field near the Houſe, which filled the Auditors with fearful Apprehenſions; but the Young Woman then violently broke from them, ſaying, *The Lord calls me, and I muſt go!* It was a conſiderable while before they could find her, and when they did find her, ſhe was bereaved of her Underſtanding, full of horrid and uncouth Actions; and ſo ſhe continued until Juſtice *Wood*, by the uſe of means, recovered her, which none of her *Quaking* Friends were able to do: But this convinced the Neighbours that the *Devil* was among them!

I'll give but one Inſtance more of their Exorbitancies. It was much about this time that one *Jonathan Dunen*, of *Caſe*'s Crew, drew away the Wife of a Man to *Marſhfield* in *Plymouth*-Colony, to follow him, and one *Mary Roſs* falling into their Company, preſently was poſſeſſed with as Frantick a *Dæmon* as ever was heard of; ſhe burnt her *Cloaths*; ſhe ſaid that ſhe was Chriſt; ſhe gave Names to the Gang with her, as *Apoſtles*, calling one *Peter*, another *Thomas*; ſhe declared, that ſhe would be *Dead* for Three Days, and then *Riſe* again; and accordingly ſhe ſeemed then to *die*. *Dunen* then gave out, that they ſhould ſee Glorious things when ſhe *Roſe* again; but what ſhe then did, was thus: That upon her Order *Dunen* Sacrific'd a *Dog*. The Men and the Two Women then Danced Naked altogether; for which, when the Conſtable carried 'em to the Magiſtrates, *Roſs* uttered Stupendous Blaſphemies, but *Dunen* lay for Dead an Hour on the Floor, ſaying, when he came to himſelf, that *Roſs* bid him, and he could not reſiſt.

O Capita Anticyris vix Expurganda duabus!

More Paſſages, akin to theſe, may be read in Dr. *More*'s Addition to Mr. *Glanvil*'s *Saduciſmus Triumphatus*.

Reader, I can foretel what Uſage I ſhall find among the *Quakers* for this Chapter of our *Church-Hiſtory*; for a Worthy Man that Writes of them has obſerved, *For Pride, and Hypocriſie, and Helliſh Reviling againſt the painful Miniſters of Chriſt, I know no People can match them.* Yea, prepare, Friend *Mather*, to be aſſaulted with ſuch Language as *Fiſher* the Quaker, in his Pamphlets, does beſtow upon ſuch Men as Dr. *Owen*; *Thou Fiery Fighter and Green-headed Trumpeter; thou Hedghog and Grinning Dog; thou Baſtard that tumbled out of the Mouth of the* Babilonith *Bawd; thou Mole; thou Tinker; thou Lizzard; thou Bell of no Metal, but the Tone of a Kettle; thou Wheelbarrow; thou Whirlpool; thou Whirlegig, O thou Firebrand; thou Adder and Scorpion; thou Louſe; thou Cow-Dung; thou Moon-Calf; thou Ragged Tatterdemallion; thou* Judas; *thou Liveſt in Philoſophy and Logick, which are of the Devil.* And then let Penn the Quaker add, *Thou Gormandizing Prieſt, one of the Abominable Tribe; thou Bane of Reaſon, and Beaſt of the Earth; thou Beſt to be ſpared of Mankind; thou Mountebank Prieſt.* Theſe are the very Words, (I wrong them not!) which they Vomit out againſt the beſt Men in the *Engliſh* Nation, that have been ſo hardy as to touch their *Light within*: But let the *Quills* of theſe *Porcupines* fly as faſt as they will, I ſhall not feel them! Yea, every *Stone* that theſe *Kildebrands* throw at me, I will wear as a *Pearl*; and as Dr. *Holland*, when he took his leave of his Friends, would ſay, *Commenda vos omnes Dilectioni Dei, & Odio Papatus*, thus I will here take my leave, with ſaying, *I commend thee to the Love of God, and the Diſlike of Quakeriſm.*

In aliis Manſuetus ero; at in Blaſphemiis contra Chriſtum, non ita.

§. 4. Now having done with the *Quakers*, let it not be miſinterpreted, if into the *ſame Chapter* we put the Inconveniencies which the Churches of *New-England* have alſo ſuffered from the *Anabaptiſts*; albeit they have infinitely more of *Chriſtianity* among them than the *Quakers*, and have indeed been uſeful Defenders of *Chriſtianity* againſt the Aſſaults of the *Quakers*; yea, we are willing to acknowledge for our *Brethren* as many of them as are willing to be ſo acknowledged.

It hath been a ſore Diſadvantage unto the Reputation of the *Anabaptiſt* way, that wherever any *Reformation* has been carried on, a ſort of People under *that Name* have been moſt unhappy Impediments unto the *Progreſs* of it; and thrown it into thoſe Confuſions that have extreamly *Scandalized* it, if not utterly *Extinguiſhed* it. The Hiſtories of the Prodigious *Hereſies* that have been held, and *Actions* that have been done, by a ſet of Men wearing the *Anabaptiſt* Name, not only in the *Low-Countries* in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, *Swedeland* and *Poland*, which *Melancthon*, *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Bullinger*, *Zuinglius*, *Gualter*, *Sleiden*, *Zanchy*, who lived in the very time of thoſe Extravagances, have related, but in *England* and *Ireland* alſo, long ſince that time, have been improved, *In perpetuam Erroris Infamiam.* All the World knows, that the moſt Eminent *Reformers*, writing againſt the *Anobaptiſts*, have not been able to forbear making their Treatiſes, like what *Jerom* ſays of *Tertullian*'s Polemical Treatiſes, *Quot Verba, tot Fulmina*; and the Noble Martyr *Philpot* expreſſed the Mind of them all, when he ſaid, *The Anibaptiſts are an Inordinate kind of Men, ſtirred up by the*

the Devil to the Deſtruction of the Goſpel, having neither Scripture, nor Antiquity, nor any thing elſe for them, but Lies and New Imaginations, feigning the Baptiſm of Children to be the Pope's Commandment. Nevertheleſs it is well known, that of later time there have been a great many *Antipedobaptiſts* who have never deſerved ſo hard a Character among the Churches of God; *Infant-Baptiſm* hath been ſcrupled by Multitudes in our Days, who have been in other Points moſt Worthy *Chriſtians*, and as Holy, Watchful, Fruitful, and Heavenly People, as perhaps any in the World. Some few of theſe People have been among the Planters of *New-England* from the beginning, and have been welcome to the Communion of our Churches, which they have enjoy'd, reſerving their *particular Opinion* unto themſelves. But at length it came to paſs, that while *ſome* of our *Churches* uſed, it may be, a little too much of *Cogency* towards the Brethren, which would weakly turn their Backs when *Infants* were brought forth to be *Baptized* in the Congregation, there were ſome of theſe Brethren, who in a Day of Temptation broke forth into *Schiſmatical Practices* that were juſtly Offenſive unto all the Churches in this Wilderneſs; which were on that Occaſion willing to Juſtifie what the Renowned *Parker* ſaid on the behalf of the Old *Non-Conformiſts*, when the Prelates charged them with being Favourers of *Anabaptiſm*, *Diſciplina Eccleſiaſtica tantopere diſtat ab Anabaptiſtica Confuſione, quantopere Chriſtus ab Antichriſto*, we have as much Favour for *Anabaptiſm*, as *Chriſt* for *Antichriſt*. And it may be there was herein too much Occaſion to think on the Obſervation which I find made by Mr. *Flavel*, *The Non-Improvement of our Baptiſmal Covenant unto the great and ſolemn Ends thereof, in our Mortification, Vivification, and Regular Communion with the Church of Chriſt, into which Society we were Matriculated by it, is puniſhed in thoſe fiery Heats, and fierce Oppoſitions*, [about Infant-Baptiſm] *unto which God ſeems to have penally delivered us.* Our *Anabaptiſts*, when ſomewhat of *Exaſperation* was begun, formed a *Church* at *Boſton* on *May* 28. 1665. beſides one which they had before at *Swanzey*, not only with a manifeſt Violation of the *Laws* in the *Commonwealth*, relating to the orderly manner of *gathering* a *Church*, but alſo with a manifold Provocation unto the reſt of our Churches, by admitting into their own Society ſuch as our Churches had excommunicated for *Moral Scandals*, yea, and employing ſuch Perſons to be Adminiſtrators of the Two *Sacraments* among them. Unto theſe Diſſatisfactions of good Men at their Proceedings, there was added the Conſideration of their uncharitable Diſpoſition to *Unchurch* all the Faithful upon Earth beſides themſelves: 'Tis a Principle in the Confeſſion of their *Faith*, *Believers being Baptized are viſible Saints, and the true Matter of a viſible Church*; now they declared our *Infant Baptiſm* to be a meer *Nullity*, and they Arrogate unto themſelves the Title of *Baptiſts*, as if none were *Baptized* but themſelves: With *them* therefore our *Churches* were *no Churches* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, nor are there any *viſible Saints* among us. Accordingly, when a Publick *Diſputation* was had with them, it was earneſtly and charmingly put unto them in a great Aſſembly, whether they did own the Churches of *New-England* for *True Churches* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; but they would *not own* it: And when I my ſelf have told ſome of them, that without putting themſelves to ſo much of Travel and Expence, as their *Separation* coſt them, they might enjoy all Ordinances in the *Fellowſhip* of our Churches, without being treated as Offenders for it, if their *Conſcience tied them up* to withdraw when an *Infant* was Baptized; they have Replied unto me, *That in as much as I was in their Judgment an Unbaptized Man, they could not Communicate with me at the Table of the Lord.* Nor did it at all take off the Prejudice of many wiſe Men againſt them, that they did ſeem to do what *Jereboam* was Taxed for, in *making Prieſts of the loweſt of the People*; or as the *Belgic*, and others do Read it, *Of both Ends of the People:* And as the Learned *Zepperus* lamented the wrong done to Religion in it, that they made *Miniſtros de Extremitatibus Populi, Sartoribus, Sutoribus, Idiotis*, Taylors, and Coblers, and other Mechanicks, to be *Miniſters*, thus theſe People choſe an Honeſt *Shooemaker* to be their Paſtor, and uſed other *Mechanicks* in the Conſtant Preaching of the Goſpel: Which cauſed ſome other People of a more *Liberal Education* to reflect, that if *Goodman* ſuch an One, and *Gaffer* ſuch an One, were fit for *Miniſters*, we had befool'd our ſelves in Building of *Colledges*;

Frange Leves Calamos, & ſcinde Thalia Libellos
Si dare Sutori, Calceus iſta poteſt.

Yea, ſome obſerved, and in Print aſſerted, that this thing was the real Bottom of their Combining into a *diſtinct Society* by themſelves from divers Parts of the Colony; *theſe Men having privately exerciſed their Gifts in Meetings with Applauſe, began to think themſelves wronged, that their Light was put under a Buſhel; and finding no Remedy in our Churches, they threw on a Cloak of* Anabaptiſm, *and ſo gained the thing that they aimed at in a Diſguiſe.* However it were, the general Court were ſo afraid, leſt matters might at laſt from ſmall beginnings grow into a New *Munſter Tragedy*, that they Enacted ſome Laws for the Reſtraint of *Anabaptiſtical* Exorbitances; which *Laws*, though never Executed unto the Extremity of them, yet were ſoon laid by, as to any Execution of them at all. There were in this unhappy *Schiſm* ſeveral truly *godly Men*, whom it was thought a very uncomfortable thing to Proſecute with ſevere *Impriſonments* on theſe Controverſies; and there came alſo a Letter from *London* to the Governour of the *Maſſachuſet-*

chuſet-Colony, (like that which our Bleſſed Martyrologiſt, *John Fox*, once wrote unto Queen *Elizabeth*, to prevent the Perſecution with which the *Anabaptiſts* were then threatned) ſubſcribed by no leſs Perſons than Dr. *Goodwyn*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Nine other very Reverend Miniſters, wherein were theſe among other Paſſages.

'We ſhall not here undertake (in the leaſt) 'to make any Apology for the Perſons, Opini'ons and Practices of thoſe who are cenſured a'mong you.—You know our Judgment and 'Practice to be contrary unto theirs, even as 'yours; wherein (God aſſiſting) we ſhall con'tinue to the End. Neither ſhall we return any 'Anſwer to the Reaſon of the Reverend Elders, 'for the Juſtification of your Proceedings, as 'not being willing to engage in the Manage'ment of any the leaſt Difference with Per'ſons whom we ſo much Love and Honour in 'the Lord.—But the Sum of all which at pre'ſent we ſhall offer to you, is, that though the 'Court might apprehend, that they had 'Grounds in General warranting their Procedure '(in ſuch Caſes) in the way wherein they have 'proceeded; yet that they have any Rule or 'Command rendring their ſo proceeding indi'ſpenſibly Neceſſary, under all Cicumſtances 'of Fines or Places, we are altogether unſatisfied; 'and we need not Repreſent unto you how the 'Caſe ſtands with our ſelves, and all your Bre'thren and Companions in the Services of theſe 'latter Days in theſe Nations.—We are ſure 'you would be unwilling to put an Advantage 'into the Hands of ſome who ſeek Pretences 'and Occaſions againſt our Liberty, and to Re'inforce the former Rigour. Now we cannot 'deny but this hath already in ſome meaſure 'been done, in that it hath been Vogued, that 'Perſons of our Way, Principles and Spirit, can'not bear with Diſſenters from them.—And as 'this greatly Reflects on us, ſo ſome of us have 'obſerved how already it has Turned unto your 'own Diſadvantage.—We leave it to your 'Wiſdom to Determine, whether under all 'theſe Circumſtances, and ſundry others of the 'like Nature that might be added, it be not 'Adviſeable at preſent to put an End unto the 'Sufferings and Confinements of the Perſons cen'ſured, and to Reſtore them to their former 'Liberty. You have the Advantage of Truth 'and Order; you have the Gifts and Learning 'of an able Miniſtry to Manage and Defend 'them; you have the Care and Vigilancy of a 'very Worthy Magiſtracy to Countenance and 'Protect them, and to preſerve the Peace; and '(above all) you have a Bleſſed Lord and Maſter, 'who hath the Keys of *David*, who openeth 'and no Man ſhutteth, living for ever to take 'Care of his own Concernments among his 'Saints; and aſſuredly you need not be diſ'quieted, though ſome few Perſons, (through 'their own Infirmity and Weakneſs, or through 'their Ignorance, Darkneſs and Prejudices) 'ſhould to their Diſadvantage turn out of the 'Way, in ſome leſſer Matters, into By-Paths of 'their own.—We only make it our hearty Re'queſt to you, that you would Truſt God with 'His Truths and Ways ſo far, as to ſuſpend all 'Rigorous Proceedings in Corporal Reſtraints or 'Puniſhments, on Perſons that Diſſent from 'you, and Practiſe the Principle of their Diſſent 'without Danger, or Diſturbance to the Civil 'Peace of the Place—— Dated *March* 25. '*1669*.

I cannot ſay that this Excellent Letter had *Immediately* all the Effect which it ſhould have had; however, at length it has had its Effect; And as *Origen* Pleads againſt *Celſus*, that there ever were *Differences* among Profeſſors of Chriſtianity from the Beginning, and it was impoſſible but that there ſhould be ſo; nevertheleſs theſe Differences hindered not their Faith, and Love, and Obedience: As *Juſtin Martyr* pleaded for Forbearance, even in the *Churches*, towards Chriſtians that yet thought themſelves under Obligation to obſerve the *Moſaic Ceremonies*; as *Ignatius*, before either of them, in his Epiſtle to the *Philadelphians*, profeſſes, *To Perſecute Men on the account of Religion, is to make our ſelves Conformable to the Heathen, who know not God:* The Chriſtians of *New-England* ſeem generally to be of ſuch a Tolerating Diſpoſition towards the *Anabaptiſts:* With the Synod of *Alexandria*, Condemning all *External Force* in Religion, of which the *Arians* were the Firſt among pretended *Chriſtians*, that were the Inventors and Promoters: Nor hath *Anabaptiſm* had one Jot the more of Growth, I ſuppoſe, for it. But the Alienation continued ſo long, that a *Synod* of our Churches in the Year 1679. having mentioned the Miſcarriages of theſe People, among the *Sins* to be Reformed in the Land, there was Publiſhed the Year following, *A Narrative of ſome Conſiderable Paſſages*, relating to their Church by their Paſtor, *with conſent of the whole:* Which Narrative had ſo many groſs Miſtakes in it, making

Candida de Nigris & de Candentibus Atra,

That ſuch an Anſwer unto it, as is directed for *Cretians*, was Publiſhed under the Title of, *Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam.* And that Anſwer endeavours to Demonſtrate, that if Perſons of any Perſwaſion whatſoever, even the very ſame with what is held by the Churches of *New-England*, ſhould have Acted with as much *Irregularity* as our *Anabaptiſts*, they would have deſerved greater Puniſhment than any that had been inflicted upon *Theſe*.

§. 5. *Sed jam Tempus Equum Spumantia Solvere Colla*; 'tis time to have done with theſe *Contentious* Matters; and thanks be to God we have done with them; and all the *Foam* whereinto we were chaſed by them, is now comfortably wiped off.

The great Noiſe that hath been made in the World about the *Perſecution* made in *New-England*, I will now ſtop with only Tranſcribing the Words uttered in the Sermon to the firſt

firſt *Great and General Aſſembly* of the Province of the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay, after the Two Colonies of *Maſſachuſet* and *Plymouth* were by a *Royal Charter* united.

'Things will *go well*, when *Magiſtrates* are great Promoters of the *thing that Good is*, and of *what the Lord Requireth of them*. I do not mean, that it would be well for the *Civil Magiſtrate*, with a *Civil Penalty* to compel Men to this or that *way of Worſhip*, which they are *Conſcienciouſly* indiſpoſed unto. He is moſt properly the Officer of *Humane Society*, and a Chriſtian by Non-Conformity to this or that impoſed *way of Worſhip*, does not break the Terms on which he is to enjoy the Benefits of *Humane Society*.

'A Man has a *Right* unto his Life, his Eſtate, his Liberty, and his Family, although he ſhould not come up unto theſe and thoſe Bleſſed *Inſtitutions* of our Lord. When a Man Sins in his *Political Capacity*, let *Political Societies* Animadvert upon him; but when he Sins only in a *Religious Capacity*, Societies more purely *Religious* are the fitteſt then to deal with him. Indeed in the *Old Teſtament* the Magiſtrate was an *Eccleſiaſtical Officer*; and Compliance with the *Moſaick Rites* was that which Entitled Men unto the Benefits of *Canaan*, the Typical and Renowned Land: But now theſe *Figurative* Things have more *Spiritual* Things to Anſwer them. It may be feared, that Things will not *go well*, when *Hereſies* are not exterminated; but I Pray, when (except once perhaps or ſo in the Caſe of *Donatiſm*) did *Fines* or *Gaols* ever ſignifie any thing for the Cure of *Hereticks*? The Primitive Church for the Firſt Three Hundred Years of Chriſtianity, cut off a Thouſand new *Hydra's* Heads, without borrowing ſuch *Penal Laws* as have ſince been uſed; it was by *ſound Preaching*, by *Diſcipline*, by *Catechiſing*, and by *Diſputation*, that they *turned to flight the Armies of the Aliens*. *Then* 'twas that Chriſtians did uſe to ſay, *Non Gladiis, aut Jaculis, aut Militari manu, veritas prædicatur, ſed Suadendo & Conſulendo*. Afterwards indeed the *Orthodox* engaged the Emperors unto Severities upon the *Hereticks* of thoſe Days, but what got they by it? When a wicked *Manichee*, a ſort of *Quaker*, was put to Death, an Excellent Hiſtorian ſays, *'Twas a moſt wretched Example, and it made the Hereſie ſpread the more*. Such Proſecutions do but give a *Principle* which would be moſt Fatal to the Church of God; yea, they do but afford a Root for *Cain's Club* to grow upon. Theſe *Violences* may bring the Erroneous to be *Hypocrites*, but they will never make them to be *Believers*; no, they naturally prejudice Mens Minds againſt the *Cauſe*, which is therein pretended for, as being a Weak, a Wrong, an Evil Cauſe. Wherefore that things may *go well*, I would willingly put in a *Barr* againſt the *Perſecution* of any that may Conſcienciouſly Diſſent from our Way. Poſſibly the Zeal in ſome famous and worthy *Diſciples* of our Lord among our ſelves has been Reported and Reckoned, as having once had a little too much *Fire* on this Account; but the Churches of God abroad counted that things did not *go well* among us, until they judged us more fully come up unto the Apoſtolical Rule, *To leave the otherwiſe minded unto God*. Nor would I deſire my ſelf to ſuffer *Perſecution* upon a clearer Cauſe than that of teſtifying againſt our *Perſecution* of other Chriſtians that are not of my own Opinion.

'I am ſure that things will not *go well* as long as we incur the fulfilment of that aweful Word. *If ye Bite and Devour one another, take heed that ye be not conſumed one of another*. Nevertheleſs, when things *go well*, there are *Magiſtrates* that will ſet themſelves to advance all the *Truths* and *Ways* of God among their People: *Magiſtrates* are not only themſelves to *Profeſs* the Truths, and *Practiſe* the Ways of God, but alſo to *Protect* and *Favour* all them that ſhall do the like. There is an Aſpect of *Singular* Kindneſs, Defence and Support, which *Magiſtrates* are to bear unto them that *Embrace*, and much more to them that *Declare* the Truths and Ways of God. *Things went well* when it could be ſaid, as in 2 *Chron*. 30. 22. Hezekiah *ſpake comfortably unto all that taught the good Knowledge of the Lord*. Moreover it belongs unto *Magiſtrates* to Puniſh all the *Vices* which diſturb the good Order and Repoſe of *Humane Society*; and hence alſo *Liberty of Conſcience* is not to be admitted as a Cloak for *Liberty of Prophaneneſs*. To Live without any *Worſhip* of God, or to *Blaſpheme* and *Revile* his Bleſſed Name, is to be Chaſtiſed as abominably Criminal; for there can be no Pretence of *Conſcience* thereunto. Things will *go well* when we *go thus*, and when there is an Accompliſhment of that Word in *Rom*. 13. 3. *Rulers are not a Terror to Good Works, but unto the Evil*.

Theſe things (which were then utter'd with many others, from 2 *Chr*. 12. 12. *In* Judah *things went well*:) having the *Thanks* of them that repreſented the Province then returned for them, I choſe in theſe Terms here to repreſent the *Temper* in this Matter, which I ſuppoſe the Conſiderate part of the Province are now come unto: And ſo long as they continue of it, I durſt almoſt Propheſie, that *Sectaries* will never be able to make any great Impreſſions upon them.

Well, the Enemy of the *New-Engliſh* Churches is hitherto diſappointed, *Hac non Succeſſit, alia Aggrediatur via*.

CHAP. V.

Wolves in Sheeps Cloathing: *Or, An Hiſtory of ſeveral* Impoſtors *pretending to be* Miniſters *remarkably detected in the Churches of* New-England. *With a faithful Advice to all the Churches Emitted by ſome of the* Paſtors *on that Occaſion.*

Mendacia ad modicum placent, ſed diu non durant. Hieron.

SINCE *de Triſtibus* may be a proper *Title* for the *Book* I am now Writing, it will not be an improper *Chapter* in the *Book,* if ſome things calling for the *Sorrow* of all that count *Sin* a *Sorrowful* Thing, be now Related. But can any things more do it, than horrible and villainous *Impoſtures* detected among the Churches in pretended Preachers of the *Glorious Goſpel of God?* Reader, conſider the *Advice* here fetch'd from and to the Miniſters of *New-England*; and then conſider our *Account* of the Criminals that occaſion'd it. In conſidering theſe things, thou wilt not only obſerve ſome of our *Temptations,* but thou wilt alſo obſerve many Notable and Wonderful Diſplays of the Divine *Providence.*

A Faithful Advice from ſeveral MINISTERS *of the Goſpel in and near* Boſton, *unto the Churches of* New-England, *relating to the Dangers that may ariſe from* Impoſtors *pretending to be* Miniſters.

'IT is not without ſome concern upon our 'Minds, that in the late Writings of our '*Presbyterian* Brethren in *England,* we find awe-'ful Complaints about *Bold Intruders* into the 'Work of the Miniſtry, and the ſwarming of 'that *Vermine,* with an hideous Noiſe, not in '*Corners* and *Chambers,* but in the very *Pul-'pits,* likely to prove an *Egyptian* Plague; up-'on which they add, 'If theſe Illiterate Uſur-'pers are not ſpeedily and effectually diſcoun-'tenanced by Miniſters and People too, they 'who are already the *Blemiſh* of *Nonconformity,* 'will quickly prove the total Ruin of it. But it ſatisfied us more than a little to hear of their care, that the Confuſions thus complained may be prevented, by a *Vote* of this Importance, that they would Employ none to *Preach* in any of their *Pulpits,* but ſuch as either arrived unto them with credible *Teſtimonials,* or ſubmitted themſelves unto a ſolemn *Trial* of their Qualifications for the Evangelical Miniſtry. Our *Congregational* Brethren in *England* being Alarumed with a clamour of the Dangers hence ariſing to the Intereſts of our Holy Religion, we do with a like ſatisfaction find they have lately publiſhed a Declaration, wherein ſignifying, 'That inaſmuch as they count none meet to 'diſpence the Oracles of God unto others, who 'are not themſelves Qualified for Communion 'in all Ordinances, their joining themſelves to a '*particular Church* of Chriſt would be a good 'Expedient to prevent *Ignorant and Raſh Intru-'ders into the Miniſtry*; ſeeing then it would 'be the Duty of *Particular Churches* and their 'Officers to take ſpecial care, that none of their 'Communion, who are not *Qualified,* may enter 'on that Work; they thereupon add, We ex-'preſs our Diſlike, and witneſs againſt all *Igno-'rant* and *Scandalous* Perſons entring on the '*Miniſtry*; and we do in the Bowels of our 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt pray and beſeech all ſuch 'as fear God, that they give not the leaſt Encou-'ragement unto the Preaching of Men, either '*Ignorant* or *Erroneous,* in the Great Articles of 'Faith, or *Scandalous* in their Lives and Conver-'ſations, or otherwiſe *Unmeet for this Holy 'Employment,* leſt they bring the *Guilt of theſe 'Mens Sins on their own Souls.*

In Conformity to this *Watchfulneſs* of our *United Brethren,* we cannot but in the moſt Publick manner call upon our Churches, that they beware of all undue *Precipitancy,* in their admitting *Unqualified Perſons* to be received and employed in the Character of *Preachers* unto them.

We have indeed often wiſhed, that the Young Men brought up in our own *Univerſity,* might appear with *Teſtimonials* under the Hands of the *Preſident* and *Fellows,* that upon *Trial* they are found *Able* and *Pious,* and likely to be *Bleſſings* unto the *Churches,* before the *Churches* venture too far in ſetting of them up for *Preachers.*

But inaſmuch as there have ſometimes arrived among us *Deceitful Strangers,* who have ſet up themſelves for *Preachers,* and many unwary People have diſcovered much ſinful Folly, in ſuffering themſelves to be *ſtrangely de-*

ceived

ceived by thoſe *Impoſtors*, it obliges us unto a further point of *Paſtoral Vigilance* over the *Churches*, whereof we are made the *Overſeers*.

'Tis well known, that Worthy *Miniſters* of the Goſpel, retiring to *New-England* from other Countries, have all along met with Reſpects from our Churches, *Equal* (to ſay no more) unto what they have ſhown unto any of the *Paſtors* bred among themſelves: Heaven is Witneſs to the Injuſtice of the Slander by ſome uttered againſt us, *That we have been ever uncivil to Strangers*; and the *Strangers* themſelves have been Witneſſes, that no where under Heaven could they expect more *Civility* than that wherewith we have ever treated them.

Nevertheleſs we have, upon ſufficient Occaſions, reſolved, 'That for the future, no *Stranger* 'coming, as a *Preacher* among us, without ſufficient Aſſurances of his being what he pretends 'to be, ſhall be employ'd in our *Pulpits* without a ſolemn Examination of his *Capacities*, 'for the Tremendous Work of Preaching the '*Glorious Goſpel of God*. And we earneſtly requeſt the Reverend Miniſters of the Goſpel, in the ſeveral Aſſociations and Vicinities throughout the Country, to join with us in ſuch a neceſſary Reſolution.

We do alſo ſolemnly Adviſe all our People to beware of running after *New Preachers*, of whoſe Endowments and Principles they have not had a reaſonable Atteſtation, leſt they unawares run themſelves into ſhameful and woful Reflections. The Apoſtolical Injunctions, *To prove all things*, does not invite Unſtable People to *Run after all Preachers*, (as they too often pervert the Senſe of it,) but it only directs People to *Examine* by the Word of God, the Doctrine which they hear from thoſe that in an orderly way are to be heard as their *Teachers*.

The *Preaching of the Goſpel*, being that grand Inſtitution whereon depends the Everlaſting Salvation of Men, Satan ſeeks it as a mighty Triumph, to pervert it unto their Everlaſting Deſtruction. And a People that *having Itching Ears, do after their own Luſts heap up Teachers to themſelves*, do miſerably render themſelves obnoxious unto the Impreſſions of thoſe *New Preachers* that will ſeduce them unto *Damnable Hereſies*. Or ſuppoſe the *New Preachers* do Broach no *New Errors*, yet if they ſhall prove *Cheats*, that have made the *Preaching of the Goſpel* only a *Cloak* for their *Covetous*, or *Laſcivious*, or other Prophane Deſigns, they that ſhall have *too ſuddenly improved* thoſe Men, will be *Partakers of their Sins*. And the Glorious Ordinances of God will be likely to fall into a loathſome *Contempt* among the People, if Contemptible Fellows can eaſily proſtitute them unto their pernicious Purpoſes.

The *Sermons* wherein the *Everlaſting Goſpel is Preached*, as well as the *Prayers* made in our Congregations, are to be conſidered as a Principal part of the *Worſhip of God* among the People of God: They are to glorifie God and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with agreeable *Confeſſions* of the *Truths* he has revealed unto us; and as in the *Peace-Offering* of Old, *God* hath *his* part in them, as well as the People *theirs*. Hence, whether the People that are the Hearers be many or few, learned or weak, froward or meek, the *Preacher* muſt prepare an *Offering*, as far as he can, ſuitable for that God, who is a *Great King, and whoſe Name is dreadful*. But if every piece of Ignorance and Arrogance be ſet up for a *Preacher*, the Name of the Holy God will be prophaned with an *Offering* that is made a *Ridicule* in the *Repetition*.

We are not unſenſible, that one thing which has much expoſed ſome *Injudicious People* among us, is an Opinion that *Illiterate Men* may be Serviceable and Admirable *Preachers*. Now inaſmuch as the *Jeſuites* have given this among their Inſtructions to their Emiſſaries, *To teach that Learning is needleſs in a Miniſter, and if they underſtand the Goſpel it is ſufficient*, we are ſorry that any of our People ſhould be ſo *Beſotted*, not to ſay, *Bejeſuited*. When the Knowledge of the *Tongues* and *Arts* revived, *Religion* had a revival with it: And though ſome *Unlearned* Men have been uſeful to the Intereſts of *Religion*, yet no Man ever decried *Learning*, but what was an Enemy to *Religion*, whether he knew it or no. When our Lord choſe *Fiſhermen* to be *Miniſters*, (which often is impertinently pleaded) he would not ſend them forth until they had been a conſiderable while under his *Tuition*, (a better than the beſt in any *Colledge* under Heaven!) and *then* alſo he miraculouſly furniſhed 'em with more *Learning* than any of us by *Seven Years hard Study* can attain unto. If God ſhould be provoked by the *Unthankfulneſs* of Men, to ſend the Plague of an *Unlearned Miniſtry* upon poor *New-England*, ſoon will the *Wild Beaſts of the Deſart lye there, the Houſes will be full of doleful Creatures, and Owls will dwell there*. Ordinarily, that Man who undertakes the *Miniſtry* of the Goſpel without ſome *Education* for it, is, we doubt, in as preſumptuous an Error as the unhappy *Uzzah* that periſhed in his *Error*; though we alſo allow different *Meaſures* and *Places* for that *Education*. And that Man was never worthy to *Preach* one *Sermon*, who did not feel, and would not own, that all the *Learning* that can be had, is little enough to accompliſh an *Able Miniſter of the New Teſtament*.

Upon the whole, as *Luther* obſerved, that God puniſhed the Primitive Churches with *Falſe Teachers*, for their ſtarving and ſlighting of their faithful *Miniſters*; thus we fear the Churches of *New-England* may ſuffer Miſchiefs in time to come from *Falſe Teachers*; and we ſee cauſe to admire the Compaſſion of Heaven unto this Land, that ſuch dangerous things have all his time done ſo little Damage unto any of our Churches. But as the Church

of

of *Epheſus*, having been warned by the Apoſtle, *That grievous Wolves would enter in among them*, was afterwards commended by our Saviour for ſo taking the warning, that *they Tried them who ſaid they were Apoſtles when they were not ſo, and found them Liars:* Even ſo we would hope, that after this Day no *Untried Perſons* will be Entertained for *Preachers* in any of our Colonies.

We lay this Advice before our Churches, purpoſing to do our part in attending to it.

Increaſe Mather.
James Allen.
Samuel Willard.
Moſes Fiske.
Nehemiah Hobart.
John Danforth.
Cotton Mather.
Nehemiah Walter.
Jonathan Pierpont.
Joſeph Belcher.

Boſton, *Decemb* 28. 1699.

An Hiſtory of ſome Impoſtors Remarkably and Seaſonably Detected in the Churches of New-England; *Written to maintain the Advice Publiſhed by ſome of the Paſtors in thoſe Churches relating to* Impoſtors, *and prevent all future Miſchiefs from them.*

IT was a notable Diſcipline by which the Reformed Churches in *France* preſerved themſelves from the Intolerable Miſchiefs ariſing by the allowance of *Unworthy Preachers:* Their National *Synods* every time they ſat, would Publiſh a *Roll* of thoſe *Unworthy Preachers* that could be found creeping in among them, and with a Deſcription of their Feature and Stature, and other Circumſtances like what uſes to be given in an *Hue in Cry*, this *Roll* would notifie the Crimes laid unto their Charge, and admoniſh all People to beware of Entertaining them.

The Churches of *New-England* have *heretofore* been in ſuch *Good Order*, that no Man could be Ordained and Received as a *Paſtor* in them, without the Concurrence of the Churches in the Vicinity, and a very Solemn and Publick Action. But a *Good Order* has never yet been provided among us, that no Untried and Unfit Perſon ſhall ſet up for a *Preacher*, and run about from Town to Town, getting into the too much *unguarded Pulpits*, and threatning our Holy Religion with no little *Inconvenience*. Now to prevent and redreſs this *Inconvenience*, it has been by ſome Conſiderate Perſons deſired, that ſomething like the *French Roll* may be Exhibited unto the Churches of *New-England*, which may exemplifie ſome few of the many *Cheats* that have gone to impoſe upon them. It is unreaſonable to complain that the *Crimes* of thoſe Cheats are thus *openly* expoſed; for I beſeech you, Sirs, are they not as *openly* Committed? Men are too inſenſible of the horrible *Villany* and *Blaſphemy* in the *Crimes* of thoſe Fellows, who ſet up for *Teachers* to the People of God, when God knows they are wicked *Vagrants* and *Varlets*, deſigning to abuſe the Honeſt People; if they imagine it a *Severe* thing to Stigmatize them in the View of all the affronted Churches. The Faults of the *Penitent*, indeed, ſhould be *Concealed*; but theſe pretended *Preachers* of *Repentance* are not known to *Practice* the *Repentance* which they *Preach*. A *Pillory* were a very gentle Puniſhment for the Wretches, who, wholly unqualified, *Steal* into a *Pulpit*, and *Forge* a *Commiſſion* from the King of Heaven unto his Churches. Our *Laws* not providing ſuch a Puniſhment for them, they that would be faithful to the Churches, will do well (for did not the Apoſtle as much to *Hymenæus* and *Alexander*?) to ſet them up in an *Hiſtory* inſtead of a *Pillory*, with a *Writing* as it were in *Capitals*, to ſignifie, THESE WERE IMPOSTORS THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN ESTEEMED MINISTERS.

The Conſequence and Advantage of this Action 'tis hoped will be, that both *Paſtors* and *People* will be more weary of being too ſudden in asking to *Preach* for them thoſe to whom they are utter *Strangers: That* needy and prophane *Strangers* will no more venture to *Preach* in a Country, where their detected Wickedneſs will be Proclaimed for the *Terror* of all that ſhall come after them: *That* all Pious Minds will give Glory to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who *Walks in the midſt of his Churches*, when they ſee what *Quick Work* he has ordinarily made in theſe Churches, to diſcover thoſe *Atheiſtical Preachers*, that have ſo horribly mocked him; and admire his Gracious and Watchful *Providence*, in ſtill delivering his Churches from thoſe *Little Foxes* that would have ſpoiled them. And now we will Addreſs our ſelves to do that, which when 'tis done, what will they merit but the Cardinal's Bleſſing who will take no warning?

§. 1. The

§. 1. The very *Firſt Miniſter* (one *Lyford*) that ever came into *New-England*, (which was in the Year 1624.) at his firſt coming did Careſs the good People at *Plymouth* with ſuch extream ſhows of Affection and Humility, that the People were mightily taken with him; nevertheleſs, within a little while he uſed moſt malignant Endeavours to make *Factions* among them, and confound all their *Civil* and *Sacred* Order. At laſt there fell into the Hands of the Governour his *Letters* home to *England*, fill'd with wicked and lying Accuſations againſt the People, of which things being ſhamefully Convicted, he did publickly in the Church confeſs with Tears, *That he had ſlanderouſly abuſed the good People, and that God might juſtly lay innocent Blood unto his Charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come through his Writings, and that Pride, Vain-glory and Self-love had been the Cauſes of his Miſcarriages.* Theſe things he uttered ſo Pathetically, that they again permitted him to Preach among them: And yet in Two or Three Months he ſo notoriouſly renewed his Miſcarriages, which he had thus bewailed, that his own Wife, thro' the Affliction of her Mind at his Hypocriſie, could not forbear declaring her Fears, that God would bring ſome heavy Judgment upon their Family, not only for theſe, but ſome former Impieties by him committed, eſpecially in fearful Breaches of the *Seventh Commandment*, which he had with an Oath denied, though they were afterwards Evinced. Being thereupon Baniſhed, he went unto *Virginia*, where he ſoon ended his Days.

The Diſaſter thus befalling of this Country in the *Firſt Miniſter* that ever came into it, ſeems to have been an Intimation from Heaven unto the Country, to beware in all After-times how they ſuffered *Cheats* in the Evangelical *Miniſtry* to be impoſed upon them. Nevertheleſs, there have crept in ſeveral *Cheats* among the Churches which have been ſpeedily and notably detected. It will be neither Needful nor Uſeful, that they ſhould be *all* Enumerated: *Some* of them ſhall.

§. 2. Many among us do ſtill remember a Fellow that made himſelf memorable by Preaching Zealouſly on that Text, *Let him that Stole Steal no more*; when he had at that very time a parcel of *Stolen* Money in his Pocket. The Sum, as I remember, was *Five Pounds*; but in the dozed Conſcience of the Thief it hardly made the weight of a *Scruple*.

§. 3. I have been informed, that a certain Gentleman in the Southern Parts of this Land, having with much Pains taught an *Iriſh Servant* in his Family to be *almoſt* able to read *Engliſh*; this Fellow, after his time was out, ſet up for a *Preacher* in a Neighbouring Plantation: But the Gentleman his Maſter happening ſome time after to meet our Preaching *Teague*, ſeverely Chid him for his Preſumptuous Arrogance; and among other Expreſſions, beſtowed this pretty *Satyrical* Scourge upon him; *If ſuch Fellows as thou art may ſet up for Preachers, there will be one Text impoſſible ever to be Preached upon, or to be fulfilled or underſtood: The Almighty in one Text threatens as a Judgment*, a Famine of hearing the Word of the Lord; *but if ſuch Varlets as thou art may be Preachers, 'tis impoſſible that ſuch a Judgment ſhould ever be Executed!*

§. 4. Many of thoſe Perſons who have gone to inſinuate themſelves into our Churches, with *Spirits* in them that were, for their Covetous, or Contentious, or Ambitious, or otherwiſe Evil Inclinations, diſpleaſing to the *God of the Spirits of all Fleſh*, have been immediately and remarkably confounded by their being left unto the Criminal Folly of Preaching *Stolen Sermons*. The detected *Plagiaries* have gone off, *as a Thief is aſhamed when he is found.* One happy hindrance to the Deſigns of the *Fiery Serpent* have been this *way* afforded among us.

Others *Remember* Inſtances; I ſhall not mention them.

§. 5. A Young Fellow, (one *Dick Swayn*) that had been Servant unto a Captain of a Ship in *Boſton*, after a Thouſand Rogueries, had his Time given him by the Widow of the Captain, when ſhe became ſo, becauſe that ſhe would not be troubled with ſo Thieviſh, Lying and Wicked a Villain. This Fellow was afterwards detected in Villanies enough to fill a Volume, which procured his going in miſerable Circumſtances to *Virginia*; from whence he got through ſeveral Stages at length unto the Iſland of *Providence!* There the Monſter ſet up for a Preacher of the *Goſpel*, and putting on a mighty ſhow of Religion, he was mightily followed and admired; and the People treated him with a more than ordinary Liberality. Perceiving that it was time to be gone from thence, he Forged Letters of his Father's Death in *England*, by which a vaſt Eſtate was fallen to him; under the Umbrage of that Forgery, he gets off immediately by a Veſſel, that muſt firſt carry him to *New-England*. Having Preached ſeveral Sermons in the Southern Parts of *New-England*, he comes to *Boſton* in the Year 1698. where in private Houſes he would be ridiculouſly forward in thruſting himſelf upon *Prayer*, which he would manage with a Noiſe that might reach all the Neighbourhood. He began to Court Opportunities of *Preaching* among the Neighbours; but forgetting to change his Name, the Gentlewoman to whoſe Deceaſed Husband he had been a Servant, accidentally coming into the Houſe where he Lodged, and hearing one of that Name exceedingly cried up, as a Worthy, Able, Eminent Man, asked for a ſight of him. When to her Aſtoniſhment ſhe found it was *Dick*, even that very Scandalous *Dick* that had play'd ſo many abominable Pranks in her own Family ſome Years ago, the Gentlewoman could ſcarce believe her Eyes; and finding the Vagrant not give her any Intelligent Account how he became a *Chriſtian*, it was yet more Unintelligible to her how he became a *Miniſter*. He begg'd her

Pardon for all his old *Knaveries*, but ſhe being adviſed that he was now practiſing of *New* ones, took a Courſe that the People ſhould be deprived of ſo *Charming* a *Preacher*, as no doubt ſome of the giddy Populace would have counted him. So without any more Diſturbance, but only the cheating ſome Credulous Folks of conſiderable Sums of Money, he marched off.

§. 6. A Fellow in this preſent Year 1699. appeared in *Boſton*, pretending to be a Miniſter; concerning whom an Honeſt and a Diſcreet Man in the Country having a juſt fear, leſt our Charity ſhould unjuſtly and unawares take too kind notice of him, wrote me the following Account.

'This Day a Man, whoſe Name is *Eleazer* '*Kingsberry*, —— in Diſcourſe with him, told 'me he had Preached the Goſpel Four Months; 'he ſhewed me a *Certificate* to prove it, with 'about Twelve Names to it, all Written by his 'own Hand, (the inſtrument was drawn by a-'nother,) he alſo told me he Preached the laſt 'Sabbath between *Tanton* and *Freetown*, be-'fore a conſiderable Aſſembly; which was con-'firmed by a Man of *Tanton* then preſent. Con-'ſidering how God is likely to be diſhonoured, 'and the Goſpel ſcandalized by him, I thought 'it my Duty to undeceive you, by giving you 'the following Relation. He was Born and 'brought up in *Wrentham*, and Bound Prentice 'to a *Taylor*, but ſo Vicious a Servant, that his 'Maſter could do no good with him. He gat '*Free*, and Married a Wife but not long after '*Stole*, and left her, and adding to his *Felony* 'ſeveral other Vicious Tricks, he went to the '*Weſtward*. From thence he wrote a Letter to '*Wrentham*, which conſiſted chiefly of *Lies* and '*Curſes*. When I now ſpake with him, I ad-'viſed him to follow his *Calling*, and provide 'for his *Wife*, and not ſeek to Diſhonour God 'and deceive his People. He replied, As for 'his Wife ſhe was a Deviliſh Jade, and he 'would never take her more; but when he 'was ſettled, and had an Houſe, he would take 'her as a Servant; and if ſhe would not obey 'him, he would kick her into the Fire; but 'he would go on in *Preaching*, —— and he '*would wage Twenty Pieces of Eight, he would* '*get Money and Credit in a ſhort time.* —— 'I could fill a Sheet of Paper, but I hope I 'have ſaid enough to prevent his having any 'Encouragement from you; and what further 'ought to be done concerning him I leave to 'your Conſideration.

One of the Miniſters in *Boſton* immediately ſent after him a Letter under a flying Seal, ſolemnly charging him to leave off the Preſumptuous and Blaſphemous Courſe that he had thus taken up, and return unto his Family and Employment; and giving him to underſtand, that the *Juſtices* everywhere ſhould be informed of him, as being *a Vagabond*. Hereupon the *Vagabond*, as I am told, changed his Name into *Berry*, and ran away to a place called Cape *May*, where I am alſo told the People were ſo *Bewitched* with him, that they were almoſt ready to tear in pieces any Man that ſhould ſpeak diminutively of him.

§. 7. But tho' this Bird flew away to the Southward, unto Cape *May*, another, whoſe pretended Name was *May*, came upon this Coaſt about the ſame time. And on that Occaſion an Excellent and Ingenious Perſon wrote unto me ſuch Paſſages as theſe.

'*May* uſes to prove Pleaſant and Healthy; 'but the *Mob* are wont to Dance at the En-'trance of it, let it prove how it will. Mr. '*Parker* uſed to ſay, *The People love to Tap a* '*new Barrel.* I think I once told you of *E. F.* 'and *M. J.* but leſt I have not, I'll give you a 'Word of each.

'*E. F.* ſometimes of *Salem*, coming to *New-* '*Haven* on *Saturday* Even, being cloathed 'in *Black*, was taken for a *Miniſter*, and was 'able to Ape one, and humoured the miſtake 'like him that ſaid, *Si vult populus decipi, de-* '*cipiatur.* Word being carried to Mr. *J. T.* 'that a *Miniſter* was come to Town, he im-'mediately procured him to Preach both parts 'of the Day. The firſt was to Acceptation; 'but in the laſt Exerciſe he plentifully ſhewed 'himſelf to be a Whimſical Opinioniſt, and 'beſides, railed like *Rabſhakeh*, and Reviled the 'Magiſtrates, Miniſters and Churches at ſuch 'a rate, that the People were ready to pull him 'out of the Pulpit.

§ 8. 'The ſame Worthy Perſon goes on. '*M. J.* A *Welch* Tanner by Trade, ſome time 'Servant unto Captain *P.* at *Salem*, left *Salem*, 'went to *Say-Brook* work'd at his Trade, and 'ſtole Mr *W*'s Leather Breeches. Thence he 'went to *Staten-Iſland* by *New-York*, and ſet 'up for a *Preacher*, being a ready *Prater*. At 'the Information of a Pedling Trader he 'had an Invitation by ſome few of *Killingſworth* 'to Viſit them, and Preach in Order to Settle-'ment. He came, but happening to ſpeak ir-'reverently of ſomething in the Scripture be-'fore ſome of the People, it occaſioned ſuch 'Diviſion and Tumult, that he was not ſuffer-'ed to Preach before Mr. *Buckingham*'s Advice 'and Conſent was obtained, which when 'ſought, he adviſed them to enquire firſt whe-'ther this were not the Fellow that Stole the 'Leather Breeches. This proving even ſo, pre-'vented him at *Killingſworth*. Thence he 'went to *Brainford*, the Night before a Faſt, 'and making known his pretended Function, it 'was counted a good Providence; for they 'had no Miniſter, and he was earneſtly deſired 'to Preach, and as readily accepted it. But 'one *Peter Stent*, a Brother that uſed to Pray 'and Read a good Sermon among the People, 'when they had no Miniſter, knew nothing of 'this (for he lived at a Farm,) but in the 'Morning came provided to read one of Mr. '*A. Gray*'s Sermons. But he found *Morgan* at 'it when he came; and when he named his '*Text*, it was the ſame *his* intended Sermon 'was on; and out of Curioſity to ſee how Mens 'Wits jumpt in Proſecuting the ſame Text, he 'turned to his Book, and found *Morgan* the

'ſame

ſame with Mr. *Gray* Word for Word. He followed him while he was weary, and at length run before to a place in the Sermon that ſpoke of *Glaſgow Sinners*, and there lay wait for *Morgan*; but when he came there, he turned it, *New-England Sinners*; and that was all the Variation in the whole Sermon. The People were mightily Affected with the Sermon, and were hot upon calling *Morgan* to the Miniſtry. But *Stent* diſcovered the Cheat. So they diſmiſſed him, and the *Tanner* departed with Liberty to go as far as a New Pair of *Shooes* would carry him.

§. 9. *Faſcination* is a thing whereof Mankind has more *Experience* than *Comprehenſion*. And *Faſcination* is never more notoriouſly ſenſible, than in Mens running after *Falſe Teachers* of Religion. When *Falſe Teachers* impoſed on the *Galatians*, the Apoſtle ſaid, *O Fooliſh* Galatians, *who hath Bewitched you!* One cannot eaſily aſcribe unto a truer Cauſe, than a *Satanick Energy*, the ſtrange *Biaſs* upon the Minds of a Multitude, forceably and furiouſly ſometimes carrying them into Follies, from whence the plaineſt Reaſon in the World will not Reclaim them. What but ſuch an *Energy* could be upon the Minds of many People in *Boſton*, after the Arrival of one that went by the Name of *Samuel May*, about the beginning of *July*, 1699. The wonderful Succeſs of *Mahomet* upon a World, where Chriſtianity was to another Degree loſt than it is yet in *Boſton*, was no longer a Wonder unto us, when we ſaw the Succeſs of *May* in a place of ſo Chriſtian a Character as *Boſton*. It was all over pure *Enchantment!* He ſhow'd unto one Miniſter at his firſt Arrival a *Teſtimonial* of little, but ſome hopes of his being a Man of *a ſweet Goſpel Spirit*, ſigned with Two Names, whereof one was of a Man that once had been a Scandalous *Fire-Ship* among the Churches in this Country: Which when this Blade underſtood, he would never after ſhow his *Teſtimonial* to any more of our Miniſters, tho' they earneſtly and frequently ask'd him for it. So *Silly* and *Shallow* a Perſon he was, that it was impoſſible for any but ſuch to be many Minutes in his Company without being ſenſible of it. The firſt thing that made ſome to ſuſpect him, was his uſing to lift up his *Eyes* and *Hands*, with ſtrains of Devotion uſed by none others in the Aſſembly, after he had firſt look'd about to ſee who look'd upon him. Numberleſs Marks of a *Cheat* were daily more and more diſcovered in him; nevertheleſs, he was able to imitate a plauſible *Utterance* and *Action*, and ſeem'd ſo Zealouſly ſet upon *Inviting Men to Chriſt*, that after Sermon was over he would make *another Speech* to put 'em in Mind on't. Abundance of the People became ſo fiercely ſet for him, that they poured out a Thouſand Expreſſions of Rage upon the Faithful Paſtors of the Town, that thought not ſuch an *Illiterate* Creature (who by his own Confeſſion had never been one Year under any Education,) worthy to be ſet up in the Publick Pulpits. Though the bigger and wiſer part of the Town were not ſeized with this *Bigotry*, yet a Multitude became ſo Furious, that making it their Buſineſs to Solicite all ſorts of Perſons to go a *Maying* with them, if any refuſed, they could hardly eſcape ſome Reproach for it. The *Jews* were hardly more engaged for their *Sabatai Sevi*. The Diſciples of this *Money-catcher* became ſo *Exceeding Fierce*, many of them, that ſome ſober Men became afraid of *Paſſing by that way* where one muſt Encounter them. Though he were detected in ſeveral Crimes, as pretending to *Languages* which he knew nothing of, and this in the ſpecial Service and Preſence of the Lord; and Preaching *Stolen Sermons*, wherein he could not produce one material Sentence of his own; and horrid *Lying* in very repeated Inſtances: Yet his Followers would go on, making *Ridiculous Apologies* for him, and *Malicious Invectives* againſt any that would not yet believe him an *Eminent Saint*. Yea, they began to throw *Libels* into the Houſes of the Miniſters, the moſt inſolent that ever I ſaw. The *Anabaptiſts* employed him at their *Meeting-Houſe*, which was now filled with great Congregations; and it was an undeſerved, an aſtoniſhing, a very memorable *Mercy* of God unto the Town, that this Man was now kept from venting any *Hereſies* among a People, that made themſelves to become ſuch *Tinder* for any Sparks that he might ſtrike into them. And yet it was another Mercy as great as this, that the Young Women in the Town were not betray'd and debauch'd into fearful Whoredoms: For at length Witneſſes, Good, Virtuous, Credible Witneſſes appear'd, that ſhew'd him to have been as dangerous a *Devil* as the poor Young Women could have met withal, when by a certain Reverence for him as a Miniſter they were prepared for his vile Solicitations. He perceived theſe things beginning to break out, and away he flew; none of the Endeavours uſed by his Admirers to make him ſtay could ſtop him. The *Paſtors* of the Churches had before made this Reflection, That after Men of the moſt unſpotted Piety have ſpent whole Prenticeſhips of Years in the Faithful, Watchful, Painful Service of the Churches, and have ſerved them Day and Night with Prayers, with Tears, with Faſtings, with their moſt Studied Sermons and Writings, and have never ſuch a Reputation with the Churches in Countries afar off; yet if any *Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing* do come with a few good Words among them, the *ſimple Souls* of many will not only follow the *Wolf*, but on his Account Bark at the *Shepherds*. This is a *Vanity that I have ſeen under the Sun*. But the *People* had now this Reflection to make, that ſince they had ſinfully ſlighted their moſt Serviceable *Paſtors*, who never craved after the *Riches* of this World, they ſhould by the juſt Judgment of God be left unto ſuch an Infatuation, as to enrich a *Craving Beggar* with many Pounds of their Subſtance; which *Beggarly Stranger* immediately apply'd

Eeeeeee 2

himſelf, (not to inſtil the Fear of God, and Love of Chriſt, into your Children, O Injured People, as your *Paſtors* do, with a moſt indefatigable Application! but) to teach them, that Fornication and Adultery is no Sin, and to watch Opportunities of making them like himſelf, the *Children of the Devil.* Repent, O Infatuated People; Repent of what you have done; and let the enſuing *Letter* help you more throughly to conſider the Occaſions for your doing ſo.

Religio Contaminata ad omnium Pertinet injuriam.

Boſton, 25 *d.* 10 *m.* 1699.

A Letter, containing a Remarkable Hiſtory of an Impoſtor.

SIR,

I Am going to Entertain you with a very ſurpriſing Story, by the Communication whereof, the Wiſdom, and Goodneſs, and Juſtice of *Heaven*, will become Obſervable to many Chriſtian Minds, and the *Devices* of *Hell*, againſt the Intereſts of *Heaven*, be a little more fully underſtood, and by being underſtood, for the future prevented.

The laſt Summer, in the very Ship that brought us Letters from our Friends in *England*, adviſing us of much Inconvenience ariſing to the Non conformiſts, from ill Fellows that pretended unto the *Preaching of the Glorious Goſpel*, there arrived unto us a Man that pretended the Name of *Samuel May*, and the Character of a *Preacher*, having with him a Woman whom he call'd his *Wife*, but uſed her with an *Unwifely Crabbedneſs*, that gave Scandal to the People aboard. Albeit this Man gave me much cauſe to be ſuſpicious, leſt *he* might be one of thoſe whom our Letters complained of, yet my Compaſſion towards a *Needy Stranger*, whom I ſaw in Ragged, Wretched, Forlorn Circumſtances, cauſed me, among other ways, of being Helpful unto him, to ſeek that he might be twice Employ'd in, and Required for Preaching at our *Private Meetings*; hoping thereby to have a little *Trial* of him. His *Plauſible Delivery* preſently *Enchanted* abundance of honeſt People, who thought *all was Gold that gliſtered*; but many Days paſſed not before I found ſeveral things which made me ſay, *I doubt he was a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing.* They that now ſay, They follow'd this Man becauſe I commended him, wrong me very much; for though 'tis not my manner *to ſpeak ill* of Men, till I *know* what I *ſpeak*, and that it is my Duty to *ſpeak*; yet I let fall words from the very firſt, that any Intelligent Hearer might ſee I had ſome *Fear* about him. The cauſe of that *Fear* was this; I found, that altho' 'tis no time of any *Perſecution* that ſhould force any but ill Men to *conceal themſelves*, yet he came Aboard the Veſſel under ſome *concealment*, not profeſſing, nor ſuppoſed for to be a *Miniſter* but rather a *Mendicant*, until they had ſailed many Leagues. I found that he could mention the Name of no one *Miniſter* in *London* with whom he durſt ſay that he had any Acquaintance; leſt, as it ſhould ſeem, he ſhould happen to mention one with whom we ſhould be better Acquainted. I found that he was unaccountably *Shy* of giving us any ſatisfactory Account of his Original, his Education, his former Circumſtances; by no means could I get him to tell me in what Employment he had ſpent the Firſt Six or Seven and Twenty Years of his Life. What appear'd moſt *probable* (and ſince more *probable*) was, That he was a **Barber.** *A blind Charity* would ſtill have perſwaded me to keep alive ſome *hope*, that *Folly*, rather than *Deſign*, might lye at the bottom of his odd Conduct; but I ſoon obſerved *ſomething* that made me ſay to ſome of my Intimate Friends, *That I fear'd he would prove at laſt a ſmutty, filthy, wanton Fellow.* However, things not being yet come to that maturity, I contented my ſelf with calling to mind the Rule which the old *Britain* gave his Countrymen, to diſcover whether *Auſtin* the *Monk* were a *Man of God* or no. Thought I, 'If this be 'an *honeſt* Man, he is an *humble* Man: If he be 'a *Faithful Servant* of Chriſt, he'll plainly let 'his *Fellow Servants* know what he *is*, what he '*intends*, what he *can* do, and humbly refer 'himſelf to *Them* for *Direction* and *Aſſiſtance*. We found nothing of this; but though he were wholly *Illiterate*, and not able even to write a little Common Engliſh, (for inſtance, there were *Eighteen* horrid *falſe Spells*, and not *one Point*, in one very ſhort Note that I received from him) yet this proud *Thraſo* would in his Preaching Oſtentate Skill in *Latin*, and in *Greek*, yea, and in *Hebrew*; but God left him to ſuch *Folly* in his *Pride*, that he frequently pronounced the *Exotic Words* in a manner ſo ridiculous, as to render it plain that he knew nothing of them: And in one of thoſe two or three private *Preachments*, by which 'twas hop'd we might have ſome Taſte of his Faculties, he was under ſuch an Infatuation, that he would needs give ſome *Hebrew* to us; but what he gave us might be *Welch* or *Iriſh*, or the *Va-*

gabonds

gabonds Cant, for ought I knew; one Miniſter preſent knew it was not in ſix or ſeven Languages, in all which himſelf had in various Writings Addreſs'd the World, and others of his Hearers, beſides I, knew that there was no ſuch *Hebrew* in the *Lexicon*. Who but one *Hypocritically* diſpoſed would have done ſo? If he were a *Shaver*, 'twas plain however he was not the moſt *Cunning* in the World: In the mean time, 'twas a ſtrange *Enchantment* upon the People, that they ſhould after theſe things put themſelves *into* his Hands. But that his *Humility* might be the more Notorious, I was preſently informed, that the Blade, with an *Arrogance* equal to his *Ignorance*, began to complain. That the *Miniſters* of the Town did not immediately Invite him into their Pulpits; and upon his Complaints, many ſinful People (who have great Cauſe to take no little ſhame unto themſelves for their cauſleſs and ſhameleſs Iniquity) began to Defame the Miniſters with Slanderous Outcries, *That they were always uncivil to Strangers*; and ſome could beſtow this Compariſon upon them, *That here was come a better Workman than themſelves, whom therefore they would not ſuffer to ſtay in the Town if they could help it.* The Paſtors of the Churches being deſirous to anſwer the Expectations of the People, as far as they could in Conſcience unto the People themſelves, and with Credit unto the Evangelical Miniſtry, they ſent unto this Man in as Loving and as Tender Terms as they could a Meſſage to this porpoſe, *That they being ſincerely deſirous to Encourage him in doing all the good he ſhould be found Able to do, and he not having brought ſatisfactory Teſtimonials into the Country with him, they pray'd a viſit from him, in which they would inform themſelves of his Abilities for the Evangelical Miniſtry, and with all poſſible Eaſineſs proceed in their Examining and Adviſing of him.* To this Meſſage there was brought us from him an Anſwer of this purport, *That he knew no Authority the Miniſters had to Enquire after him, and he was not bound to give them an account of himſelf*, and more to that Effect. The Miniſters had now done but the Duty of *Watchmen* that would be found faithful to the Churches and Neighbours; but none of their *Watchfulneſs* could hinder many of the People from the great fault of *running themſelves into Temptation*, by giddily running after the Inſtructions of a Fellow that had *Shunn'd the Light, becauſe his Deeds were Evil.* The People, (whoſe *Charity* has been for the moſt part ſo *Exemplary*, that methinks 'tis pity it ſhould ever be *miſplaced* and *perverted*) ſome of them not only made a large Collection to pay the *Paſſage* of this miſchievous *Beggar*, and put *Money* into his Pocket; but alſo fill'd the Town with ſo much Lying and Outrage againſt their faithful Miniſters, for not counting ſuch an *Unlettered Thing* a fit Inſtructor for their Flocks, that I could not but think an hundred times of the People *bewitched by* Simon *the Sorcerer*, and ſay, *That the greateſt Blemiſh that ever befel the Town, was in the madneſs which they now diſcovered.* Who would have believed it, that in a Town ſo Illuminated as *Boſton* there ſhould be any People of ſuch a Principle, *That if the greateſt Villain in the World ſhould arrive a total Stranger among us, and for his True Name give us perhaps only the firſt Syllable of his Name, and of a Barber turn a Preacher, the Paſtors here muſt immediately Set him up in the publick Pulpits, or elſe the People unjuſtly load them with all the Calumnious Indignities that can be thought of?* However, the Miniſters bore with Patience all the Contempt which their Great Lord ſaw the People fooliſhly caſt upon them, and no two of them that ever I heard of, ever let fall one word publickly to *Rebuke* their Folly; But, Sir, you ſhall ſee anon whether the Lord himſelf will not *Rebuke* it, and make the People wiſh, *They had hearkned unto the Voice of their Teachers.*

We have in our Vicinity a *Small Congregation* of *Anabaptiſts*, with whom I had always lived in a *Good Correſpondence.* Forgive me the vanity if I ſay, without judging proper in this place, to *prove* what I ſay, That never any Miniſter, ſo diſtant from their Perſwaſion, carried it with more Civility and Affection towards Perſons of their Perſwaſion, than I made it my Endeavour to do. Becauſe I believed there were godly Perſons among them, I offered them, that if they ſhould come (as they were likely) to have the Divine *Inſtitutions* fail among themſelves, I would freely accept them to Communion with my own Flock; and though they ſhould be ſo ſcrupulous as to turn their Backs as often as an *Infant* was *Baptiſed*, it ſhould not be made an Offence. This offer I made them, I hope not out of a ſinful Affectation to *Enlarge* my Flock; the moſt undeſerved Favour of Heaven has employ'd my poor Services in ſuch Aſſemblies, that I have cauſe to Study how I may *ſerve* them *Better*, before I go to get them *Larger*; but it was purely from a *Spirit of Charity.* Indeed I had no Anſwer, but this, *We look upon you as an Unbaptized Man, and therefore we cannot hold Communion with you:* But tho' this *New Comer* were in their Opinion, *An Unbaptiſed Man*, yet they now took this opportunity to Invite him unto publick and conſtant Preaching every *Lord's Day*, and a *Lecture* beſides in their *Meeting-Houſe.* Indeed I muſt ſo far *Vindicate* theſe *Brethren*, as to tell you, That they do not ſeem to me ſo much in *Fault*, as divers other People of my own Profeſſion who Solicited them, and Inſtigated them, to ſet up a Preacher for them, which their own *Paſtors* had Refuſed; and it was on ſome Accounts a time of *Temptation* with them. Neverthelеſs I cannot wholly *Juſtifie* this *Faulty Action:* And their ſetting up ſuch a Fellow, under all theſe ill Circumſtances, to be their *Publick Teacher*, look'd the worſe, becauſe they could not but ſee that it nouriſhed in his Numerous Proſelytes, not only the ſleight of a *Learned Miniſtry*, but alſo a Diſpoſition which ordinarily Inſpired thoſe that were

were proſelyted by him to become *Enemies* and *Revilers* of the *Miniſters* of the Town. One of thoſe *Miniſters* beholding the *Spirit* which this thing was done withal, freely told the *Anabaptiſts*, That *the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaw what Principles they acted upon, would certainly make this very Man the Occaſion of the greateſt Confuſion that ever befel them:* And at the ſame time ſaw cauſe to foretel unto many others, *That the Devices of Satan in this Matter were for this Man to engage many of our weaker People to be his Hearers, by his not profeſſing himſelf an Anabaptiſt, but when he had them faſt, then about three or four Months hence to profeſs himſelf an Anabaptiſt, and lead them, who could ſay whither, with him.* Unto the Man himſelf alſo, that Perſon having ſignified his Diſlike of what he had ſeen in him, Concluded, 'The *Miniſters* of this Town, who have by your means been greatly and ungratefully Reviled, will, I ſuppoſe, trouble themſelves no farther about you, except ſome remarkable Occaſion oblige them to it: but they will carry their *Flocks* to the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and they will carry their *Names* to the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and they will carry *You* alſo unto the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*; but I believe the *Conſequence* of this will very ſpeedily be unto *You* very uncomfortable. He and his Creatures went on filling the Town with *Slander*, in Inſtances which I deſire to *Forgive* and *Forget*: Only one of them I will mention, becauſe they made more than ordinary Noiſe about it. Having too juſt Cauſe to fear, that this Inſolent Fellow would *Steal* an Admiſſion to the *Lord's Table* in my own Church, I went unto his Houſe on purpoſe to *Forbid* him from it; but they ſpread a Story over the Town that I came to *Invite* him to it. Many Days did not now paſs before I did, by a ſingular Accident, meet with a Book of Dr. *Samuel Bolton's*, wherein there is a Diſcourſe about *The Royalties of Faith*; and this Diſcourſe, to my Surprize, I found ſo very much the ſame with what I had my ſelf heard this Man deliver, that I thought the two Boys in *Plautus* were not more alike, — *Dixitque ſibi ſua Concio, Fur es.* I ſent for many other of the Hearers, who had better *Memories* than my ſelf and offered them to give them a conſiderable Price for every Sentence they could call to Mind in their Dr. *Samuel May's* Diſcourſe, that I could not ſhow them in my Dr. *Samuel Bolton's*; which offer they ſome of them took, but could not find *one Sentence* for their Advantage: The exact Agreement between *Samuel* the *Doctor*, and *Sam.* the *Dunce*, was a diverting Surprize to all that ſaw it. Hereupon a Miniſter of the Town viſited the Man himſelf, and profered him a *Piece of Eight* for every material Sentence that he could produce of his own Diſcourſe about *The Royalties of Faith*, which could not be produced from the *Author*, and in the *Order*, and with his *Flouriſhes* and *Expreſſions*, that were moſt *Peculiar*; and he ſet before him the *Cheat* and the *Crime* that there is in Preaching *Stolen Sermons*. Indeed, becauſe the Man had no *Academical* Education (except one ſhould ſuppoſe at *Samcurgan*, a certain famous Academy in *Lithuania*.) it was to no purpoſe to quote unto him the Saying of *Syneſius*, *Magis impium eſſe mortuorum Lucubrationes, quam veſtes furari*; But I did in *plain Engliſh* tell him the Diſhoneſty of the Matter. He not only Denied that ever he had us'd or ſeen any of Dr. *Bolton's* Works, (though he was alſo detected of *Stealing* Three or Four more Sermons out of this very Book!) but he alſo called the Great and Dreadful God to Witneſs, *That the Diſcourſe he delivered was the pure effect of his own Induſtry and Invention*; adding, That he had no other way to give Satisfaction, but by Preaching on any Text that Miniſter ſhould give him. The Miniſter told him, that he was aſtoniſhed at his horrid *Wickedneſs* and *Atheiſm*, and that if he were to be believed in this thing, all *Humane Proof* of any thing muſt come to an End. He proceeded, That he had outgone all the *Cheats* that ever had appear'd among us, for being ſo hardned in *Impiety* and *Stupidity*, as to *deny* a Fact wherein he was as plainly Detected as ever any *Thief* that was taken with the *Stolen Goods* about him. And he concluded, '*Miſerable Man*, do you ask me for a *Text* to Preach upon? I have a *Text* more than One for you to think upon. Go Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that Text, Pſal. 101. 7. *He that telleth Lies, ſhall not tarry in my ſight.* Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that Text, *Pſal.* 50. 16. *Unto the wicked God ſaith, What haſt thou to do to declare my Statutes?* Preach, if you dare to do it, upon that Text, *Rev.* 21. 8. *All Liars ſhall have their Part in the Lake.* And if you dare carry on your *Impiety* ſo far, Preach upon that Text, Rev. 2. 23. *All the Churches ſhall know, that I ſearch the Reins and the Hearts.* But let me Faithfully and Solemnly, and as a *Miniſter of God*, and as one ſpeaking to you in the Name of *God*, and in the Fear of *God*, Admoniſh you to *Repent* of your Wickedneſs. I doubt you will not *Repent*, and therefore I tell you, *I am verily perſwaded the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who knows your Secret Wickedneſs, will bring it out. I verily Believe, That in your Detection, the Glorious Lord* **Jeſus Chriſt will make all the Churches to know, that He ſearches the Reins and the Hearts** *of the Children of Men. Remember I told you ſo, and that many Months will not paſs before this come to paſs: It may be I may Live to ſee it.* He Trembled and Quivered when the Miniſter ſpoke theſe things unto him; yet he Repented not, but in a few Hours he ſet the People a Railing at that Miniſter in many Corners of the Town, for *Abuſing a Precious, Godly, Worthy Man.* Some adviſed the *Arreſting* of that Miniſter in *Great Actions* for *Defaming* of this *Excellent Perſon*; And others had the *Fear of God* ſo little in exerciſe with them, as to cry out, *That if this Man had been guilty of all that was charg'd on him, yet for that Miniſter to ſpeak ſuch things to him, was as great an Offence as his.*

I

I had Reaſon to deſire that the *Truth* might now appear a little more irrefragably, and therefore I went unto the Officers of the *Anabaptiſt* Church, declaring, *That I apprehended my ſelf able to convict the Man whom they employ'd as a Publick Teacher among them of being a Cheat, and of having horribly Ly'd againſt his Conſcience in ſeveral Repeated and Notorious Inſtances; and that I deſired on my own behalf, and on the behalf of the other Miniſters in the Town, that they would appoint a Place the next Week, where I might prove my Charge to his Face, and they ſhould be Judges of it.* I could not have Imagined it, but the Church being informed of my Demand, immediately Renewed (as I am told) their *Call* unto him, to continue his *Preaching* among them; and by their *Miniſter* and *Another* there was an Anſwer of this Importance brought unto me, *That inaſmuch as this Man was not a Member of their Church, they did not apprehend themſelves concerned to take any notice of what I had offered.* Whereto my Reply was, *Well, I have done my Duty, and I hope you have conſidered, Whether it will be for Chriſt's Honour, or for your own, to employ a Man as a Publick Preacher, againſt whom ſuch a Charge is urg'd, and may be prov'd, if you will but hear it.* And thought I, how much will Chriſtians act beſides themſelves when *Led into Temptation.* From this time, even from *September* (I think) to *December*, I concern'd my ſelf no further; being ſatisfied that it would not be long before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaw how impiouſly this Man *mocked* him, would *Search him out*, and Cloath with perpetual Confuſion thoſe that would perſiſt in Aſſiſting ſuch a *Mocker* of Heaven. One would have thought that confiderate People after this warning would have been as much afraid of ſeeing ſuch a *Spectre* in a *Pulpit*, as if he had been the *Holder-forth*, which they ſay ſometimes appears in the *Copper Mines* of *Sueden*. But many People, inſtead of taking the warning, went on ſtill, under the Influences of this *Ignis Fatuus*, to treat me (and much better Men) with Numberleſs and Furious Abuſes for giving it; and with a *practical Commentary* upon the Diſtempers mentioned in the Beginning of the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*. I praiſe the Lord for his making me unwilling to *Remember* them, and I pray *him* to caſt them out of his *Remembrance*. At laſt the Malice went ſo far, that they began to throw into my Houſe inſolent, bitter, bloody *Libels*, wherein, albeit the nameleſs Writers confeſs *a great Eſteem for me for my moderate Spirit towards them that differ from me*, yet they now in moſt venemous Terms of Rage flew upon me for my *Reviling an Eminent Worthy Stranger*, (as they expreſs it) and *Perſecuting* one who had the *Root of the matter in him*, and one who had now the Liberty of a more *Unſtained Pulpit* than any of thoſe which had been deny'd him. All theſe, and many more ſuch things, wherein I *heard the Defaming of many*, I bore, I hope I may ſay, *Silently*, and *Patiently*, and it was a great Fault in me, if not *Prayerfully*: And if I did not ſet my ſelf to conſider, *What Holy Leſſons were to be learnt out of ſuch Temptations*: In which *Leſſons* I ſhould have been ſufficiently *Requited Good*, for the *Curſing* of all the *Shimei*'s in the Town. But thought I, what *Spirit* poſſeſſes theſe Touchy Folks that they can't let me be quiet? I do nothing to Diſquiet them: Or does that *Spirit* ſee that his *time* is but *Short*, e'er the Diſpleaſure of Heaven put this *Boutefeu* and his Diſciples to the Bluſh which had been foretold unto them? Truly, Sir, I had no Remedy, but humbly to carry my Complaints unto the Lord, who knew my Faithfulneſs.

This *Evil Worker* now apply'd himſelf unto the *Anabaptiſts* with private Intimations, that for Four or Five Years he had been convinced in his Conſcience that *their way* was the *Right way*, and that he was now in ſome Trouble of Conſcience for his having delay'd ſo long to Declare himſelf, but it ſhould not now be long before he did. When things were now become juſt Ripe for the *Devices* of *Satan* to take effect, behold how the Wonderful Providence of Heaven defeated them! *The Lord ſent an Evil Spirit* between this Man and the *Anabaptiſts* that had adhered unto him. Even *they* began to find their *Eminent Worthy Stranger* guilty of ſuch *Lying*, and ſuch *Lewdneſs*, and ſuch Damnable *Covetouſneſs*, (eſpecially when upon their not carrying Money to him on a Lord's Day wherein he Preached not, he flew out, as I am told, like a *Dragon*, ſpitting this among other *Fire* at them, *I ſee, no longer* **Pipe,** *no longer Dance*!) that they came to fear he was a *Cheat*, and wiſhed they had never ſeen him. While things were thus operating, the guilty Fellow having bubbled the ſilly Neighbours of incredible Scores of Pounds, and thinking that the Anſwers of my Letters to *Europe* about him were not far off, all on the ſudden he will be gone; and none of the charming offers that were made him if he would continue, could procure his continuance any longer in the Country. He that had often told us, his coming from *England* was with a purpoſe to ſee his Uncle in *Virginia*, whom it may be no Man elſe ever ſaw, now without one look towards *Virginia* Ships himſelf to Return for *England*. But God will no longer be *mocked*!

A Virtuous and Laudable Young Gentleman in the Neighbourhood lets fall a Word unto one of his Friends, *That he was informed this Man had uſed ſome uncivil Carriage towards a Woman that belonged unto one of the Churches in the Town.* Some of the Hearers go and complain that this Gentleman ſaid, *The Man had got ſuch a Woman with Child*, whereupon ſome of the Man's Friends began to be obſtreperous. The Ingenuous Young Gentleman was too well beloved by all that knew his conſtant Piety, to be ſuſpected of ſpeaking a *Falſhood*; and the trouble on the Minds of his Friends for him immediately made ſeveral Diſcreet and Honeſt *Women* to ſpeak out more plainly, how able

able they were to aſſert the Truth of what he had really ſpoken. Horrid things began to be muttered about this Wretch for divers Weeks before; and no doubt the apprehenſion of their taking Air haſtened his Flight; but a modeſt Woman, eſpecially if ſhe don't know of any one elſe to ſuſtain with her the weight of the Teſtimony, appears with no ſmall Reluctancy to Teſtifie an Affront offered unto her. It had been remark'd by ſome, that this Villain, though in *Publick Prayer* he were extraordinarily Devout, yet he had a ſtrange Indiſpoſition to *Private Prayer*. And there was enough to render *Prayer* uneaſie to his guilty Soul; for while he was *Feaſting* with the abuſed Neighbours, *he had Eyes full of Adultery that could not ceaſe from Sin*. The burning Jealouſie of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt will now bring out the Villany of this Man, and **make all the Churches to know that he ſearches the Reins and the Hearts.** The *Hypocrite* had made ſuch a ſhow of Zeal in his Performances on the *Stage*, that every one ſaid, *This Man muſt be either a great Saint, or a great Rogue*; and as to one of theſe, I queſtion whether a *greater* ever came into this Land.

Sir, I durſt not blot my Paper with all the abominable things that are teſtified upon *Oath* againſt this *Eminent Worthy Stranger*. But the Sum of the Teſtimonies depoſed upon *Oath* before the Magiſtrate, *Decemb.* 7. 1699. by ſeveral Women of unblemiſh'd Reputation, is, 'That he would often watch Opportunities of 'getting them alone, and then would often af'front them with Lewd, Vile and Laſcivious 'Carriages, which rendered it a dangerous thing 'to be alone with him, and abundantly aſſured 'them, that he was a *great Rogue*, and that 'if they had been for his Turn, he would have 'ſtuck at no Villany towards them. That he 'would alſo talk at a vile rate, and among o'ther things he would plead, *That there was* '*no Sin in Adultery*.

The Teſtimonies after this increaſed on our Hands, which aſſured us, That on a *Saturday*, with his *Bible* in his Hands, he could Solicite Young Women to Wantonneſs; Yea, and Endeavour to Intoxicate them, that he might purſue his vile Purpoſes upon them. Yea, that when he heard of a Young Woman affected with his *Miniſtry*, he would find her out, and ſpend ſeveral Hours together in rude Actions and Speeches to her, and urging her to Lye with him, which he ſaid was *no Sin*, for *David* and *Solomon* did as much; and adding, *They need not fear being with Child by him, for none ever were ſo!* More of this prodigious *Deviliſm* was teſtified againſt this *Eminent Worthy Stranger*; and other horrid ſtuff begins to come to Light, and I ſuppoſe would ſoon be *found*, if *ſought for*; but I abhor to rake any further in ſuch a *Dunghil*.

They that fill'd the Town with other Impiety, by ſetting up this *Filthy Dreamer*, have now a time to admire the Favour of Heaven, (more than their own *Prudence*) that there was not ſet up a Congregation of *Nicolaitans* in the Town, and that the Young People have not been debauched into fearful Whoredoms, and led away to the *Unclean Spirit*, like the *Tranſilvanian* Children, which Danced after the **Pied Piper** into the Cave of *Hamelen*.

But I have obſerved, That whereas grievous *Times of Temptation* are ever now and then ſent upon our *Churches*, if the Servants of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt can, for a while, bear to be *buffeted* by the fooliſh Rage of thoſe *Times*, and apply themſelves to humble *Prayer* and *Faith* before the great Lord, who holds the *Tempter* in a Chain; and if inſtead of anſwering to *Reviling* with *Reviling*, they are only quickned unto more of *Holineſs* and *Uſefulneſs*; the *Times* do not prove **Days** *of Temptation*, but meer **Hours** *of Temptation*; and, *Nubeculæ cito tranſituræ*, preſently at an end. And ſo it was in the *Storm of Temptation*, which by *Satan* was now raiſed in our Neighbourhood.

It has in ſome former Years commonly happened unto me, that when I viſited in the way of my *Paſtoral Duty* Perſons *Poſſeſſed* with *Evil Spirits*, the Perſons, though they knew every one elſe in the Room, yet through the unaccountable Operation of the *Evil Spirits* upon their Eyes, I muſt appear ſo Dirty, ſo Ugly, ſo *Diſguiſ'd* unto them, that they could have no Knowledge of me. I have a Thouſand times thought that the Lord ordered this for ſome Intimation unto me, that when *Times of Temptation* come, wherein *Evil Spirits* have as much Operation on the *Minds* of many People, as they have upon the *Eyes* of *Energumens*, a Miniſter of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that will be faithful unto his Intereſts, muſt look to be all over *Diſguiſ'd* by Miſrepreſentations unto the *Minds* of them that are under the Power of *Temptation*. A Miniſter ſhall ſtrictly impoſe that *Law of Kindneſs* upon his *Lips*, to ſpeak not one Intemperate or Injurious *Word* on the greateſt Provocation, and yet be repreſented as a Man full of *Bitterneſs*. He ſhall be always *Deviſing things* to relieve the miſerable, and ſpend more than many others do imagine poſſible to be ſpent in *Pious Uſes*, and ſcorn to take many *little Gains*, that might lawfully be taken, and yet they ſhall cry out of him for *Uncharitableneſs* and *Incivility*. He ſhall never once in his Life ask a *Salary* from his Flock, nor agree with them about a *Salary*, nor have his dependance on the *Lord's-Day Collections* for a *Salary*, nor be in any likelihood of ſeeing the *Lord's-Day Collections* to fail, and yet they ſhall flout at him, as one *afraid of loſing his Contribution*. A Miniſter ſhall be of ſuch a Temper, that perceiving a conſiderable and valuable part of his Flock to put themſelves unto a deal of Trouble to attend upon his Miniſtry (by paſſing a large Ferry every *Lord's-Day*,) he ſhall one Year after another call upon thoſe beloved Chriſtians to leave his Miniſtry, and ſet up a *New Church* by themſelves, and ſet a Worthy Paſtor over them, to ſupport whom he ſhall offer to contribute not a little, and part with ſome

of his own *Salary*; and yet this Miniſter ſhall be repreſented as *Afraid of nothing more than loſing his Hearers*. He ſhall—but I don't love to mention theſe things; the Lord of Heaven teach us by theſe things to *Long for Heaven*, and even while we are on *Earth* to *Live in Heaven*.

You will doubtleſs make ſome Advantage to your Holy Thoughts from this Remarkable Story; and my other Neighbours will make, I hope, at leaſt this Advantage from it, that if another *Barber*, inſtead of the other Courſes that bring ſo many to *Tyburn*, come over from *London* hither, to recruit his *Broken Fortunes* by the *Blaſphemies* of *Stolen Sermons*, plauſibly and fervently delivered; the People have now learnt a little more Wit, than to Pamper ſuch a Fellow with their plentiful Cookery, and Equip him with Score of Pounds in his Pocket, and ſend him to *London* again to Laugh at the Folly of them that will permit themſelves to be ſo Abuſed.

'Tis time for me now to Subſcribe my ſelf, (inaſmuch as I am not Writing a *Libel*)

SIR,

Your Sincere Servant,

Cotton Mather.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Country has been ſo fill'd with *Lies*, on the Occaſion of the things which have been *truly* repreſented in this my *Letter*, that I ſuppoſe I ſhall Publiſh the *Letter* unto the Country. And if any blame the Publication, I think they will forget *What is required in the Ninth Commandment*; and I fear they will but expoſe themſelves unto the Cenſures of Wiſe and Good Men, as the Friends of this *Impoſtor*, not out of *Charity*, (as divers Worthy Chriſtians before they knew him *were*) but from a Principle of *Impiety* and *Malignity*. Among the ancient *Iſraelites*, when a *Falſe Prophet*, or an *Unclean Prieſt* was found, every Man had a *Commiſſion*, in the Preſence of *Ten Men*, to execute the *Law* upon him, (as *Grotius* tells us) *Non Expectato Judice*. But when one of thoſe Wretches received his Puniſhment, it was the Cuſtom, *That a Letter concerning it ſhould be diſpatch'd unto all the Cities of* Iſrael. As for this *Unclean Prophet*, the *Letter* it ſelf *that is now diſpatch'd unto all the Churches*, is the chief *Puniſhment* hitherto inflicted on him.

CHAP. VI.

Arma Viroſq; Cano: *Or*, *The* Troubles *which the Churches of* NEW-ENGLAND *have undergone in the* WARS, *which the People of that Country have had with the* Indian *Salvages*.

§. 1. TWO Colonies of Churches being *brought forth*, and a Third *conceived* within the Bounds of *New-England*, by the Year 1636. it was time for the *Devil* to take the *Alarum*, and make ſome attempt in Oppoſition to the *Poſſeſſion* which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt was going to have of theſe *utmoſt Parts of the Earth*. Theſe *Parts* were then covered with Nations of Barbarous *Indians* and Infidels, in whom the *Prince of the Power of the Air* did *Work as a Spirit*; nor could it be expected that Nations of Wretches, whoſe whole *Religion* was the moſt Explicit ſort of *Devil-Worſhip*, ſhould not be acted by the Devil to engage in ſome early and bloody Action, for the Extinction of a Plantation ſo contrary to his Intereſts, as that of *New-England* was. Of theſe Nations there was none more Fierce, more Warlike, more Potent, or of a greater *Terror* unto their Neighbours, than that of the PEQUOTS; but their being ſo much a *Terror* to their Neighbours, and eſpecially to the *Narraganſets* on the Eaſt-ſide of them, and the *Monhegins* on the *Weſt*, upon whom they had committed many Barbarous Outrages, produced ſuch a *Diviſion in the Kingdom of Satan* againſt it ſelf, as was very ſerviceable to that of our Lord. In the Year 1634. theſe terrible *Salvages* killed one Captain *Stone*, and Captain *Norton*, with Six Men more, in a Bark ſailing up *Connecticut* River, and then ſunk her. In the Year 1635. a Bark ſailing from the *Maſſachuſet*-Bay to *Virginia*, being by a Tempeſt caſt away at *Long-Iſland*, the ſame terrible Salvages killed ſeveral of the Shipwrack'd Engliſhmen. In the Year 1636. at *Block-Iſland* coming

coming Aboard a Veſſel to Trade, they Murdered the Maſter. And another coming that way, ſound that they had made themſelves Maſters of a Bark, which occaſioned the ſending of an Hundred and Twenty Soldiers thither, under the Command of Captain *Endicot*, Captain *Underhil*, and Captain *Turner*, by the Governour and Council at *Boſton*, upon whom, at their Landing, the *Indians* violently ſhot, and ſo ran away where no *Engliſh* could come at them. Travelling further up to the *Pequot* Country, the *Pequots* refuſed, upon a Conference, to Surrender the Murderers Harboured among them, which were then demanded; whereupon a Skirmiſh enſued, in which, after the Death of one of their Men, the *Indians* fled, but the *Engliſh* deſtroyed their *Corn* and their *Hutts*, and ſo returned.

Moreover, a Fort, with a Garriſon of Twenty Men, being by ſome Agents that were ſent over by the Lord *Say* and the Lord *Brook*, formed at the River's Mouth, (a place called *Say-Brook*) the *Piquots* after this lay ſculking about that Fort almoſt continually; by which means divers of the *Engliſh* loſt their Lives, and ſome that were ſeized by the *Indians* going up the River, were moſt horribly Tortured by them, and Roaſted alive; and afterwards the *Tawnies* would with Deriſion in the *Engliſh* hearing, imitate the doleful *Ejulations* and *Invocations* of the poor Creatures that had periſhed under their cruel Tortures, and add infinite *Blaſphemies* thereunto. Unto all which there was annexed the Slaughter of *Nine Men*, with the taking of *Two Maids*, by this horrid Enemy lying in Ambuſh for them as they went into the Fields at *Weatherfield*. So that the Infant Colonies of *New-England* finding themſelves neceſſitated unto the *Cruſhing of Serpents*, while they were but yet in the *Cradle*, Unanimouſly reſolved, that with the Aſſiſtance of Heaven they would root this *Neſt of Serpents* out of the World.

Reader, it is remark'd concerning one *Anah*, in very early Times, [*Gen.* 36. 24.] That he *found Mules in the Wilderneſs*. But theſe *Mules* were, if I been't miſtaken, as very *Men* as the *Pequots*, whom the Firſt Planters of *New-England found in the Wilderneſs*. We are convinced by ſuch Incomparable Writers as *Bochart*, that the Mountainous Parts of *Seir*, where our *Anab* dwelt, was a Country no ways Famous for *Mules*; but we may then incline rather to the Opinion of *Sanbert*, who maintains, that the ימים here by us Tranſlated *Mules*, are the ſame that elſewhere are called, אמים of which Variety in Writing the ſame Name the Scriptures have many Inſtances. Now theſe *Emim*, were the well-known *Giants*, which Inhabiting the *Horræan* Regions in the Neighbourhood, ſtruck *Terror* (as their Name ſignifies) unto all the Neighbours, till the Poſterity of *Eſſau* vanquiſhed them; a Matter which many Paſſages in the Bible intimate. Our *Anab* is here diſtinguiſhed from another ſo called, by a notable Exploit which he performed for the Service of his Country. He *Found*, that is, he Surprized and Aſſaulted the *Emim*, thoſe terrible Giants with which the Neighbourhood was infeſted. By this Heroick Act he ſignalized himſelf, while the Prince his Father, employed him in managing and ordering his Eſtate *in the Wilderneſs*, which according to the uſe of thoſe Times lay more in Cattel than in any other Subſtance. But this Digreſſion ſerves only to excite my Reader's Expectation of *Pequot Giants* to be *found in our Wilderneſs*.

§. 2. When theſe *Ammonites* perceived that they had made themſelves to *ſtink* before the *New-Engliſh Iſrael*, they tried by all the Enchanting Inſinuations that they could think upon, to reconcile themſelves unto the other Nations of *Indians*, with whom they had been heretofore at Variance: Demonſtrating to them how eaſie 'twould be for them, if they were *United*, quickly to extirpate the *Engliſh*, who if they were *Divided*, would from thence take their Advantage to Devour them one after another. But although no *Machiavel* or *Achitophel* could have inſinuated this Matter with more of Plauſibility, yet the proſpect of a *Sweet Revenge*, which the other Nations of the *Indians* did now hope to have by the help of the *Engliſh* upon theſe their Old Enemies, prevailed with them to renounce all Propoſals of Accommodation; *which thing was of the Lord!* Wherefore, in the beginning of *May*, 1637. *Connecticut*-Colony ſet out againſt theſe *Pequots* Ninety Men, under the Command of that Worthy Gentleman, Mr. *John Maſon*, whoſe Worth advanced him afterwards to be the *Deputy Governour* of the Colony; and theſe were accompanied with one *Uncas* an *Indian Sachem*, newly revolted from the *Pequots*. Captain *Underhil* alſo being with the Garriſon at *Say-brook*, obtained leave to aſſiſt the Service now in Hand with *Nineteen* Men and himſelf, who was not the *Twentieth*, but as good as *Twenty* more. *Maſſachuſet*-Colony were willing to do their part in this *Expedition*, with an *Army* (Reader, conſidering the ſmall Number of Inhabitants then in theſe Territories, let it paſs for an ARMY!) conſiſting of an Hundred and Sixty Men, under the Chief Command of *Iſrael Stoughton*, Eſq; a Gentleman of great Merits; but the Matter calling for a real *Expedition*, one Captain *Patrick*, with Forty Men, was diſpatched away before. *Plymouth*-Colony chearfully offer'd Fifty Men, as their *Quota*, to the Service now *Undertaken*; but it being *Accompliſhed*, as well as Undertaken, before their *Complement* of Men could arrive, the *Will* was taken for the *Deed*. The *Connecticut* Forces being Shipp'd in *Connecticut*-River, they choſe *Narraganſet*-River to Land at, rather than *Pequot*-River, where the Enemy kept a continual Guard; and from thence they marched with a Deſign to Surprize them, while the *Narraganſet-Indians*, whereof about Five Hundred now joined them, as they approached near to the Enemies Head Quarters, diſcovered ſo much Fear,

Fear, that they either quite ran away, or fell into the Rear. Captain *Maſon* was by this time informed, that the *Pequots* had retired themſelves into Two Impregnable Forts, whereof one was the Rendezvouz of *Saſſacus* the Chief Tyrant, and that fierce Tyger, at the very mention of whoſe Name the *Narraganſets* trembled, ſaying, *He was all one a God, no Body could kill him.* The Council of War determined it neceſſary to *fall firſt* upon the Fort which they could *find firſt*; and on their ſilent March in the Moonſhiny Night, an *Indian-Spy* that had been ſent upon Diſcovery, brought them Word that the *Pequots* were in a Profound Sleep: For having ſeen the *Engliſh Veſſels* not come to any Port in the next River, they preſumed the *Engliſh People* to be afraid of them, and had newly tired themſelves with Dancing and Singing until Midnight upon that Preſumption. Our Guide was one *Wequaſh*, an *Indian* revolted from the *Pequots*, among whom he had been a Captain; and now Captain *Maſon*, with Captain *Underhil*, coming up to the next Fort about break of Day, the *Indian* Auxiliaries were ſo diſ-ſpirited, as to retire where they might lye *Poſt Principia*, hardly ſo much as the Spectators of the enſuing Action. The Two Captains, with their Two Companies, took, *Maſon* the Eaſt-ſide, and *Underhil* the Weſt-ſide of the Fort, for them to make their Aſſaults upon; and as they approached within a Rod of the Fort, a *Dog* Barking awaked another *Cerberus*, an *Indian* that ſtood Centinel, who immediately cried out, *Wannux*, *Wannux*, i. e. *Engliſh*, *Engliſh!* However, the Courageous Captains preſently found a way to enter the Fort, and thereupon followed a Bloody Encounter, wherein ſeveral of the *Engliſh* were wounded, and many of the *Indians* killed: But the *Wigwams* or Houſes which filled the Fort conſiſting chiefly of Combuſtible *Mats*, we ſet Fire to them, and preſently retiring out of the Fort, on every ſide ſurrounded it. The *Fire* by the Advantage of the Wind carried all before it; and ſuch horrible Confuſion overwhelmed the *Salvages*, that many of them were Broiled unto Death in the revenging Flames; many of them climbing to the Tops of the *Palizados*, were a fair Mark for the Mortiferous Bullets there; and many of them that had the Reſolution to iſſue forth, were Slain by the *Engliſh* that ſtood ready to bid 'em Welcome; nor were there more than *Two Engliſh* Men that loſt their Lives in the *Heat* of this Action. It was on *Friday*, *May* 20. 1637. that this memorable Action was performed; and it was rendred the more memorable by *this*, that the very Night before what was now done, an Hundred and Fifty *Indians* were come from the other Fort unto this, with a purpoſe to go out with all ſpeed unto the *Deſtruction* of ſome *Engliſh Town*; whereas they were now ſuddenly deſtroy'd themſelves; and in a little more than *One Hour*, Five or Six Hundred of theſe Barbarians were diſmiſſed from a World that was *Burdened* with them; not more than Seven or Eight Perſons eſcaping of all that Multitude. But e'er we paſs any further, we will take this place to Commemorate Famous *Wequaſh*, the *Indian* whom we newly mentioned as the *Guide* of the *Engliſh* to this *Indian* Fort. Know, Reader, that after this Battel *Wequaſh* had his Mind wonderfully ſtruck with great Apprehenſions about the Glory of *the Engliſhman's God*; and he went about the Colony of *Connecticut* with bitter Lamentations, *That he did not know Jeſus Chriſt*, until the good People there inſtructed him. When he had underſtood and embraced the *Chriſtian Religion*, he made a moſt Exemplary Profeſſion of it; he reformed all his former Ways of Sin and Luſt, and with prodigious Patience bore a Thouſand Injuries from the other *Indians* for his Holy Profeſſion, while he went up and down Preaching of *Chriſt* among them. At laſt the *Indians Murdered* him, and Poiſoned him for his Religion; and I find no leſs a Perſon than Mr. *Thomas Shepherd* of *Cambridge* in Print reporting his Death with ſuch Terms as theſe. Wequaſh, *the Famous* Indian *at the Rivers Mouth, is dead, and certainly in Heaven: Gloriouſly did the Grace of* Chriſt *ſhine forth in his Converſation a Year and a half before his Death; he knew* Chriſt; *he loved* Chriſt; *he preached* Chriſt *up and down; and then ſuffered Martyrdom for* Chriſt; *and when he died, he gave his Soul to* Chriſt, *and his only Child to the Engli*[illegible]*n this hope, that the Child ſhould know more* [illegible] Chriſt *than its poor Father did.*

§. 3. *Sampſon* was not in much greater Diſtreſs by Thirſt, after his Exploit upon the *Philiſtines*, than our Friends the Day after this Exploit upon the *Pequots*; being diſtreſſed with the wants of a Thouſand Neceſſaries, in the Country of an enraged and a numerous Enemy in the other Fort, from whence they expected that the mighty *Saſſacus*, with all his Might, would pour forth upon them. Nevertheleſs, by the good Providence of God, their Pinaces, with all other neceſſary Proviſion for 'em, arrived in the *Pequot* Harbour at the very nick of time, when they were moſt wiſhing for them; whither while our Forces were Marching, the Enemy came up, Three Hundred of them, from the other Fort, like *Bears bereaved of their Whelps*. They now continued a Bloody Fight for Six Miles together; in which the *Indians* meeting with much loſs, notwithſtanding their making a *Fort* of every *Swamp* in the way, were ſo diſcouraged, that for the preſent they gave over; but when they came to ſee the Aſhes of their *Friends* mingled with the Aſhes of the *Fort*, and the Bodies of ſo many of their Countrymen terribly *Barbikew'd*, where the *Engliſh* had been doing a good Mornings Work, they Howl'd, they Roar'd, they Stamp'd, they Tore their Hair; and though they did not *Swear*, (for they knew not *how!*) yet they *Curs'd*, and were the Pictures of ſo many *Devils* in Deſparation. Captain *Patrick*, and quickly after him Captain *Stoughton*, were now come into thoſe Parts of the Country, to Proſecute the

Work which had been ſo notably begun by the *Connecticotians :* And there was yet *Work* for them to do ; we have ſometimes read of *A Gleaning as good as a Vintage.* For the whole Body of the Surviving *Pequots* repairing to the *Fort* where *Saſſacus* reſided, upbraided him as the Author of all their Diſaſters, and were as full of Mutiny againſt him, as the *Ninevites* were againſt *Sennacherib* after his Diſaſterous Expedition againſt *Jeruſalem* ; upon which they preſently diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Dangerous, Rambling and Raging Parcels, and became like ſo many *Unkennell'd Wolves* about the Country. However, Heaven ſo ſmil'd upon the *Engliſh Hunting* after them, that here and there whole Companies of them were, by the Informations of other *Indians*, Trepanned into the Hunters Hands ; particularly at one time ſome Hundreds of them were ſeized by Captain *Stoughton* with little Oppoſition, who ſending away the Females and Children as Captives, put the Men on Board a Veſſel of one Skipper *Gallop*, which proved a *Charon*'s Ferry-Boat unto them, for it was found the quickeſt Way to feed the *Fiſhes* with 'em. Our Forces purſued the reſt of the *Pequots* which way ſoever they could hear of them, and frequently had the Satisfaction of cutting them off by *Companies :* But among others, they met with one Crew which afforded them *Two Sachims*, both of which they Beheaded, and unto a Third they gave his Life, on Condition that he would effectually enquire after *Saſſacus*, the Grand one of them all. This Wretch overlooking all National or Natural Obligations, proved faithful to his Employers ; and in a few Days returning with Advice of the Place where *Saſſacus* was Lodg'd, *Saſſacus* from his withdraw, ſuſpected the Matter, and ſo fled away with Twenty or Thirty of his Men to that People which are known by the Name of *Maqua*'s, a fierce Generation of *Man-Eaters*, for whom the Name of *Cannibal* or *Hannibal*, (of a Signification Originally much more *Gracious !*) has been carried with them out of *Africa* into *America* ; but theſe *Maqua*'s being by the *Narraganſets*, as was thought, hired thereunto, with a moſt *Indian Hoſpitality* cut 'em all to Pieces. By ſuch Methods as theſe there was a quick period givento the *Pequot* War ; and the few *Pequots* that ſurvived, finding themſelves a Prey to all the *other Indians*, who now prided themſelves in preſenting the *Engliſh* with as many *Pequot Heads* as they could, whether by *Violence*, or by *Stratagem*, ſeize upon, ſubmitted themſelves unto the *Engliſh Mercy*. But the reſt of the *Indians*, who ſaw a little handful of Engliſhmen *Maſſacre* and *Captivate* ſeven Hundred of their Adverſaries, and kill no leſs than Thirteen of their *Sachims* or little *Kings* in one ſhort Expedition, ſuch a *Terror from God* fell upon them, that after this the *Land reſted from War for near Forty Years together*, even until the time when the Sins of the Land called for a *new Scourge* ; and the *Indians* by being taught the Uſe of *Guns*, which hitherto they had not learnt, were more capable to be made the Inſtruments of inflicting it. The Engliſh Intereſt in *America* muſt at laſt with Bleeding Lamentaions cry out,

Heu! Patior Telis, Vulnera facta meis.

For after this, the *Auri ſacra Fames*, that *curſed Hunger of Lucre*, in the diverſe Nations of *Europeans* here, in diverſe Colonies bordering upon one another, ſoon furniſh'd the Salvages with *Tools* to deſtroy thoſe that furniſh'd them ;

——Tools, pregnant with Infernal Flame,
Which into Hollow Engines, long and round,
Thick Ramm'd at th' other Bore, with Touch of Fire
Dilated and Infuriate, doth ſend forth
From far with Thund'ring Noiſe among their Foes
Such Implements of Miſchief, as to daſh
To Pieces and o'erwhelm whatever ſtands Adverſe.—

§. 4. Indeed, there were ſome Approaches towards a *War* between the *Engliſh* and ſeveral Nations of the *Indians* divers times after this ; but they were happily prevented with an *Obſta Principiis*. In the Year 1638. ſundry Vagabond *Engliſh* murdered an *Indian* in the Woods, upon which the *Narraganſets*, whereof he was one, were going to riſe : But when they ſaw the Juſtice of the Country in Executing Three *Engliſh* for the Murder of one *Indian*, it ſo Aſtoniſhed them that they laid aſide their Inclination to Inſurrection. In the Year 1643. *Miantonimo* the King of the *Narraganſets*, having *foully* hired an *Indian* to Aſſaſſinate *Uncas* the King of the *Moheags*, (but fail'd in the Attempt) a Diſturbance was thereby Occaſion'd ; which proceeded ſo far, that *Miantonimo* went forth to a Battel againſt *Uncas*, wherein *Uncas*, though he had but half the Number of Men, took *Miantonimo* Priſoner, and very *fairly cut off his Head*. In the next Year, an *Indian* murdering an *Engliſhman* in the Woods near *Connecticut*, and the *Sagamore* whereto he belonged refuſing to Surrender the Murderer, things went on ſo far that the *Heady Indians* began to do *Hoſtile Actions*, until upon Second and Wiſer Thoughts the Salvages did make a Surrender of the Murderer, and then thoſe Clouds blew over alſo.

About the ſame Year, the *Narraganſets* were ſo ſet upon Deſtroying the *Mohegins*, that the *New-Englanders* reckon'd themſelves bound in Juſtice and Honour to defend *Uncas*, who had ever been true to the Engliſh Intereſts ; and upon this Account there was an Army raiſed from all the Colonies, which being on their March towards the Enemies Country, the Principal *Sachims* of the *Narraganſets*, by an early Application to *Boſton* for Peace, put an happy ſtop to their Marching any further.

The *Narraganſets* obliged themſelves to pay the Charges which in this Matter they had put the

the Engliſh unto, and ſend the Sons of their *Sachims* for *Hoſtages* until the ſaid Payment ſhould be made; but the *Indians* obſerving but a *Greek Faith* in the ſlow Fulfilments of their Promiſes, one Captain *Atherton* had the Courage, with a very few *Engliſh*, to viſit and enter the very *Wigwam* of the old *Sachim Ninigret*, and catching the *Sachim* there by his Hair, with a Piſtol at his Breaſt, in plain *Engliſh* proteſted, *That if he did not immediately take effectual Order to Anſwer the Engliſh Demands, he was a dead Man.* An horrid Conſternation ſeized all the *Indians* upon the ſight of ſo Extravagant an Action; and though Multitudes of them ſtood ready to let fly upon Captain *Atherton*, yet their Hearts failed them: *They ſubmitted, and there was an End.* A Plot of one *Sequaſſon*, an Indian Prince near *New-Haven*, to Aſſaſſinate the chief Magiſtrates of the Neighbour Colony, and ſome other Villainous and Injurious Actions of the Indians towards divers other Engliſh People, cauſed more Diſturbance in the Year 1646. but at laſt this alſo came to nothing. In the Year 1647. not only the *Narraganſets* but the *Moheags* alſo, by new Inſolencies, obliged the Engliſh to demand Satisfaction from them, which being obtained, they proceeded unto no further Action; and in the Year following the *Narraganſets* hiring the *Maqua*'s to Aſſiſt them in the Proſecution of their old Pique againſt *Uncas*, were again upon the very point of Committing Outrages upon the *Engliſh* too; but a merciful Providence of Heaven over-ruled it, as it in like manner did the Effects of a *General Uproar* likely to enſue upon certain Murders perpetrated by Outrageous *Indians* upon certain Perſons of *New-Haven*, and of *Long-Iſland*, in the Year enſuing. About the Year 1653. there was a great *Commotion* and *Agony* raiſed in the Spirits of People throughout the Country, upon the Apprehenſion of an horrid Conſpiracy among the *Indians* throughout the Country to cut off all the *Engliſh*; and there appeared ſtrong Evidences to Confirm that Apprehenſion; but theſe Troubles likewiſe vaniſhed. In the Year 1662. *Alexander*, the Son and Heir of old *Maſſaſoit*, not being ſuch a Friend to the Engliſh as his Father had been before him, ſollicited the *Narraganſets* to join with him in a Rebellion; upon the good proof whereof, the Government of *Plymouth* ſent that Valiant and Excellent Commander, Major General *Winſlow*, to fetch him down before them. The *Major General* uſed ſuch Expedition and Reſolution in this Affair, that, aſſiſted with no more than Ten Men, he ſeized upon *Alexander* at an Hunting-Houſe, notwithſtanding his Numerous Attendants about him, and when the Raging *Sachim* ſaw a *Piſtol* at his Breaſt, with a Threatning of Death to him if he did not quietly yeild himſelf up to go down unto *Plymouth* with him, he yeilded, though, it may be, not very *quietly* thereunto. *Alexander* was thereupon treated with no other than that *Humanity* and *Civility* which was always *Eſſential* to the Major General; nevertheleſs the *inward Fury* of his own guilty and haughty Mind threw him into ſuch a *Fever* as coſt him his Life. His Brother *Philip* ſucceeded him in the *Sagamore-ſhip*, who after he had ſolemnly Renewed his *Covenant* of *Peace* with the Engliſh, moſt perfidiouſly broke it by making an attempt of *War* upon them in the Year 1671. wherein being ſeaſonably and effectually Defeated, he humbly Confeſſed his Breach of *Covenant*, and ſubſcribed Articles of *Submiſſion*, whereof one was, *That in caſe any future Difference did ariſe between him and the Engliſh, he would repair to the Government there to Rectifie Matters, before he Engaged in any Hoſtile Attempts.* Indeed, when the Duke of *Archette*, at his being made Governour of *Antwerpe* Caſtle, took an Oath to keep it faithfully for King *Philip* of *Spain*, the Officer that gave him his Oath uſed theſe odd Words, *If you perform what you promiſe, God help you; if you do it not, the Devil take you Body and Soul!* And all the Standers-by cried, *Amen.* But when the Indian King *Philip* took an Oath to be faithful unto the Government of *New-England* no Body uſed *theſe Words* unto him; nevertheleſs you ſhall anon ſee whether *theſe Words* were not Expreſſive enough of what became of him!

§. 5. In the Year 1674. one *John Sauſaman*, an Indian, that had been ſent forth from the *Engliſh* to Preach the Goſpel unto his Country-Men, addreſſed the Governour of *Plymouth* with Informations, that *Philip*, with ſeveral Nations of the *Indians* beſides his own, were plotting the Deſtruction of the Engliſh throughout the Country. This *John Sauſaman* was the Son of *Chriſtian Indians*; but he *Apoſtatiſing* from the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, lived like an *Heathen* in the Quality of a *Secretary* to King *Philip*; for he could *Write*, though the King his Maſter could not ſo much as *Read.* But after this, the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt Recovered him from his *Apoſtaſie*, and he gave ſuch notable Evidences and Expreſſions of his *Repentance*, that he was not only admitted unto the Communion of the *Lord*'s *Table* in one of the *Indian Churches*, but he was alſo employed every *Lord*'s *Day* as an *Inſtructer* among them. Nevertheleſs, becauſe there was but this one Teſtimony of an *Indian*, and therefore of a *ſuſpected* Original, there was little notice taken of it, until the *Artificial Arguments* of ſome too probable and unhappy *Circumſtances* confirmed it. But before the truth of the Matter could be enquired into, poor *John* was Barbarouſly Murdered by certain Indians, who, that the Murder might not be Diſcovered, cut an Hole through the Ice of the Pond, where they met with him, and put in the Dead Body, leaving his *Hat* and his *Gun* upon the Ice, that ſo others might ſuppoſe him to have there drowned himſelf. It being rumoured that *Sauſaman* was miſſing, the Neighbours did ſeek, and find, and bury his Dead Body; but upon the Jealouſies on the Spirits of Men that he might have met with ſome *foul Play* for his Diſcovering of the *Indian Plot*, a *Jury* was empannell'd, unto whom

it appeared that his *Neck* was broken, which is one *Indian* way of *Murdering*, and that his *Head* was extreamly Swoln, and that he had ſeveral other *Wounds* upon him, and that when he was taken out of the Pond, *no Water* Iſſued out of him. It was remarkable, that one *Tobias*, a Counſellor of King *Philip's*, whom they ſuſpected as the Author of this Murder, approaching to the *Dead Body*, it would ſtill *fall a Bleeding afreſh*, as if it had newly been Slain; yea, that upon the Repetition of the Experiment it ſtill happened ſo, albeit he had been deceaſed and interred for a Conſiderable while before. Afterwards an Indian, called *Patuckſon*, gave in his Teſtimony, that he ſaw this *Tobias*, with certain other Indians, killing of *John Sauſaman*; and it was furthet teſtified, that *John Sauſaman* before he died had expreſſed his Fears, that thoſe very Indians would be his Death. Hereupon *Tobias*, with Two other Indians, being apprehended, they were, after a fair Trial for their Lives, by a *Jury* conſiſting half of *Engliſh*, and half of *Indians*, Convicted, and ſo Condemned; and though they were all ſucceſſively turned off the Ladder at the Gallows, utterly denying the Fact; yet the laſt of them happening to break or ſlip the Rope, did, before his going off the Ladder again, confeſs, That the other Indians did really Murder *John Sauſaman*, and that he was himſelf, though no *Actor* in it, yet a *Looker* on. Things began by this time to have an *Ominous* Aſpect. Yea, and now we ſpeak of things *Ominous*, we may add, Some time before this, in a Clear, Still, Sunſhiny Morning, there were divers Perſons in *Maldon* who heard in the Air, on the South-Eaſt of them, a *Great Gun* go off, and preſently thereupon the Report of *Small Guns* like Musket Shot, very thick diſcharging, as if there had been a *Battel*. This was at a time when there was nothing viſibly done in any part of the Colony to occaſion ſuch Noiſes; but that which moſt of all Aſtoniſhed them was the Flying of *Bullets*, which came Singing over their Heads, and ſeemed very near to them, after which the ſound of *Drums* paſſing along Weſtward was very Audible; and on the ſame Day, in *Plymouth* Colony in ſeveral Places, inviſible *Troops* of Horſes were heard Riding to and fro. Now, Reader, prepare for the Event of theſe *Prodigies*, but count me not ſtruck with a *Livian* Superſtition in Reporting *Prodigies*, for which I have ſuch Inconteſtable Aſſurance.

§. 6. *Philip*, conſcious to his own Guilt, puſht on the Execution of his *Plot* as faſt as he could; he Armed his *Men*, and ſent away their *Women*, and entertained many ſtrange Indians that flock'd in unto him from ſeveral Parts of the Country, and began to be Tumultuous. The *Engliſh*, whoſe Innocency and Integrity had made them too *ſecure*, nevertheleſs, on theſe Alarums made ſeveral friendly Applications unto *Philip*, with their Advice, that he would no more allow of any thing that ſhould look like Tumult among his People; but they were entertained with a Surly, Haughty, and Provoking Inſolence. The Indians proceeded in the Month of *June* unto the Rifling of ſeveral Houſes in the Plantations near *Mount-Hope*, which was the Seat where *Philip* was Kennell'd with the Reſt of theſe horrid Salvages; and hereupon the Governour of *Plymouth* ſent forth a ſmall Army for the Defence of the Expoſed Plantations. On *June* 24. a Day of Solemn *Humiliation* was kept through the Colony for the ſucceſs of the Expedition; and, Reader, behold what a Solemn *Humiliation* the diſpleaſure of Heaven then diſpenced unto them; for at the Concluſion of the Day, as the Inhabitants of *Swanzy* were coming from their Prayers, the Lurking *Indians* diſcharged a Volley of Shot upon them, whereby one Man was Killed, and another Wounded; and the Two Men that were ſent for a Chirurgeon to relieve the Wounded, were alſo Killed: Which Slaughter was accompanied with the Murder of Six Men more in another part of the Town. So that now the *War* was begun by a Fierce Nation of *Indians*, upon an Honeſt, Harmleſs, Chriſtian Generation of *Engliſh*, who might very truly have ſaid unto the Aggreſſors, as it was of old ſaid unto the *Ammonites*, *I have not ſinned againſt thee, but thou doſt me wrong to War againſt me; The Lord the Judge be Judge this Day between us!* *Plymouth*-Colony being thus involved in a *War*, immediately ſent unto the other *United Colonies* for their Aid, who according to the Articles of the *Union* whereinto they were Confederated, immediately approved themſelves true *Brethren* to the Colony in *Adverſity*. On *June* 26. a Company of *Troopers* under the Command of Captain *Thomas Prentice*, and *Footmen* under the Command of Captain *Daniel Henchman*, marched out of *Boſton* towards *Mount-Hope*; and though ſome of a Melancholy Complexion had their *Dark Thoughts*, that a Total and Central Eclipſe of the Moon in *Capricorn*, which gave them ſome *Dark Hours* the firſt Night of their March, might be Ominous of enſuing Diſaſters; yet the Soldiers were generally of the Mind with *Marcus Craſſus*, the Great Roman General, *That there was more Cauſe to be afraid of* Sagittarius *than of* Capricornus. A Company of Briſk *Volunteers*, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Moſely*, quickly overtook them, and ſo joined with *Plymouth* Forces, under the Command of Captain *Cudworth* at *Swanſey*, June 28. Twelve of our Men, unwilling to loſe a Minute of time, went that very Evening to diſcover the Enemy, who from the Buſhes fired upon them, Killed One, and Wounded another, but were ſoon by our handful of Men put unto a *ſhameful Flight*. Our Army the next Morning made a Reſolute Charge upon the Enemy, who preſently *fled* from their Quarters, and left their whole Territory open to us; entring whereof we found the mangled Bodies of ſome of our Country Men, whoſe *Heads* they had alſo ſtuck upon Poles; and we found *Bibles* torn to Pieces in Defiance of our *Holy Religion*; but we found in the *Wigwams* of the Enemy all the Marks of an haſty

haſty departure; nor was *Philip* any more ſeen in his Country, till he returned thither the next Year to receive the Recompence of his *Perfidy*.

§. 7. The *Engliſh* little *Army* ſcowred the Woods, and with ſome loſs to our ſelves, we now and then had Opportunity to inflict a greater loſs upon the Enemy. But we took this Opportunity to March over into the *Narraganſet*-Country, that with a *Sword* in our Hands we might renew and confirm our *Peace* with a moſt conſiderable Nation of *Indians* there, of whoſe Conjunction with *Philip* and his *Wompanoags* (for ſo were *Philip*'s Nation called) we had more than ordinary cauſe to be afraid. The Effect of which was, that the *Sachims* of the *Narraganſets* did, on *July* 15. Sign and Seal Articles of *Peace* with us, wherein they engaged that they would not only forbear all Acts of Hoſtility againſt the *Engliſh*, but alſo uſe their utmoſt Ability, by all Acts of Hoſtility, to deſtroy *Philip* and his Adherents, calling the God of Heaven to Witneſs for the true Performance of theſe Articles. In the mean time, Captain *Cudworth*, with his *Plymouth*-Forces, went upon the like Account unto another ſmall Nation of the *Indians*, at a place called *Pocaſſet*, with a Deſign to haſten further afield for the help of the Two little Villages of *Middlebury* and *Dartmouth*, now ſuffering under the Depredations of a Sculking Adverſary. Captain *Fuller* and Captain *Church*, with Two ſmall Detachments, had ſpent ſome time in the Woods of *Pocaſſet*, before a great Company of *Indians* compelled Captain *Fuller*, with his Men, to ſeek ſome ſhelter from a Shower of Bullets, in an Houſe near the Waterſide, where they defended themſelves till a Sloop from *Rhode-Iſland* fetch'd them off; but Captain *Church* was got into a *Peaſe-Field*, where he, with his *Fifteen* Men, found himſelf ſuddenly ſurrounded with an Hundred and almoſt Five times *Fifteen* terrible *Indians:* Neverthleſs, this Gentleman, like another *Shamgar*, had Courage enough in himſelf alone to have ſerved an *Army*; he aſſured his Men with a ſtrange Confidence, that not a *Bullet* ſhould hurt them; which one, that was more Fainthearted than the reſt, not believing, this Valiant Commander ſet him to gather a few Rocks together for a little Barricado to them; in the doing whereof, as he was carrying a Stone in his Arms to the Bank intended, a Bullet, which elſe would have killed him, ſtruck upon that very Stone, and miſs'd him, which Experiment preſently reſtored *Manhood* unto him: So they fought it out bravely that whole Afternoon, without the leaſt *Hurt* unto any *One* of their Number, but with *Death* given to as many as *their Number* of their Enemies. And at laſt, when their Guns by often Firing were become unſerviceable, a Sloop of *Rhode-Iſland* fetch'd them off alſo. This Action was but a Whet unto the Courage of Captain *Church*, who haſtning over to the Main, borrowed Three Files of Men from the *Maſſachuſet*-Forces, and returned unto *Pocaſſet*, where he had another Skirmiſh, in which he ſlew Fourteen or Fifteen of the Enemies, and ſtruck ſuch a Terror into the reſt, that if they could have got away, thoſe Quarterers would for a while have heard no more of them.

§. 8. The little Forces of the Two Colonies coming together again after the Treaty of *Narraganſet*, they march'd from *Taunton*, *July* 18. Eighteen Miles, to a mighty *Swamp* where the *Indians* were lodged; and the *Indians* covering themſelves with Green Boughs, a Subtilty of the ſame *Nature*, though not of the ſame *Colour*, that they affirm to be uſed by the *Cuttle-Fiſh*, took the Advantage from the Thick Under-Woods to kill ſeveral of the *Engliſh*. But the *Engliſh* purſuing of them, they preſently deſerted an Hundred of their *Wigwams* which they had there Erected, and retired further into the Prodigious Thicket, where we preſumed that we had 'em in a Pound; and ſo ſcarce Two Hundred Men being left there to keep an Eye upon them, the reſt (except ſuch as returned unto *Boſton*) were diſpatched unto the relief of *Mendham*, where, about *July* 14. the *Nipmuck-Indians*, another Nation of them that were Well-willers to *Philip*'s Deſign, began to *Philippize* in Barbarous Murders. Our Forces kept a ſtrict Eye upon the Motions of the *Enſwamped* Enemy; but finding if once we ſqueezed our ſelves into thoſe Inacceſſible Woods, we meerly Sacrificed one another to our own Miſtakes, by firing into every Buſh that we ſaw to ſtir, as expecting *a Thief in every Buſh*; we were willing rather to *Starve* the Beaſt in his Den, than go in to *Fight* him there. Heaven ſaw more *Blood* muſt be drawn from the Colonies, before *Health* could be reſtored to them: *Philip* would have ſurrendred himſelf, if we had gone in to take him; whereas now becoming deſperate, he with his beſt Fighting Men taking the Advantage of a *Low Tide* in the middle of the Night, wafted themſelves over on ſmall Rafts of Timber, into the Woods that led unto the *Nipmuck*-Country, while our Forces that lay Encamped on the other Side perceived it not. An Hundred of the miſerable Salvages that were left behind, made a Surrender of themſelves to our Mercy; but *Philip*'s eſcape now ſoon after Day-light being diſcovered, the *Engliſh*, aſſiſted with a Party of *Monhegin-Indians*, purſued them as faſt as they could, and in the purſuit ſlew about Thirty of them e'er the Night obliged 'em to give over. However, *Philip* now eſcaping to the Weſtward, he enflamed the ſeveral Nations of the *Indians* in the Weſt where-ever he came, to take part with him, until the Flame of War was raging all over the whole *Maſſachuſet-Colony*. The Firſt *Scene* of the Bloody Tragedy was in the *Nipmuck*-Country, whither Captain *Hutchinſon*, accompanied with Captain *Wheeler*, went, *Aug.* 2. upon a Treaty of *Peace* with the *Indians* there, who had agreed with him a place of Meeting for the Conſummation of the Treaty, and the Renovation of the Covenant, wherein they had the

the Month before promiſed under their Hands, that they would not aſſiſt *Philip* in his Hoſtilities. The *Indians* not coming to the place aſſigned, Captain *Hutchinſon* rode a little further, and ſo *far*, that the Perfidious Villains, from an *Ambuſcado*, mortally wounded him, and ſhot Eight more dead upon the Spot; but the reſt fled back by a By-Path to *Quaboag*, a ſmall Village, where all the Inhabitants were juſt got into one Houſe, reſolving there to Live and Die together. The *Indians*, with *Philip*'s Army newly arrived unto them, ruſh'd in like a Storm of Lightning upon this diſtreſſed Village; and having burnt all the reſt, they furiouſly beſet that one Houſe, where a little Handful of Men bravely defended the little *Cottage*, which was all their *Caſtle* againſt an huge Army of cruel Tawnies, who kept perpetually pouring in their Shot upon them for Two Days together, and thruſting Poles with Brands and Rags dipp'd in burning Brimſtone, and many other Tricks, to ſet the *Cottage* on Fire. At laſt, after *Six* Ineffectual Attempts to Burn this poor Hovel, (ſo in *Six Troubles they were delivered*, yea, in *Seven* the *Evil touch'd* 'em not!) they fill'd a *Cart* with Flax, Hemp, and other Combuſtible Matter, and kindling of it, they puſh'd it on with very long Poles that were Spliced one unto another; by which means this *Petite Flock* muſt have unavoidably become a Prey to theſe horrid *Wolves*, if a mighty Storm of *Rain* had not ſuddenly extinguiſhed it. But, *Bleſſed be the Lord*, (might the Seventy Men, Women and Children in that Houſe anon Sing!) *who hath not given us a Prey to their Teeth*; *our Soul is eſcaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers!* Our memorable Major *Willard*, on *Aug.* 4. in the Morning, ſetting forth with a Party of Men to viſit and ſecure a *Nation* of *Suſpected Indians*, in the Neighbourhood received, by a ſtrange Accident, ſome ſeaſonable Advice of the doleful Condition wherein our Brethren at *Quaboag*, Thirty Miles diſtant from him, were *Enſnared*; and thereupon turning his Courſe thither, it came to paſs, that although the *Indians* had placed ſufficient *Ambuſhments* to cut off any Succours that ſhould come that way, yet there was an *Unaccountable Beſotment* ſo fallen upon them, that this Valiant Commander, with Forty-eight Men, arrived at Night unto the help of theſe *Beſieged People*, and bravely raiſed the *Siege*, by driving the *Beaſts of Prey* back to their *Dens*, after he had Firſt Sacrificed many Scores of them unto the *Divine Vengeance*. Thus remarkably was this poor People delivered; but the Enemy Steering further Weſtward, Captain *Lathrop*, Captain *Beers*, and others, were ſent with more Forces to Track 'em; and if it were poſſible, to prevent their Poiſoning and Seducing of the *Indians* upon *Connecticut-River*, whoſe Fidelity was now extreamly doubted of.

§. 9. The Towns belonging unto the *Maſſachuſet-Colony* upon *Connecticut-River*, aſſiſted now by Forces alſo from *Connecticut*, under the Command of Major *Robert Treat*, ſent Soldiers on *Aug.* 25. to Demand from their *Indians* a Proof of that Faithfulneſs which they had hitherto profeſſed, but *Philip* had Bewitched them; they were fled from their Forts, having firſt killed an Old *Sachim* of their own that was not willing to go with them; they fired upon our Men from a *Swamp* when we were looking after them; and a Diſpute continued for ſome Hours, wherein we loſt *Nine Men* belonging to *Nine Towns*. Thus the Deſolations of *War* were carried into theſe Parts of the Country, while ſmall Crews of *Salvages* here and there, in other Parts of the Country, were diſtreſſing People wonderfully. On *Sept.* 1. the *Indians* laid moſt of the Houſes belonging to the hopeful Plantation of *Deerfield* in Aſhes, while the Garriſon was not ſtrong enough to Salley forth upon 'em; and on the Day following they ſlew Eight Men abroad in the Woods at *Squakheag*, without making any Attempts upon the Garriſon. Captain *Beers*, with about Thirty-ſix Men, were ſent up to fetch off the People in theſe little *Garriſons*, but they found *a Serpent by the Way, and Adder in the Path:* Hundreds of *Indians* from a thick *Swamp* Fired upon them, whereupon followed a deſperate Fight, wherein the Captain and a Score of his Men ſold their Lives at as good a Price as they could, but the reſt fled into *Hadley*, leaving Major *Treat* a few Days after to finiſh what they had undertaken.

The Towns thereabout now being tollerably Garriſon'd, Captain *Lothrop*, with about Eighty Men, carried Carts to fetch off the Corn that lay *Threſh'd* in *Deerfield*; but they fell themſelves into a terrible *Tribulation*; for on *Sept.* 18. a vaſt Body of Seven or Eight Hundred *Indians* on the Road entertained them with an Aſſault, wherein the Courageous Captain having taken up a wrong Notion, that the beſt Courſe was to Fight with *Indians* in their own way of Sculking behind the Trees, and thence aiming at ſingle Perſons, thereby expoſed himſelf to Ruin. If they had fought more in a Body, they might have carried all before them; for it has been obſerved, that *Indians* never durſt look *Engliſhmen* in the Face; whereas now above Threeſcore of our Men, and moſt of them hopeful *Young Men*, were killed. Captain *Moſely* hearing the *Reports* which the *Guns* gave of this Battel, came up with an Handful of Men, though too late for the Reſcue of Captain *Lothrop*; and ſeveral times he Marched through and through that prodigious Clan of *Dragons*, and raked them for Five or Six Hours together, with the loſs of no more than Two Men of his own; albeit the *Indians* afterwards confeſſed that they loſt Ninety-ſix of themſelves, and had more than Forty wounded. *New-England* had never yet ſeen ſo black a *Day!* The Inhabitants of *Springfield*, notwithſtanding the firmeſt Aſſurances which the Nations of *Indians* near to them had given them of their Friendſhip and Faithfulneſs, were awakned by theſe things to enquire how far they might reſt aſſured thereof,

when

when all o'th' ſudden the *Hoſtages* which theſe *Indians* had given were fled; and ſome *Engliſh* going to Viſit them at their Fort, were Treacherouſly ſaluted with a Volley of Shot, which miſerably wounded them; whereupon the Town was in all the Ungarriſon'd Parts of it Fired by theſe Perfidious Caitifs. Thirty two Houſes, and amongſt the reſt, the Miniſter's, with his well-furniſhed Library, were conſumed before the Arrival of Major *Treat*, Major *Pinchon*, and Captain *Appleton*, put a ſtop to the Fury and Progreſs of an Inſulting Enemy: Nor had the Inhabitants themſelves eſcaped a *Maſſacre*, if an *Indian*, privy to the *Plot*, had not juſt in the *Nick of time* diſcovered it unto them. After this, the *Engliſh* Forces were ordered, by a merciful Providence of Heaven, to Rendezvouz about *Northampton*, *Hadley*, *Hatfield*, until it might be conſider'd what there was further to be done; and now behold, Reader, a Comfortable Matter in the midſt of ſo many *Tragedies!* The General Court then Sitting at *Boſton*, appointed a Committee, who with the aſſiſtance of the *Miniſters* in the Neighbourhood, might ſuggeſt what were the *Provoking Evils* that had thus brought the Judgments of God in a Bloody *War* upon the Land, and what *Laws* might be Enacted for the *Reformation* of thoſe *Provoking Evils!* The return of which Committee to the General Court was kindly received on *Oct.* 19. and Care taken further to Proſecute the Intentions of it. Now as our Martyrologiſt, Mr. *Fox*, obſerves, that at the very *Day* and *Hour* when the *Act* of *Reformation*, in the Reign of King *Edward* VI. was put in Execution at *London*, God gave the Nation a Signal Victory at *Muſſleborough:* Thus it was remark'd by ſome Devout Men, that on the very Day when the Vote was paſſed at *Boſton* for the *Reformation* of Miſcarriages in the Land, our Forces had a notable Succeſs an Hundred Miles off againſt the Common Enemy. Seven or Eight Hundred *Indians* broke in upon *Hatfield* at all Quarters, but our Forces being beyond their Expectation lodged in the Neighbourhood, the *Indians* were ſo terribly Defeated, that after the killing of but *One* Engliſhman in the Fight, they confeſſed the *Town too hot* for them, and fled ſo faſt, that many of them loſt their Lives in the *River*. This reſolute Repulſe gave ſuch a Check to the Enemy, that the Weſtern Plantations for a long while heard little or nothing further from them; ſome ſtraggling Parties, indeed, were here and there Miſchievous; but as Winter drew on, they generally retired unto the *Narraganſet-Country*, where the Reader muſt now expect a conſiderable Action! 'Tis true, the *European* Campaigns for the *Numbers* of Men appearing in them, compared with the little *Numbers* that appear in theſe *American* Actions, may tempt the Reader to make a very Diminutive Buſineſs of our whole *Indian-War*; but we who felt our ſelves Aſſaulted by unknown *Numbers* of *Devils in Fleſh* on every ſide of us, and knew that our Minute *Numbers* employ'd in the Service againſt them, were proportionably more to *us* than mighty *Legions* are to Nations, that have exiſted as many Centuries as our Colonies have *Years* in the World, can ſcarce forbear taking the Colours in the *Sixth Book* of *Milton* to deſcribe our Story: And ſpeaking of our *Indians* in as high Terms as *Virgil* of his *Piſmires: It nigrum campis Agmen!* At leaſt we think our Story as conſiderable as that ſilly Buſineſs of the Invading and Conquering *Florida* by the *Spaniards*, under *Fernando de Soto*; and yet that Story the World has thought worthy to be read in divers Languages.

§. 10. The Commiſſioners of the *United Colonies* having manifeſt and manifold Proofs that the Great Nation of *Narraganſet-Indians*, with whom the reſt were now Harbour'd, had not only broken their Articles of *Peace* with the *Engliſh* in divers Inſtances, but were alſo Plotting to begin a *War* againſt us in the Spring, when they ſhould have the *Leaves* of the *Trees* to Befriend them, took up a general Reſolution, in the depth of *Winter*, to make a Vigorous *Expedition* againſt them. Accordingly an Army conſiſting of a Thouſand at Firſt, and afterwards Fifteen Hundred Men, under the Conduct of the truly Honourable *Joſiah Winſlow*, Eſq; marched into the *Narraganſet*-Country, where they no ſooner arrived on *Dec.* 12. but about Forty *Indians* fell into their Hands; among whom, one was a Fellow named *Peter*, who having received ſome Diſguſt from his Countrymen, proved ſo Faithful and Uſeful a Guide unto our Forces, that they afterwards found that they could not well have liv'd without him. Several Miſchiefs were done by the *Indians* whilſt our Army were here waiting for their Brethren from *Connecticut*; eſpecially their Surpriſal of a remote Garriſon belonging to one *Bull*, where about Fourteen Perſons were *Baited to Death* by the terrible *Dogs*. But the *Connecticut*-Forces being alſo arrived on *Dec.* 18. they preſently marched away by break of Day, the next Morning through Cold and Snow, and very amazing Difficulties, enough to have *Damn'd* any ordinary Fortitude, for *Eighteen Miles* together. The *Indians* had a Fort raiſed upon an Iſland of about Five or Six Acres, in the midſt of an horrid *Swamp*, which Fort, beſides its *Paliſadoes*, had a kind of Wall or Hedge about a Rod thick encompaſſing of it. The Entrance of this Fort was upon a long Tree over the Water, where but one Man could paſs at a time, and this was way-laid after ſuch a manner, that if our Men had attempted that Paſſage, they muſt have periſhed. Only by the help of *Peter* they diſcovered a *Vulnerable Heel*, as I may call it, yet left in the Fort at one Corner, where there was a Gap ſupplied only with long Trees about Four or Five Foot from the Ground, over which Men might force their way; though againſt this they had Built a Block-Houſe, from whence a Bloody Storm of Bullets, (and enough to make every Man like the poor Man in the *Twelve Signs of the*

Almanack) was to be expected by them that ſhould make their Approaches there. Our Men came up to the *Swamp* about One a Clock, and Immediately and Courageouſly preſſing through the *Swamp*, from whence the *Indians* began to Fire upon 'em, they advanced unto that part of the Fort which was moſt acceſſible: Now having of nothing, but, *Mors certa, aut Victoria Læta*, in their Eye. Brave Captain *Moſely* and Captain *Davenport* led the *Van*; Captain *Gardner* and Captain *Johnſon* were in the *Center*, Major *Appleton* and Captain *Oliver* brought up the *Rear* of the *Maſſachuſet*-Forces: General *Winſlow* with *Plymouth*-Forces, under Major *Bradford* and Captain *Goram*, marched in the *Center*; and *Connecticut*-Forces, under Major *Treat* and Captain *Siely*, Captain *Gallop*, Captain *Maſon*, Captain *Wats*, and Captain *Marſhal*, made the *Reer* of the whole Body. Nothing in the World could be more Magnanimous than the Spirit which now carried on both Leaders and Soldiers in the Enterpriſe now before them: They leaped over the *Trees of Death*, into the Spot of Ground where *Death* in all its Terrors was to be Encountered; the Fall of the Valiant Leaders, no leſs than Six of them, namely, *Davenport*, *Gardiner*, *Johnſon*, *Gallop*, *Siely* and *Marſhal*, (tho' it rendred the Place worthy of the Name which the *Romans* put upon the abhorr'd Place where their Beloved Commander *Druſus* died, namely, *Scelerata Caſtra*) did but add *Fire* to the Rage of the *Soldiers*; they beat the Enemy from one Shelter to another, till they had utterly driven them out of all their *Sconces*; and at laſt they ſet Fire to the Fort, from whence the Surviving *Indians* fled into a vaſt *Cedar-Swamp* at ſome diſtance off. I wiſh I could particularly give an *Immortal Memory* to all the Brave Men that ſignalized themſelves in this Action. But among them all, *O quam te memorem*, Thou Excellent *SAMUEL NOWEL*, never to be forgotten! This now *Reverend*, and afterwards *Worſhipſul* Perſon, a Chaplain to the Army, was Author to a good Sermon preached unto the *Artillery Company* of the *Maſſachuſets*, which he Entituled, *Abraham in Arms*; and at this Fight there was no Perſon more like a true Son of *Abraham in Arms*, or that with more Courage and Hazardy fought in the midſt of a Shower of Bullets from the ſurrounding *Salvages*. But,

Longa referre mora eſt, quæ conſilioq; manuq;
Utiliter fecit Spacioſi Tempore Belli.

No leſs than *Seven Hundred fighting Indians* were deſtroyed, as it was afterwards confeſſed in this deſperate Action; beſides Three Hundred which afterwards died of their Wounds, and Old Men, Women, Children, *Sans* number; but of the *Engliſh* about *Eighty Five* were ſlain, and an Hundred and Fifty wounded. And now, *Sic Magnis componere Parva!* Reader,

And now their Mightieſt quell'd, the Battel ſwerv'd,
With many an Inrode gor'd; deformed Rout
Enter'd, and foul Diſorder; all the Ground
With ſhiver'd Armour ſtrown, and on a heap,
Salvage *and* Sagamore *lay overturn'd,*
And Fiery, Foaming Blacks; what ſtood recoil'd
Orewearied, and with Panick Fear ſurpris'd.

Had the Aſſault been deferred one Day longer there fell ſuch a Storm of *Snow*, that for divers Weeks it muſt have been *Impracticable*; and at the end of thoſe Weeks there came ſo violent and unuſual a *Thaw*, that by making the way to the Fort Unpaſſable, it would have render'd it ſtill more Impracticable. *Juſt now* was the *Time* for this Work; and the *Work* being ſo far accompliſhed, our Forces retreating after Day-light was almoſt ſpent, found it neceſſary to go back with many *Wounded*, and more *Weary* Men, unto their Head Quarters, near Eighteen Miles off, in a diſmal Night, through Hardſhips, that an whole Age would hardly parallel; which if the *Remaining Enemies* had known, they might eaſily have cut off all our *Enfeebled* and *Bewildred* Army. However ſuch a Blow was now given to the Enemy as never could be recovered! And our Forces having in ſome following Weeks made now and then ſome happy *Gleanings* of their late Victory, until the Enemy was gone, they knew not whither, they returned unto their ſeveral Homes until the next Occaſion.

§. 11. Deſerted *Mendam* was this Winter laid in Aſhes. And the *French* from *Canada* ſending Recruits unto the *Indians* for that purpoſe, the *Indians* thus Recruited on *Feb.* 10. fell upon the Town of *Lancaſter*, where they Burned many Houſes, and Murdered and Captived more than Forty Perſons. The Worthy Miniſter of the Town, Mr. *Rolandſon*, had been at *Boſton* to Intercede for ſome ſpeedy Succours; and though by this Journey from Home he was himſelf preſerved, yet at his return he found his *Houſe* on Fire, his *Goods* and *Books* all burned, and which was worſe, his *Wife*, and *Children*, and *Neighbours*, in the Hands of the worſt Barbarians in the World. This good Man, like *David* at *Ziklag*, yet *believed*, for the Recovery of his Relations out of thoſe horrible Hands, which about Four or Five Months after was accompliſhed with wonderful Diſpenſations of Divine Providence, whereof the Gentlewoman her ſelf has given us a *Printed Narrative*. Captain *Wadſworth*, with Forty reſolute Men, compelled the *Indians* to quit the Place; but they ſoon did further Miſchiefs at *Malborough*, *Sudbury*, *Chelmsford*; and *Feb.* 21. Two or Three Hundred of them came Wheeling down to *Medfield*, where they burnt near half the Town, and killed near a Score of the Inhabitants; and *Feb.* 25. *Weymouth* alſo ſuffered from theſe *Burners* no little Damage. An Army under the Command of that

Exper-

Expert Leader, Major *Thomas Savage* about this time did make after the Indians as far as *Northampton*; and there was again a ſingular Providence of God in ordering this Matter: For had it not been for theſe Recruits, thoſe Weſtern Plantations had probably been cut off by a vaſt Body of Indians, which on *March* 14. in Three Places broke in upon the thin *Palaſadoes*, wherewith *Northampton* was fortified, and killed Five Perſons, and burned Five Houſes, but met with a brave Repulſe. On *March* 10. they did Miſchievous things at *Groton* and *Sudbury*: And on *March* 13. they burnt almoſt all *Groton* to the Ground, and then called unto the Engliſh in the Garriſon, *What will you do for an Houſe to Pray in, now we have burnt your Meeting-Houſe!* But the Enemy finding theſe Parts of the Country too many for them, they again tranſlated the *Scene* of their *Tragedies* into *Plymouth*-Colony; where after they had on *March* 12. barbarouſly cut off Two Families under one Roof in *Plymouth*, and on *March* 17. laid all *Warwick*, but one Houſe, in Aſhes: Captain *Pierce* being fitted with Fifty Engliſhmen, and with Twenty *Chriſtian-Indians*, did Courageouſly purſue them. This meritorious Captain was unhappily *Trepann'd* into an *Ambuſhment* of the Enemy, who, on *March* 26. 1676. by meer Multitude overpowered him; ſo that after he had firſt made a ſlaughter of an Hundred and Forty of *them*, he with Forty-nine Engliſhmen, (an *hard Battel* truly!) and Eight Chriſtian-Indians, expired on the *Bed of Honour*. This was a very Diſaſtrous Day! For on this Day alſo the Town of *Malborough* was all in Flames by another Aſſault from this Treacherous Adverſary; and on this Day ſeveral People at *Springfield* became a Sacrifice unto their Fury; wherefore methinks, Reader, we want ſome *Diverting Story* to entertain us in the midſt of ſo many horrible Accidents. I will therefore mention a pleaſant *Stratagem* uſed by one of our *Chriſtian-Indians* in the Fight when Captain *Pierce* loſt his Life. This Indian, who, I durſt ſay, never had read *Polyenus*, being purſued by an Enemy, betook himſelf unto a great Rock, where ſheltering himſelf, he perceived that his Enemy lay on the other ſide ready with his Gun to diſcharge upon him whenever he ſhould ſtir one ſtep from the Place where he ſtood. He therefore took a Stick which he had at *Hand*, and hanging his *Hat* upon it, he gently and ſlowly lifted it up, until he thought his *watchful Friend* on the other ſide might be ſenſible of it: And accordingly the other taking this *Hat* for the *Head* of his Adverſary, let fly immediately, and Shot through the *Hat*: Whereupon he briſkly lift up his *Head*, and preſently letting fly, not upon the *Hat*, but upon the *Head* of the Adverſary, laid him Dead upon the Spot. In this Fight another *Indian* luckily ſaved not only himſelf, but an *Engliſhman* too, by pretending to run after the *Engliſhman* with his Hatchet, as if intending to Kill him therewithal. And another *Indian* as luckily ſaved himſelf by beſmearing his Tawny Face with wet *Gunpowder*, which made him look ſo like ſome of the adverſe Party, who had Black'd their Faces, that they diſtinguiſhed him not. Many ſuch Paſſages and Policies are told of our *Chriſtian-Indians*, who in Truth ſhow'd their *Chriſtianity* by their being wonderfully Serviceable unto us in the War which now perplexed us. But, Reader, be content that this Paragraph relate a few more of the *pernicious things* done by the Barbarians, about this time, in ſeveral Parts of the Country; and for thy Comfort we will give in the Next a Relation of an Unexpected *Alteration* and *Revolution*. Know then, that in *March* 28. the Indians burnt about Forty Houſes at *Rehoboth*; and on *March* 29. about Thirty Houſes at *Providence*: For the Engliſh retiring into Garriſons, could not but leave their Houſes open to the Impreſſions of the Adverſary. In the beginning of *April* they were Miſchievous at *Chelmsford* and *Andover*; and that they might by their Cruelty diſcover whoſe Children they were, they would cut out the Tongues of the Dumb *Creatures*, leaving them alive in Miſery; and putting others of thoſe *poor Creatures* alive into Hovels, they would ſet them on Fire. And although on *March* 27. about Forty Inhabitants of *Sudbury* made a Salley forth in the Night upon a Body of Three Hundred Indians, Killing Thirty of them, without loſing one of their own; yet on *April* 18. the Indians made a fierce Aſſault upon *Sudbury*, wherein they burnt ſeveral Houſes, and Killed a Dozen Perſons that were coming from *Concord* for the Aſſiſtance of their Neighbours. But the worſt part of the Story is, that Captain *Wadſworth*, one worthy to Live in our Hiſtory, under the Name of *A Good Man*, coming up after a Long, Hard, Unwearied March, with Seventy Men unto the Relief of Diſtreſſed *Sudbury*, found himſelf in the Woods on the ſudden ſurrounded with about Five Hundred of the Enemy; whereupon our Men fought like *Men*, and *more* than ſo; but were ſo Overwhelmed, that he, with another *Good Man*, one Captain *Brattlebank*, and more than Fifty more, ſold their *Lives* for the *Deaths* of about an Hundred and Twenty Indians. The Indians took Five or Six of the Engliſh Priſoners; and that the Reader may underſtand, *Crimine ab uno*, what it is to be taken by ſuch *Devils Incarnate*, I ſhall here inform him: They *Stripp'd* theſe unhappy Priſoners, and cauſed them to Run the *Gantlet*, and Whipped them after a Cruel and Bloody Manner; they then threw Hot Aſhes upon them, and cutting off Collops of their Fleſh, they put *Fire* into their Wounds, and ſo with Exquiſite, Leiſurely, Horrible Torments, *Roaſted* them out of the World.

§. 12. But a *Polybius* will tell me, *Non decet Hiſtoriæ Scriptorem, duntaxat Res Crudeles Legentibus Exponere*: And, I promiſed my Reader *a Turn of our Affairs*. The Prayers of many Thouſands of Pious People, poured out with the greateſt Solemnity, did all this while,

Cælum Tundere, and now they muſt, *Miſericordiam extorquere.* The Maxim uttered by the Renowned King of *Sweden*, *The Greater the Army of Prayers is, the more certain and glorious will be the Victory!* Muſt now be fulfilled; and the *Supplications* for our diſtreſſed Caſe, made by not only the Churches of *New-England*, which were in the Diſtreſs, but alſo by the Churches of *London*, of *Suffolk*, of *Dorſet*, of *Devon*, of *Somerſet*, of *Lancaſhire*, of *Dublin*, (for which we now publickly return our Thanks) muſt now be Anſwered. The *time limited* by Heaven for the Succeſs of the *Indian Treacheries* was now almoſt expired: The Blaſphemy, and Inſolence, and prodigious Barbarity of the Salvages, was come to a ſufficient *Heighth*, for the *Lord God of Zabaoth* to Interpoſe his own *Revenges*; and the Impoſſibility which there appeared for our People to attend their *Husbrandry* in the *Fields*, or to find out their *Enemy* in the *Woods*, did, as the *Spring* advanced, throw us into an Extremity of *Deſpair*, to wade through another *Summer* like the Laſt. But NOW was the time for Deliverance! There was an *Evil Spirit* of *Diſſention* ſtrangely ſent among the *Indians*, which diſpoſed them to ſeparate from one another: The *Dæmons*, who viſibly exhibited themſelves among them at their *Powawing*, or Conjuring, ſignified ſtill unto them, that they could now *do no more for them*; the *Maqua*'s, a Powerful Nation in the Weſt, made a Deſcent upon them, ranging and raging through the Deſart with irreſiſtible Fury; *Fevers* and *Fluxes* became *Epidemical* among them; and their being driven from their Planting and Fiſhing Places, drove them into ſo much of a *Famine*, as brought *Mortal Sickneſs* upon them: Finally, a *Viſible Smile of Heaven* was upon almoſt all the Enterprizes of the *Engliſh* againſt them: And an unaccountable Terror at the ſame time ſo Diſ-ſpirited them, that they were like Men under a *Faſcination.* It was the *Promiſe* of God unto his Antient People, *The Lord thy God will ſend the Hornet among thine Enemies, until they that are left, and hide themſelves from thee, be deſtroyed:* And I never ſaw a more ſenſible Confirmation of that *Promiſe*, or Explication of that *Hornet*, than in what now befel the Enemies of *New-England.* They were juſt like *Beaſts* that are ſtung with a *Garabee*, or Hornet; they ran they knew not *whither*, they knew not *wherefore*; they were under ſuch a *Conſternation*, that the *Engliſh* did even what they would upon them. I ſhall never forget the Expreſſions which a deſperate Fighting ſort of Fellow, one of their Generals, uſed unto the Engliſh after they had Captivated him; *you could never have ſubdued us, but* (ſaid he, ſtriking on his Breaſt) *the Engliſhman's God makes us afraid here!* First, from *Connecticut*-Colony, which the kind Providence of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt kept almoſt untouched in this bloody War, there went forth in the Month of *April*, under the Command of Captain *Deniſon*, Sixty-ſix *Volunteers*, with above an Hundred *Friend-Indians*, who took and ſlew Seventy-ſix of the Enemy, among whom were ſome of their chiefeſt Princes, and made great Havock on their Stores, without loſing any of their own: And a little before this, a Party of *Connecticut* Soldiers, with the like Indian Aſſiſtance, took and ſlew Forty-four of the Enemy, without any loſs on our ſide, but among the Priſoners was *Quanonchet*, the mighty *Sachem* of *Narraganſet*, whom the Engliſh wiſely delivered unto their Tawny Auxiliaries for them to cut off his Head, that ſo the Alienation between them and the Wretches in Hoſtility againſt us might become Incurable. There were ſtill here and there little Miſchiefs done by the Enemy; *Plymouth*, *Taunton*, *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Haverhil*, *Bradſord*, *Woburn*, and other Places, did ſuſtain ſundry Damages: But the main Character of the Occurrents now happening on our Part, was *Victory over them.* Remarkable was the Fate of *Bridgwater*, a moſt *Praying*, and moſt *Pious* Town, ſeated in the very *midſt* of the Dangers of the *War*; that although they were often Aſſaulted by formidable Numbers of the Enemies, yet in all their ſharp Aſſaults they *never loſt one* of their Inhabitants, Young or Old. They were ſollicited ſtrongly to Deſert their *Dwellings*, but they Reſolved that they would keep their *Stations*; and now on *May* 8. the Indians began to Fire the Town, but the Inhabitants with notable Courage iſſued forth from their Garriſons to Fight the Enemy, and *God from Heaven* at the ſame time fought for them, with a Storm of *Lightning*, *Thunder* and *Rain*, whereby a Conſiderable part of their Houſes were preſerved. Thou, Church of *Bridgwater*,

> *O nimium Dilecta Deo, cui militat Æther,*
> *Et Conjurati veniunt ad Claſſica Venti!*

One that was no *Chriſtian* ſo Sang the Favours of Heaven to the Emperor *Theodoſius*; and ſo might the *Pagan* Foe now Sing of thy Salvations! On *May* 6. our Forces, aſſiſted with ſome Chriſtian Indians, did good Execution upon the Enemy near *Medfield*, and on *May* 11. did the like at *Plymouth*. And on *May* 18. Two Captive Lads eſcaping from the Hands of the Enemy, informed the Towns about *Northampton*, that a conſiderable Body of the Indians were ſecurely Clanning together a few Miles further up the *River*; whereupon about an Hundred and Fourſcore Active Men went out immediately, and ſo ſurprized them, that they Killed, as was judged, about an Hundred on the Spot, and they drove as many more into that *Antient River* that ſwept 'em away. But the Engliſh in the Retreat were unhappily circumvented by a Parcel of the Enemy, who ſlew Captain *Turner*, and upwards of Thirty more, although not without the loſs of Three Hundred of their own, as was afterwards by ſome of themſelves acknowledged. And on *May* 30. the Enemy loſt Five and Twenty in one Onſet which they made upon *Hatfield*, Five being Slain on our Part in the Action; as the Week before

before this Twelve of them were Slain about *Rehoboth*, with the loſs of but One of ours. New Forces, both in *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, and in *Connecticut*-Colony, were now ſent forth to Diſtreſs the Enemy in their Places of Planting and Fiſhing. The *Maſſachuſet* Forces quickly took and kill'd near Forty Indians, and the *Connecticut* Forces took and kill'd an Hundred; which Exploits were performed without loſing a Man of our own. On *June* 12. Seven Hundred Indians made an Aſſault upon *Hadley*; but they were driven off with *much* loſs to them, and very *ſmall* to our ſelves; and at the very time when the Indians were thus Diſtreſſing of *Hadley*, the *Maqua*'s fell upon their Head-Quarters, and ſlaughtered their Women and Children, and carried away much Plunder with them. Thus the Conqueſt of the Indians went on at ſuch a rate, that whereas, *June*. 29. 1675. was the *firſt Faſt* publickly obſerved in this Colony on the Occaſion of the Indian Troubles, now, *June* 29. 1676. was appointed a Day of *Thankſgiving* through the Colony for the comfortable *Steps* and *Hopes* that we ſaw towards the End of thoſe Troubles.

§. 13. Reader, after this *Day of Thankſgiving* I ſhall have little to Report unto thee but what is a *Cauſe of Thankfulneſs!* The *Maqua*'s now fall upon *Philip*, and Kill him Fifty Men at a time; upon as odd an Occaſion too as has been ordinarily heard of. He, as it is affirmed, being entertained among the *Maqua*'s the laſt Winter, uſed many means to ſeduce 'em, and perſwade 'em unto a *War* againſt the *Engliſh*; and one of thoſe means it ſeems was This: *He* kill'd ſome ſcattering *Maqua*'s in the Woods, and then told the Reſt that the *Engliſh* did it; but One of them whom he thought *Killed*, was only *Wounded*, who, getting home unto his Countrymen, gave 'em to underſtand who was the true *Murderer!* And ſo the *Maqua*'s, whom he would have brought upon the *Engliſh*, he only brought upon himſelf: *Nec enim Lex Juſtior ulla! Philip* now returns to *Mount-Hope*, and finds it *Mount-Miſery*, *Mount-Confuſion!* A Prince in *Germany* long ſince hearing that a Neighbour Prince intended *War* upon him, immediately ſet himſelf upon the *Reforming* of the People under his Government; but his Adverſary within a while after enquired what *Preparation* his Neighbour was making to Oppoſe him? And being informed that his chief *Preparation* was *Reformation*, he replied, *Nay then, let the Devil Fight him for all me*; *if he be at that, he'll be too hard for me to meddle with him.* The Churches of *New-England* now more than ever began to be at *that*; and now ſee the Effects of it. The Churches in *Plymouth*-Colony agreed upon a Day ſolemnly to Renew their COVENANT with God, and one another; on the very *next Day*, Major *Bradford*, with his *Plymouth* Forces, was not only by a ſtrange Providence delivered from the *Stratagems* of the Ambuſhing Adverſary, but alſo took and ſlew many of them, without the loſs of one Engliſhman: And the *Squaw-Sachim* of *Saconet*, with Ninety of her Subjects, hearing of *his approach*, ſubmitted themſelves unto *his Mercy:* Major *Bradford* was the *Oedipus*, by whom that *Sphinx* was conquered! On *July* 2. our Brethren of *Connecticut* in the *Narraganſet*-Country took and kill'd an Hundred and Fourſcore of the Indians, without loſing a Man of their own; and in their March home they deſtroyed Threeſcore more. Quickly after this, Two Hundred Indians in *Plymouth*-Colony were compelled by the Neceſſities upon them to ſurrender themſelves; and upon Advice from *them* of another Party abroad, Eight *Engliſhmen*, accompanied with Fourteen of *them*, ſeized upon Twenty more, without any hurt unto themſelves. In the Woods near *Dedham* there was more Execution done upon them: And a *Negro* that had been taken Captive by them, informed us, that near Two Hundred of them had formed a Deſign of an Attacque upon *Taunton*, which *Information* proved the *Preſervation* of the Town: For Auxiliaries being ſeaſonably ſent thither, the Enemy met with a vigorous Repulſe, without the loſs of one Engliſhman in the Engagement. The *Maſſachuſet* Forces returned unto *Boſton*, *July* 22. having taken and killed an Hundred and Fifty Indians, with the loſs of but *One* Engliſhman: But the principal Actions, whereof *Plymouth* was now the Stage, muſt be done by the Hand of that worthy Man, Captain *Church*; whoſe very *Name*, now, might ſuggeſt unto the miſerable Salvages, *what*, they muſt be undone, by Fighting againſt; and whoſe *Lot* it was to be employ'd by the Providence of Heaven at the time and place of the *Cataſtrophe*, now waiting for a Generation Ripe for Deſolation. This Gentlemen made Havock among the Salvages, like another *Scanderbeg*; he went out with a ſmall Party of about Eighteen Engliſh, and Twenty-two Friend Indians, and in one Week he had Four ſeveral Engagements with the Enemy, wherein he took and ſlew Seventy-nine of them, without loſing One of his own; and by a particular *Policy* he ſtill made his *Captives* to find out their *Fellows* for him, and *ſet a Thief to catch a Thief*, which facilitated his Enterprizes wonderfully. Nevertheleſs this hindred not *Others* from doing their part in Exterminating the Rabid Animals, which by a moſt unaccountable *Syderation* from Heaven, had now neither *Strength* nor *Senſe* left 'em to do any thing for their own Defence. On *July* 25. Thirty-ſix Engliſhmen from *Dedham*, and *Medfield*, with Ninety Chriſtian Indians, purſued, overtook, and captivated Fifty of the Enemy, without loſing of a Man; and among theſe was *Pomham*, a great *Sachim* of the *Narraganſets*, who, after he was wounded ſo that he could not ſtand, but was left a conſiderable while for Dead, yet when an Engliſhman came near him, the *Dying Beaſt*, with a *Belluine Rage*, got ſuch hold on his Head, that he had killed him if there had not come in help to Reſcue him. On *July* 27. *Sagamore John* ſubmitted himſelf to the Engliſh Mercy, with an Hundred and Fourſcore *Nipmuck* Indians; and that

that he might Ingratiate himſelf with the *Engliſh*, he brought in *Matoonas* with his Son, who had begun the War in the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony a little above a Year ago; whereupon we ordered this very *Sagamore* to *Shoot* him to Death. On *July* 31. an Handful of Soldiers iſſuing out of *Bridgwater*, unexpectedly ſtumbled upon a Company of the Enemy, who being well armed, ſnapp'd their Guns at the *Engliſh*; but, which was a Marvellous Accident, not one of them took Fire; whereat a *Panick-Terror* fell upon them, ſo that we took Fifteen, we ſlew Ten, the reſt fled; of whom *Philip* himſelf was one, who left the Chief of his Treaſure behind him. Not one of the *Engliſh* was hurt at this time! This was the Succeſs of a People that had juſt before ſolemnly renewed the conſent of their Souls to the *Covenant of Grace*, and applied it unto the Holy Purpoſes of *Reformation* among them. On *Auguſt* 1. Captain *Church* again, with about Thirty *Engliſh* and Twenty Friend-*Indians*, took Twenty-three of the Enemy; and the next Morning he came upon *Philip*'s Head-Quarters, where they took and ſlew about an Hundred and Thirty of the Enemy, with the loſs of but *One* of their own: *Philip* himſelf now alſo hardly eſcaping, but leaving his *Peag*, and *Wife*, and *Son* behind him, which was no ſmall Torment unto him. On *Aug.* 6. an *Indian-Deſerter* informing the Inhabitants of *Taunton* where they might ſurpriſe more of the Enemy, *Twenty* Men of *ours* immediately brought in *Thirty-ſix* of *them*. The *Squaw-Sachim* of *Pocaſſet* flying from this *Broil upon the Coaſt*, now in that very place where ſhe had furniſhed *Philip* with *Canoo's* for his Men a Year ago, ſhe her ſelf could not find a *Canoo*, but venturing over the River upon a Raft, which broke under her, ſhe was drowned; and ſome of the *Engliſh* not knowing who ſhe was when they found her, ſtuck her *Head* upon a Pole in *Taunton*, which when the *Indians* that knew her, ſaw, they fell into ſuch hideous and howling *Lamentations* as can ſcarce be imitated.

But now, Reader, prepare to make a juſt Reflection upon that Antient and Famous Paſſage of Sacred Scripture, *Wo to thee that ſpoileſt, and thou waſt not ſpoiled; and dealeſt treacherouſly, and they dealt not treacherouſly with thee; when thou ſhalt ceaſe to ſpoil, thou ſhalt be ſpoiled; and when thou ſhalt make an end to deal treacherouſly, they ſhall deal treacherouſly with thee!* One thing which emboldned King *Philip* in all his Outrages, was an Aſſurance which his *Magicians* conſulting their *Oracles* gave him, that no *Engliſhman ſhould ever Kill him*; and indeed if any *Engliſhman* might have had the Honour of *Killing* him, he muſt have had a good meaſure of *Grace* to have repreſſed the *Vanity of Mind* whereto he would have had ſome Temptations. But this will not extend the Life of that *Bloody* and *Crafty* Wretch above *half his Days!* A Man belonging to *Philip* himſelf, being diſguſted at him for killing an *Indian* who had propounded an Expedient of *Peace* with the *Engliſh*, ran away from him to *Rhode-Iſland*, where Captain *Church* was then Recruiting of his weary Forces; and upon the Intelligence hereof, Captain *Church*, with a few Hands of both *Engliſh* and *Indians*, immediately ſet forth upon a *New Expedition*. That very Night *Philip* (like the Man in the Army of *Midian*) had been dreaming that he was *faln into the Hands of the Engliſh*; and now juſt as he was telling his *Dream*, with Advice unto his Friends to fly for their Lives, leſt the Knave who had newly gone from them ſhould ſhew the *Engliſh* how to come at them, Captain *Church*, with his Company, fell in upon them; *Philip* attempted a Flight out of the *Swamp*, at which inſtant both an *Engliſhman* and an *Indian* endeavouring to Fire at him, the *Engliſhman*'s Piece would not go off, but the *Indian*'s preſently Shot him through his Venemous and Murderous Heart; and in that very place where he firſt contrived and commenced his Miſchief, this *Agag* was now cut into Quarters, which were then hanged up, while his *Head* was carried in Triumph to *Plymouth*, where it arrived on the very Day that the Church there was keeping a Solemn *Thankſgiving* to God. God ſent 'em in the Head of a *Leviathan* for a *Thanſgiving-Feaſt*.

ὕτως πᾶς ἀπόλοιτο, ὅτις τοιαῦτάγε ῥέζοι.

Sic pereat quiſquis cæptarit talia poſthac.

At the time when King *Philip*, the *Beginner* of the *War*, was thus come to the *Concluſion* of his *Life*, ſeveral of his Men accompanied him into the other World; and among the reſt, that very *Indian* who Fired the *Firſt Gun* at the *Engliſh* in this horrible *War*. But our *Lebbæus*, Captain *Church*, irreſiſtably ſtill purſued his Victories at ſuch a rate, that in a few Weeks there were, by his Means, at leaſt Seven Hundred of the Enemy Subjugated; and ſome of his Atchievements were truly ſo Magnanimous and Extraordinary, that my Reader will ſuſpect me to be Tranſcribing the ſilly Old *Romances*, where the *Knights* do Conquer ſo many *Giants*, if I ſhould proceed unto the particular Commemoration of them. Albeit I muſt alſo ſay, there were many other Commanders, whom if we ſhould meaſure by *Conduct* rather than by *Succeſs*, the Fame of Captain *Church* ought by no means to bring an *Eclipſe* upon *theirs*; and though it be an *Envious Phraſe at Sea*, that the Veſſel which by any Advantage *Outſails* another, does *Wrong her*; I pray let not that Phraſe get *aſhore*, to make it Interpreted as a *Wrong* to any other Valiant and Prudent Commander, that any *One* has had *particular Succeſſes* attending of him. In our Wars there were Captains engaged, upon whoſe Graves there may be Engraved the Character given by Sir *Samuel Morland* of Captain *Jahir*, who loſt his Life in the Wars of the poor *Waldenſes*: *They were Perſons worthy to be Renowned unto all Poſterity for their Zeal for* the

the Service of God, and the Preſervation of his poor afflicted Church; Perſons whom all the Terrors of Death could never affright, bold as Lions in all their Enterpriſes, but meek as Lambs in the midſt of all their Victories: Always lifting up their Hands towards Heaven from whence Deliverance came; and reciting ſweet Paſſages of Scripture, wherein they were verſed unto Admiration, to the great Encouragment of all their Followers.

§. 14. While thoſe Parts of *New-England*, which had the *Glory* of Evangelical Churches in them, for a *Defence* to be *created* upon, were thus Tempeſtuated by a terrible *War*; there were other Parts lying in the North-Eaſt of *New-England* of a leſs Evangelical Temper, which felt a furious *Euroclydon* alſo beating upon them. The Deſigns of *Lumber* and *Fiſhing*, but eſpecially of the *Bever-Trade* with the *Indians*, which laſt was very ſcandalouſly managed, had produced many fine Settlements in the Province of *Main*, and the County of *Cornwal*, and the brave Regions lying beyond *Piſcataqua*; but a great part of the *Engliſh* there grew too like the *Indians*, among whom they lived in their *Unchriſtian* way of Living; and inſtead of Erecting Churches among themſelves, they neither *Chriſtianized* the *Pagans*, nor by avoiding of the *Vices* which they rather taught the *Pagans*, did they take a due Courſe to preſerve *themſelves* from loſing of *Chriſtianity* in *Paganiſm.* Within Twenty Days after that *Philip* had begun the *War* at *Mount Hope*, in the Year 1675. the *Indians*, Two Hundred and Fifty Miles diſtant from him to the Northward, began the ſame Game upon the Remoteſt of theſe Plantations. Miſunderſtandings happened between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians* upon very odd Occaſions; and many Rude, Wild, *Ungovernable Engliſh*, did, unto the extream Diſſatisfaction of the wiſer ſort, raſhly add unto the Occaſions which the *Indians* alſo took to grow *Ungovernable.* Their little *Swaggering* at one another, advanced into *Scuffling*, and *Scuffling* into *Fighting*, ſo that at length there was *Open War* etween them; and there were many little Encounters in the Firſt Three or Four Months, wherein the *Engliſh* loſt *Fifty*, and the *Indians* about *Ninety* of their People; but at laſt it came to very *Cruel Depredations.* I am not willing to tire my Reader with another long Walk into the *Woods* after theſe Ravening *Salvages*, or to Enumerate the many Succeſſive Deſtructions with which the *Indians* at length broke up all the *Engliſh Settlements* to the Northward of *Wells*; and if I ſhould particularly relate how Barbarouſly they Murdered my Dear Friend, that Exemplarily *Good* Man, Captain *Thomas Lake*, with many more at *Arowſick-Iſland* in *Kennebeck*-River, on *Auguſt* 14. 1676. I ſhould but unto my ſelf, *Infandum Renovare Dolorem.* Inaſmuch as I am Writing a *Church-Hiſtory*, I may be excuſed, though I do not concern my ſelf any further with Provinces, where they made it ſo little of their own Concern to gather any *Churches*; it ſhall ſuffice for me to Write thus much, that one of the Firſt notable Outrages done by the *Indians* was at the Houſe of one *Wakely* at *Caſco*, whom with his Wife, and Son, and Daughter-in-Law (with Child) and a Couple of Grand-Children, they Barbarouſly Butchered, and carried away Three Children into Captivity. Now this honeſt Old Man was one who would often ſay with Tears, *That he believed God was diſpleaſed at him, inaſmuch as albeit he came into* New-England *for the ſake of the Goſpel, yet he had left another place in the Country, where he had enjoyed the Goſpel in the Communion of a gathered Church, and now had lived many Years in a Plantation where there was no Church at all, nor the Ordinances and Inſtitutions of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* The *Maſſachuſet*-Colony ſent out Forces under the Command of Captain *Hawthorn*, and Captain *Syll*, and others, for the ſubduing of theſe *Indians*; and the ſucceſs of Attempts againſt them was very various. But the *Stunningeſt Wound* of all given to them, was, when by a Contrivance of the *Engliſh*, near Four Hundred of them were, on *Septem.* 6. 1676. ſurpriſed at the Houſe of Major *Walderne* in *Quechecho*; whereof one half which were found *Acceſſaries* to the late Rebellion were ſold for Slaves; the reſt were diſmiſſed unto their own places; and at laſt, when both ſides were weary, about the latter end of that Year, a ſort of *Peace* was clapp'd up for the whole; ſo the *Land had reſt from War.*

§. 15. I make no queſtion that the Story of *Og*, the King of the Woody *Baſhan*, Encountred and Conquered by *Joſhua*, the Lord General of *Iſrael*, with his Armies paſſing into *Canaan*, was the very thing which the *Gentiles*, in After-Ages, did Celebrate under the Notion of the Serpent *Python* (which is the ſame with *Typhon*) deſtroy'd by *Apollo.* *Og* ſignifies a *Bunker*, as well as the Name of *Typhon*, whom the Poets make a *Theomachous Giant*; and the *Hebrews*, for good Cauſes, affording the Name of *Bashan* or a *Serpent* unto ſuch an Enemy, we need not wonder that he is alſo Named *Python.* The Land where the Gods gave Battel to *Typhon*, was according to *Homer*, ἐν Ἀρίμοις. And as we know *Syria* was the Land of *Aram*, ſo *Strabo* will tell us, that the *Arimi* are the *Syrians*; which, with the River *Orontes*, called *Ophites*, as well as *Typhon*, in *Cælo-Syria*, deſignates the very Country of *Og* unto us. The Seat of the Tranſaction related by *Homer* to have been in Ὕδῃ, which Learned Men have ſo long ſought in Vain, that at laſt they ſaid it was in *Cimmeria*, that is to ſay, *No Man knows where*; it is doubtleſs, by a long miſtake of the Scribes, put for Ἰουδαία, or the Land of *Judæa*; but when he adds that it was χώρῳ ἐνὶ δρυόεντι, *in a Region abounding with Oaks*, the Region of *Baſhan* is unqueſtionably pointed at.

What *Homer* Sings about the Τυφωέος εὐναὶ, *Typhonis Cubilia* was not underſtood by *Virgil*, when he made a *Sepulchre* thereof, in his

Tranſlating the Matter into his Ninth *Æneid*, becauſe he had not read the Account which the Scripture gives about *Og*'s *Bedſtead of Iron.* 'Tis as clear that *Apollo*, who was Antiently called *Pæan*, or an *Healer*, is the ſame with *Joſhua*, whoſe Name is of a like Signification: And *Apollo* was called *Anacæus* likewiſe; but in Commemoration of *Joſhua*'s Exploits againſt the *Anakim*; the *Phænicæi*, being alſo but *Bene-Anak*, or the Sons of *Anak* in the firſt Original. They by whom *Typhon* was Combated, came out of *Egypt*, and ſo did the Armies of *Joſhua*; an *Hero*, of whoſe Mother becauſe we read nothing, ſhe muſt be called, Λητὼ, or *Latona, a Latendo. Cadmus* the *Gibeonite* carrying a Colony into *Græcia*, did uſe there to remember the Victories of *Joſhua* in ſuch Hymns as they had learned from their New Maſters in *Canaan*; and of thoſe Hymns, it is probable, the Hundred and Thirty-fifth Pſalm in our Pſalter might be one; yea, the *Græcian*, ἐλελεῦ Ἰὼ, Ἰὼ, uſed in their *Pæaniſms*, might be but rude remembrances of the *Hallelujahs* anciently uſed in theſe Hymns of *Iſrael*.

Reader, 'Twas not unto a *Delphos*, but unto a *Shiloh*, that the Planters of *New-England* have been making their Progreſs, and King *Philip* is not the only *Python* that has been giving them Obſtruction in their Paſſage and Progreſs thereunto. But if, *Infælix Exitus Perſecutorum* is any Note of the *True Church*, I am ſure *New-England* has a *True Church* to People it; for all the *Serpents*, yea, or *Giants*, that formerly moleſted that Religious Plantation, found themſelves engaged in a fatal Enterprize. We have by a True and Plain Hiſtory ſecured the Story of our Succeſſes againſt all the *Ogs* in this *Woody* Country from falling under the Diſguiſes of *Mythology*; but it Adminiſters to us the Reflection which has been often made, that as of old the Ruins that ſtill overtook the Perſecutors of the poor *Piccardines* cauſed Men to ſay, *If a Man be weary of his Life, let him become an Enemy to the* Piccardines! The like Ruins have overwhelmed them that have Perſecuted the poor *New-Englanders*. And we will not conceal the *Name* of the God our Saviour, as an Heathen Country ſometimes would, *Ne ab Hoſtibus Evocatus alio Commigraret:* No, 'tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST worſhipped according to the Rules of his Bleſſed Goſpel, who is the great PHOEBUS, that *SUN of Righteouſneſs*, who hath ſo ſaved his Churches from the Deſigns of the *Generations of the Dragon.* 'Tis to our Lord JESUS CHRIST that we offer up our *Hallelujahs!*

But it muſt after all be confeſſed, that we have had one Enemy more pernicious to us than all the reſt, and that is *our own Backſliding Heart*, which has plunged the whole Country into ſo wonderful a *Degeneracy*, that I have ſometimes been Diſcouraged from Writing the *Church-Hiſtory* of the Country, leſt

——*Mulier Formoſa, ſuperne,*
Deſinat in Piſcem.——

And ſince this *Degeneracy* has obtained ſo much among us, the Wrath of Heaven has raiſed up againſt us a Succeſſion of other *Adverſaries* and *Calamities*, which have caſt the Land into great *Confuſions* to Reſcue us, from which the Jealous Kindneſs of Heaven has not made ſuch *Quick Deſcents* as in *former Times.* Alas, that my Reader muſt now tell me,

Cæpiſti melius quam deſinis, ultima Primis
Diſtant.——

For which Cauſe I now conclude our *Church-Hiſtory*, leaving to the Churches of *New-England*, for their Admonition, an Obſervation which the Renowned *Commenius* has made upon the Famous Churches of *Bohemia*, *That they were nearer to the Sanctuary than other Churches, by reaſon of a more pure Diſcipline profeſſed and embraced among them; and therefore when they came to be depraved with Apoſtaſies, the Lord poured out his Righteous Diſpleaſure upon them, and quickly made them ſad Examples to the other Churches of the Reformation.*

God knows what will be the END.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

Decennium Luctuoſum.

AN

HISTORY

OF

Remarkable Occurrences

In the Long

WAR,

Which *NEW-ENGLAND* hath had with the *Indian Salvages*, from the Year 1688. to the Year 1698. Faithfully Compoſed and Improved.

The Second Edition.

The Dedication, Prefaced unto the *Firſt Edition.*

To the People of NEW-ENGLAND.

SIRS,

YOU are Welcome unto the *Hiſtory* of a Tedious *War*, and unto a *Period* of that *War* ſo far in proſpect, as to render its *Hiſtory* Seaſonable.

Every *Reaſonable* Man will readily allow that it is a *Duty* to God, and a *Service* to the World, for to preſerve the *Memory* of ſuch Matters, as have been the more *Memorable Occurrences* in the *War* that has for *Ten Years* together been multiplying *Changes* and *Sorrows* upon us. And the Author, in whoſe Hiſtorical Writings the moſt *Inquiſitive Envy* has never to this Hour detected ſo much as one Voluntary and Material Miſtake, or One Farthing paid unto the Readers in the Coin of *Candia*, has now choſen to preſerve the *Memory* of theſe Matters while they are *Freſh* and *New*, and one hath not *Fifty Years*, which is the Channel of the *River of Oblivion*, to paſs over unto them. This *Ex-*

pedition is uſed in the publication of our *Decennium Luctuoſum*, in hope that if any miſtake worth noting do appear in *theſe* Writings, it may *like*, and perhaps *with*, *a Second Edition*, be *Corrected and Amended.*

He expects no *Thanks* for his Eſſays to *do Good*, in this way or any other, unto any part of his Country, to whom he would gladly devote all his *Talents*, if he were a Thouſand Times better *Talented* than he is; and though the moſt Ungrateful Treats Imaginable (which are too well known by the Name of *Country-pay*) ſhould be given him, he would ſtill be of that Opinion, *Recte feciſſe Merces eſt*, If a Man may *do Good*, it is enough.

All the *Favour* he deſires of you is, that you would *not Enquire after him*; or ask, *who he is?* But that as he is at beſt but an *Obſcure* Perſon, he may continue in yet more *Obſcurity:* Which will be a greater Pleaſure to him than to be placed among the *great Men of* Achaia.

For indeed, he hath often thought on a paſſage written by Holy Mr. *Row* to his Excellent Son, *I pray*, *That God would make uſe of my ſelf and you, in ſuch a way as that God only may be ſeen, and we not be taken Notice of at all*; *that he may have the Glory*, *and we may not be ſeen.*

Could he have invited His EXCELLENCY unto ſuch a Glorious Table as that in a certain Cabinet at *Florence*, which is furniſhed with Birds and Flow'rs, all conſiſting of Neatly Poliſhed *Jewels* inlaid into it; a Work Fifteen Years in Making, and worth an Hundred Thouſand Crowns: Or could he have written a Book worthy to be laid up in the *Cabinet* of *Darius:* The Author might have been under a Temptation to have had his *Name* Engraved upon his *Work*. But a little boil'd *Indian Corn* in a *Tray*, is as much as our Beſt Hiſtory of an *Indian War*, compos'd perhaps in fewer *Days* than there were *Years* in the *War*, may preſume to be compar'd unto. And ſince our Hiſtory will not afford ſuch a Diverſion unto *His Excellency*, under the Indiſpoſitions of His *Health*, as thoſe of *Livy* and *Curtius* did unto the Princes that Recovered their loſt *Health* by Reading them; nor can any paſſage here be ſo happy, as *that* which cured *Laurentius Medices* of a Malady by having it Read unto him: It will require no more than a *Nameleſs Writer* to aſſure that Great Perſon on this Occaſion, that all the good People of *New-England* make their Fervent Vows unto the Almighty, *For his Excellencies Proſperity*, *and the Welfare of his Excellent Lady*, *and of his Noble and Hopeful Offſpring.*

And the *Naming* of the Author, is as little Neceſſary to Qualifie him, that he may pay publick Acknowledgments unto the Honourable the *Lieutenant Governour*; not only for his Cares about the Publick, while it was *Tempeſtuated* with the *Indian War*, which now makes an *Hiſtory*; but chiefly for his more than ordinary Tenderneſs of that Society, which has been the very *Decus ac Tutamen* of *New-England.* The *Nameleſs Writer* of this Hiſtory may Report, that with a greater Expence than that of the *Firſt Founder*, this Honourable Perſon proves that he *Loves our Nation*, by *Building* us another *Edifice* for the Supply of all our *Synagogues*, and STOUGHTON-HALL outſhines HARVARD-COLLEDGE: And he ſpeaks *kinder Language*, as well as *better Latin*, than that Eminent Stateſman in *Flanders*, whoſe Anſwer to a Petition for the Priviledges of an Univerſity there to be reſtored, was, *Non curamus voſtros Privilegios.* This Report may he give, without being obliged for to Confeſs any other *Name* than this, which he readily Confeſſes; *One that was once a Member of* Harvard-Colledge.

I Pray, Sirs, ask no further; let this Writing be like that on the Wall to *Belſhazzar*, where the Hand only was to be ſeen, and not whoſe it was. The *Hiſtory* is compiled with *Inconteſtable Veracity*; and ſince there is no *Ingenuity* in it, but leſs than what many Pens in the Land might Command, he knows not why his Writing *Anonimouſly* may not Shelter him from the Inconveniencies of having any Notice one way or other taken of him. Though among his other ſmall Furniture, he hath not left himſelf unfurniſhed with Skill in the *Spaniſh* Language, yet he never could bring himſelf to the belief of the *Spaniſh* Proverb, *Quien no parece*, *perece*; i. e. He that appears not, periſhes, he that ſhows not himſelf to the World, is undone. At *Milain* there is an *Academy* of Senſible Perſons, called, *The Naſcoſti*; or, *Hidden Men*; at *Venice* there is one of ſuch Perſons called, The *Incogniti*; and at *Parma* there is one of them, called, The *Innominati*. If there were nothing elſe Diſagreeable in them, the Author of this *Hiſtory* would be glad of an Admiſſion into ſuch an *Academy.*

The *Hiſtory* is indeed of no very *Fine Thread*; and the Readers, who everywhere *Fiſh for nothing but Carps*, and who Love, like *Auguſtus*, to *Tax all the World*, may find Fault enough with it. Nevertheleſs, while the *Fault* of an *Untruth* can't be found in it, the Author pretends that the famous Hiſtory of the *Trojan War* it ſelf comes behind our little Hiſtory of the *Indian War*; for the beſt Antiquaries have now confuted *Homer*; the Walls of *Troy* were, it ſeems, all made of *Poets Paper*; and the Siege of the Town, with the Tragedies of the Wooden Horſe, were all but a piece of *Poetry.*

And if a *War* between *Us* and an Handful of *Indians* do appear no more than a *Batrachomyomachie* to the World *abroad*, yet unto us *at home* it hath been conſiderable enough to make an *Hiſtory*. Nor is the Author afraid of promiſing, that of all the *Thirty Articles* which make up this *Hiſtory*, there ſhall not be *One* without *ſomething* in it that may by our ſelves be juſtly thought *Conſiderable.*

Should

Should any *Petit Monſieur* complain, (as the Captain that found not himſelf in the *Tapeſtry Hangings*, which Exhibited the Story of the Spaniſh Invaſion in 1588) that he don't find himſelf mentioned in this *Hiſtory*, the Author has his Apology; he has done as *well* and as *much* as he could, that whatever was worthy of a Mention might have it: and if this Collection of Matters be not compleat, yet he ſuppoſes it may be more compleat than any one elſe hath made; and now he hath done, he hath not pull'd up the *Ladder* after him; *others* may go on as they pleaſe with a compleater Compoſure.

If the Author hath taken Delight in this *Hiſtory*, and at all times, to Celebrate the *Merits* of ſuch as have deſerved well of his Country, [which he has here done, it may be, for ſome that never could afford *him* a good Word!] Eſpecially, if he do erect *Statues* for *Dead Worthies*, when there is no Room left for Flattery [for who will beſtow *Paint* upon a *Dead Face!*] And if he do all this with all poſſible Concern, to avoid caſting *Aſperſions* upon *others*: Why ſhould any betray ſuch *ill Nature* as to be angry at it? *My good Country forgive him this Injury!*

Huic Uni forſan poteram Succumbere culpæ.

But whatever this *Hiſtory* be, it Aims at the *doing* of *Good*, as well as the *telling* of *Truth*; and if its Aim ſhall be attained, *that* will be a ſufficient *Reward* for all the Trouble of Writing it. When he deſires any more, he'll give you his *Name*; in the mean time, as a far greater Man once was called, *Ludovicus Nihili*, which you may make *Lewis* of *Nothingham*; ſo the Author will count himſelf not a little favoured, if he may paſs for one of no more Account than a *No-body*; which would certainly make a very *blameleſs* Perſon of him.

However, that the *Hiſtory* may not altogether want a *Subſcription*, the Author finding it a Cuſtom among the Chriſtian Writers of the *Orient*, when they have written a Treatiſe, to Subſcribe it after this manner; *Scriptum per Servum vilem pauperem, omnibus Juſtitiis privatum, peccatorem magis quam omnis Caro:* Or, *Scripſit hoc pauper* N. N. Or, *Eſt Scriptura ſervi pauperis, & qui Benevolentia Dei indiget, & miſerationibus*; he will accordingly Subſcribe himſelf, *The Chief of Sinners.* Nevertheleſs, he will humbly lay claim to the Words uſed by the *Nameleſs Author* of a Treatiſe, Entituled, *The Faithful Steward:* 'Tho' I am worſe than 'they ſpeak of me, who caſt diſgrace upon me, 'and I can eſpy *Ten* Faults in my ſelf, where 'they can diſcern *One*; yet I can, thro' Grace, 'appeal to thee, O Lord, with ſome Comfort, 'that I am *Diſpleaſed* with *my ſelf* for my Sins, 'and would fain *pleaſe thee* in all Things, at 'all Times, in all Places, and in every Condition.

Decennium Luctuoſum:

OR, THE

REMARKABLES

Of a Long

WAR

WITH

INDIAN-SALVAGES.

Nobis in areto, & inglorius Labor. Tacit.

INTRODUCTION.

TWenty-three Years have Rouled away ſince the Nations of Indians within the Confines of *New-England*, generally began a Fierce *War* upon the *Engliſh* Inhabitants of that Country. The Flame of *War* then Raged thro' a great Part of the Country, whereby many whole *Towns* were laid in Aſhes, and many *Lives* were Sacrificed. But in little more than One Year's time, the *United Colonies* of *Plymouth*, *Maſſachuſet*, and *Connecticut*, with their united Endeavours, bravely Conquered the *Salvages*. The Evident Hand of Heaven appearing on the ſide of a People, whoſe *Hope* and *Help* was alone in the Almighty *Lord of Hoſts*, extinguiſhed whole *Nations* of the *Salvages* at ſuch a Rate, that there can hardly any of them now be found under any Diſtinction upon the Face of the Earth. Only the Fate of our Northern and Eaſtern Regions in that *War* was very different from that of the reſt. The Deſolations of the *War* had overwhelmed all the Settlements to the North-Eaſt of *Wells*. And when the time arrived, that all Hands were weary of the *War*, a ſort of a *Peace* was patched up, which left a Body of *Indians*, not only with horrible Murders Unrevenged, but alſo in the poſſeſſion of no little Part of the Country, with Circumſtances which the *Engliſh* might think not very Honourable. Upon this *Peace* the Engliſh returned unto their *Plantations*; their Number increaſed; they Stock'd their *Farms*, and Sow'd their *Fields*; they found the *Air* as *Healthful*, as the *Earth* was *Fruitful*; their *Lumber* and their *Fiſhery* became a conſiderable Merchandiſe; continual Acceſſions were made unto them, until Ten or a Dozen *Towns* in the Province of *Main*, and the County of *Cornwall*, were ſuddenly Started up into ſomething of Obſervation.

But in the Year 1688. the *Indians* which dwelt after the *Indian* manner among them, commenced another *War* upon theſe *Plantations* which hath broke *them* up, and ſtrangely held *us* in Play for *Ten Years* together. In theſe *Ten Years* there hath been a variety of *Remarkable Occurrences*; and becauſe I have ſuppoſed that a *Relation* of thoſe *Occurrences* may be Acceptable and Profitable to ſome of my Countrymen, I ſhall now *with all Faithfulneſs* Endeavour it. *With all Faithfulneſs*, I ſay; becauſe tho' there ſhould happen any *Circumſtantial Miſtake* in our Story, (for 'tis a rare thing for any Two Men concern'd in the ſame Action, to give the Story of it without ſome *Circumſtantial Difference*) yet even this alſo I ſhall be willing to *Retract* and *Correct*, if there be found any juſt Occaſion: But for any one *Material Error* in the whole Compoſure, I challenge the moſt *Sagacious Malice* upon Earth to detect it while matters are yet ſo freſh as to allow the Detection of it. I diſdain to make the Apology once made by the Roman Hiſtorian, *Nemo Hiſtoricus*

non

non aliquid mentitus, & habiturus ſum mendaciorum Comites, quos Hiſtoriæ & eloquentiæ miramur Authores. No, I will write with an Irreproachable and Inconteſtable *Veracity*; and I will write not one thing but what I am furniſhed with ſo good Authority for, that any Reaſonable Man, who will pleaſe to Examine it, ſhall ſay, *I do well to inſert it as I do:* And I will hope that my Reader hath not been Studying of *Godefridus de Valle*'s Book, *De Arte nihil Credendi*; About *The Art of Believing nothing.* Wherefore having at the very Beginning thus given ſuch a Knock upon thy *Head, O Malice,* that thou canſt never with Reaſon *Hiſs* at our *Hiſtory*, we will proceed unto the ſeveral Articles of it.

ARTICLE I.

The Occaſion and Beginning of the WAR.

IF *Diodorus Siculus* had never given it as a great Rule of *Hiſtory*, *Hiſtoriæ primum Studium, primariaq; conſideratio eſſe videtur, inſoliti graviſq; Caſus principio cauſas inveſtigare*, yet my Reader would have expected that I ſhould *Begin* the Hiſtory of our *War*, with an Hiſtory of the Occurrences and Occaſions which did *Begin* the *War*. Now, Reader, I am at the very firſt fallen upon a *Difficult Point*; and I am in danger of pulling a *War* upon my ſelf, by endeavouring of thy Satiſfaction. In truth I had rather be called a *Coward*, than undertake my ſelf to Determine the *Truth* in this Matter; but having *Armed* my ſelf with ſome good Authority for it, I will Tranſcribe Two or Three Reports of the Matter now in my Hands, and leave it unto thy own Determination.

One Account I have now lying by me, Written by a Gentleman of *Dover* in theſe Terms.

'The Eaſtern *Indians*, and eſpecially thoſe of '*Saco* and *Ammonoſcoggin*, pretend many Rea'ſons for the late Quarrel againſt the *Engliſh*, 'which began this long and bloody *War*.

1. 'Becauſe the *Engliſh* refuſed to pay that 'Yearly Tribute of *Corn*, agreed upon in the '*Articles of Peace*, formerly concluded with 'them by the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners.

2. 'Becauſe they were Invaded in their '*Fiſhery*, at *Saco*-River, by certain Gentlemen, 'who ſtopp'd the *Fiſh* from coming up the Ri'ver with their *Nets* and *Sains*. This they 'were greatly affronted at, ſaying, *They thought* '*(though the* Engliſh *had got away their Lands* '*as they had, yet) the Fiſhery of the Rivers had* '*been a Priviledge reſerved Entire unto them*'*ſelves.*

3. 'Becauſe they were Abuſed by the *Engliſh*, 'in Suffering, if not Turning their Cattel over 'to a certain Iſland to deſtroy their Corn.

4. 'But the *Fourth* and *Main* Provocation 'was, the Granting or Patenting of their Lands 'to ſome *Engliſh*; at which they were greatly 'Enraged, threatning the Surveyor to knock him 'on the Head if he came to lay out any Lands 'there.

5. 'To theſe may be added the Common A'buſes in *Trading, viz.* Drunkenneſs, Cheat'ing, *&c.* which ſuch as Trade much with 'them are ſeldom innocent of.

Doubtleſs theſe *Indian* Allegations may be anſwered with many *Engliſh* Vindications. But I ſhall at preſent Intermeddle no further than to offer another Account, which alſo I have in my Hands, written by a Gentleman of *Caſco*.

It runs in ſuch Terms as theſe.

'Many were the Outrages and Inſultings of 'the *Indians* up the *Engliſh*, while Sir *E. A.* 'was Governour. At *North-Yarmouth*, and o'ther places at the Eaſtward, the *Indians* killed 'ſundry Cattel, came into Houſes, and threatned 'to knock the People on the Head; and at ſe'veral times gave out Reports that they would 'make a *War* upon the *Engliſh*, and that they 'were animated to do ſo by the *French*. The '*Indians* behaving themſelves ſo Inſultingly, 'gave juſt Occaſion of great Suſpicion. In 'Order for the finding out the *Truth*, and to 'Endeavour the preventing of a *War*, Captain '*Blackman*, a Juſtice of Peace, with ſome of 'the Neighbourhood of *Saco* River, ſeized ſe'veral *Indians* that had been Bloody Murderous '*Rogues* in the Firſt *Indian War*, being the 'Chief Ring-leaders, and moſt capable to do 'Miſchief. The ſaid Captain *Blackman* ſeiz'ed to the Number of between Sixteen and 'Twenty, in Order for their Examination, and 'to bring in the reſt to a Treaty. The ſaid '*Blackman* ſoon ſent the ſaid *Indians* with a 'good Guard to *Falmouth* in *Caſco-Bay*, there 'to be ſecured, until Orders could come from '*Boſton* concerning them. And in the mean 'time the ſaid *Indians* were well provided 'with Proviſions and ſuitable Neceſſaries. The 'reſt of the *Indians* robb'd the *Engliſh*, and took 'ſome *Engliſh* Priſoners: Whereupon Poſt was 'ſent to *Boſton*. Sir *Edmond Androſs* being at '*New-York*, the Gentlemen of *Boſton* ſent to '*Falmouth* ſome Soldiers for the Defence of the 'Country, and alſo the Worſhipful Mr. *Stough'ton*, with others, to Treat with the *Indians* in 'Order for the ſettling of a *Peace*, and getting 'in of our *Engliſh* Captives. As ſoon as the 'ſaid Gentlemen arrived at the Eaſtward, they 'ſent away one of the *Indian* Priſoners to the reſt 'of the *Indians*, to Summon them to bring in 'the *Engliſh* they had taken; alſo that their '*Sachims* ſhould come in to Treat with the '*Engliſh*, in Order that a Juſt Satisfaction ſhould 'be made on both Sides. The Gentlemen wai'ted the return of the *Indian* Meſſenger; and 'when he returned he brought Anſwer, That 'they would meet our *Engliſh* at a Place called '*Macquoit*, and there they would bring in 'the *Engliſh* Captives, and Treat with the '*Engliſh*. And although the Place appointed 'by the *Indians* for the Meeting, was ſome 'Leagues diſtant from *Falmouth*, yet our '*Engliſh* Gentlemen did Condeſcend to it, in 'hope of getting in our Captives, and putting

'a ſtop

'a ſtop to further Trouble. They diſpatch'd 'away to the Place, and carried the *Indian* 'Priſoners with them, and ſtaid at the Place 'appointed, expecting the coming of the *In-* '*dians* that had promiſed a Meeting. But 'they, like Falſe, Perfidious Rogues, did not ap- 'pear. Without doubt they had been Counſel- 'led what to do by the *French* and their Abet- 'tors, as the *Indians* did declare afterwards; 'and that they were near the Place, and ſaw 'our *Engliſh* that were to Treat with them, 'but would not ſhew themſelves; but did en- 'deavour to take an Opportunity to deſtroy our '*Engliſh* that were to Treat them. Such was 'their Treachery! Our Gentlemen ſtaid Days 'to wait their coming; but ſeeing they did 'not appear at the Place appointed, they re- 'turned to *Falmouth*, and brought the *Indian* 'Priſoners, expecting that the other *Indians* 'would have ſent down ſome Reaſon why they 'did not appear at the place appointed, and 'to make ſome Excuſe for themſelves. But in- 'ſtead of any Compliance, they fell upon *North* '*Yarmouth*, and there kill'd ſeveral of our '*Engliſh*. Whereupon the Eaſtern Parts were 'ordered to get into Garriſons, and to be up- 'on their Guard until further Orders from Sir '*Edmond Andros*; and that the *Indian* Priſo- 'ners ſhould be ſent to *Boſton*, which was done 'with great Care, and not one of them hurt; 'and Care taken daily for Proviſion. But Sir '*E. A.* returning from *New-York*, ſet them all 'at Liberty; not ſo much as taking Care to Re- 'deem thoſe of our *Engliſh* for them that were in 'their Hands. I had kept one at *Falmouth* a 'Priſoner, to be a Guide into the Woods for 'our *Engliſh*, to find out the Haunts of our 'Heathen Enemies; but Sir *E. A.* ſent an Ex- 'preſs to me, that upon my utmoſt Peril I 'ſhould ſet the ſaid *Indian* at Liberty, and take 'Care that all the Arms that were taken from 'him, and all the reſt of thoſe Captain *Black-* '*man* had ſeized, ſhould be delivered up to them, 'without any Orders to receive the like of ours 'from them.

It will be readily acknowledged, that here was enough done to render the *Indians* Inexcuſable for not coming in upon the *Proclamation*, which Sir *Edmond Andros*, then Governour of *New-England*, immediately Emitted thereupon, requiring them to Surrender the *Murderers* now among them. A *Spaniard*, that was a Soldier, would ſay, *That if we have a good Cauſe, the ſmell of Gunpowder in the Field is as ſweet as the Incenſe at the Altar.* Let the Reader judge after theſe things, what ſcent there was in the *Gunpowder* ſpent for Nine or Ten Years together in our *War* with the *Indian-Salvages*.

Now that while we are upon this Head, we may at once diſpatch it; I will unto theſe Two Accounts add certain Paſſages of one more, which was Publiſhed in *September*, 1689.

'Such were the *Obſcure Meaſures* taken at 'that time of Day, that the *Riſe* of this *War* 'hath been as dark as that of the River *Nilus*; 'only the generality of *Thinking People* through 'the Country can remember *When* and *Why* eve- 'ry one did foretel *a War*. If any *Wild* '*Engliſh* (for there are ſuch as well as of 'another Nation) did then *Begin* to Provoke 'and Affront the *Indians*, yet thoſe *Indians* had 'a fairer way to come by Right than that of '*Bloodſhed*, nothing worthy of, or calling for, 'any *ſuch* Revenge was done unto them. The 'moſt *Injured* of them all, (if there were any '*ſuch*) were afterwards diſmiſſed by the *Engliſh* 'with Favours, that were then admirable even 'to *Our ſelves*; and theſe too, inſtead of Sur- 'rendring the *Perſons*, did increaſe the *Num-* '*bers* of the *Murderers*. But upon the REVO- 'LUTION of the Government, [*April*, 1689.] 'the *State of the War* became wholly *New*: 'And we are more arrived unto *Righteouſneſs* '*as the Light*, and *Juſtice as the Noon Day*. 'A great *Sachim* of the Eaſt we then immediate- 'ly applied our ſelves unto, and with no ſmall 'Expences to our ſelves, we engaged him to em- 'ploy his Intereſt for a good Underſtanding 'between us, and the Party of *Indians* then in 'Hoſtility againſt us. *This* was the *Likely*, the '*Only* way of coming at thoſe Wandring *Sal-* '*vages*: But that very *Sachim* now treacherouſly 'of an *Embaſſador* became a *Traitor*, and an- 'nexed himſelf with his People to the *Heard* of 'our Enemies, which have ſince been Ravaging, 'Pillaging and Murdering, at a rate which we 'ought to count *Intolerable*. The *Penacook* '*Indians*, of whom we were Jealous, we like- 'wiſe Treated with; and while we were by 'our *Kindneſſes* and *Courteſies* Endeavouring to 'render them utterly Inexcuſable, if ever they 'ſought our Harm; even *then* did *theſe* alſo 'by ſome *Evil Inſtigation*, (*the Devils*, no 'doubt!) quickly ſurprize a Plantation where 'they had been Civilly Treated a Day or two 'before, and Commit at once more *Plun-* '*der* and *Murder* than can be heard with any 'Patience.

Reader, having ſo placed theſe Three Accounts as to defend my *Teeth*, I think I may ſafely proceed with our Story. But becauſe *Tacitus* teaches us to diſtinguiſh between the meer *Occaſions* and the real *Cauſes* of a *War*, it may be ſome will go a little higher up in their Enquiries: They will Enquire whether no Body ſeized a parcel of *Wines* that were Landed at a *French* Plantation to the Eaſtward? Whether an Order were not obtained from the King of *England*, at the Inſtance of the *French* Embaſſador, to reſtore theſe *Wines*? Whether upon the Vexation of this *Order*, we none of us ran a *New Line* for the Bounds of the Province? Whether we did not contrive our *New Line* ſo as to take in the Country of Monſieur St *Caſteen*? Whether Monſieur St. *Caſteen* flying from our Encroachments, we did not ſeize upon his Arms and Goods, and bring them away to *Pemmaquid*? And *Who* were the *We* which did theſe things? And whether the *Indians*, who were extreamly under the Influence of St. *Caſteen*, that had Married a *Sagamore's* Daughter among them, did not from this ve-

ry Moment begin to be obſtreperous? And whether all the Sober *Engliſh* in the Country did not from this very Moment foretel a *War*? But for any Anſwer to all theſe Enquiries I will be my ſelf a *Tacitus*.

ARTICLE II.

The Firſt Acts of Hoſtility between the Indians *and the* Engliſh.

WHEN one Captain *Sargeant* had ſeized ſome of the Principal *Indians* about *Saco* by Order of Juſtice *Blackman*, preſently the *Indians* fell to ſeizing as many of the *Engliſh* as they could catch. Captain *Rowden*, with many more in one Place, and Captain *Gendal*, with ſundry more in another Place, particularly fell into the Hands of theſe deſperate *Man-Catchers*. *Rowden*, with many of his Folks, never got out of their Cruel Hands; but *Gendal*, with his, got a Releaſe, one can ſcarce tell *how*, upon the return of thoſe which had been detained in *Boſton*. Hitherto there was no ſpilling of *Blood!* But ſome time in *September* following, this Captain *Gendal* went up, with Soldiers and others, to a Place above *Caſco*, called *North Yarmouth*, having Orders to Build *Stockado's* on both ſides the River, for Defence of the Place, in Caſe of any ſudden Invaſion. While they were at Work, an *Engliſh Captive* came to 'em with Information, that Seventy or Eighty of the Enemy were juſt coming upon 'em; and he adviſed 'em, *To yield quietly, that they might ſave their Lives*. The Soldiers that went thither from the Southward being terrified at this Report, ran with an haſty Terror to get over the River; but with more *Haſte* than *Good Speed*; for they ran directly into the Hands of the *Indians*. The *Indians* dragging theſe their Priſoners with 'em, came up towards the *Caſconians*; who having but a very little time to conſult, yet in this time reſolved, Firſt, *That they would not be ſeized by the* Salvages: Next, *That they would free their Friends out of the Hands of the* Salvages *if it were poſſible*: Thirdly, *That if it were poſſible they would uſe all other Force upon the* Salvages, *without coming to downright Fight*. Accordingly they laid hold on their Neighbours, whom the *Salvages* had ſeized, and this with ſo much Dexterity, that they cleared them all, except One or Two; whereof the whole Number was about a *Dozen*. But in the *Scuffle* one Sturdy and Surly *Indian* held his Prey ſo faſt, that one *Benedict Pulciſer* gave the *Maſtiff* a Blow with the Edge of his *Broad Ax* upon the Shoulder, upon which they fell to't with a Vengeance, and Fired their *Guns* on both Sides, till ſome on both Sides were Slain. Theſe were, as one may call them, *The Scower-pit* of a long *War* to follow. At laſt the *Engliſh* Victoriouſly chaſed away the *Salvages*, and returned ſafely unto the other ſide of the River. And thus was the *Vein* of *New-England* firſt opened, that afterwards *Bled* for Ten Years together! The Skirmiſh being over, Captain *Gendal* in the Evening paſſed over the River in a Canoo, with none but a Servant; but Landing where the Enemy lay hid in the Buſhes, they were both Slain immediately. And the ſame Evening, one *Ryal*, with another Man, fell unawares into the Hands of the Enemy; *Ryal* was afterwards Ranſomed by Monſieur St. *Caſteen*, but the other Man was barbarouſly Butchered. Soon after this the Enemy went Eaſtward, unto a Place call'd, *Merry-Meeting*, (from the Concourſe of divers Rivers there) where ſeveral Engliſh had a *Sad-Meeting* with them; for they were killed ſeveral of them even in cold Blood, after the *Indians* had ſeized upon their Houſes and their Perſons. And about this time the Town call'd, *Sheepſcote*, was entred by theſe Rapacious *Wolves*, who burnt all the Houſes of the Town, ſave Two or Three. The People ſaved themſelves by getting into the Fort, all but one Man, who going out of the Fort for to Treat with 'em, was Treacherouſly Aſſaſſinated. Thus the Place which was counted, *The Garden of the Eaſt*, was infeſted by Serpents; and a *Sword* Expell'd the poor Inhabitants. Little more Spoil was done by the *Salvages* before *Winter*, except only, that at a place called *Kennebunk*, near *Winter-Harbour*, they cut off Two Families, to wit, *Barrow*'s, and *Buſſie*'s; but *Winter* coming on, the *Serpents* retired into their Holes. When *Summer* comes, Reader, look for *Tornadoes* enough to overſet a greater Veſſel than little *New-England*.

ARTICLE III.

The Firſt Expedition *of the* Engliſh *againſt the* Indians.

WHEN the Keeper of the Wild Beaſts at *Florence* has entertain'd the Spectators with their Encounters on the Stage, he has this Device to make 'em Retire into the ſeveral *Dens* of their *Seraglio*. He has a fearful *Machin* of Wood made like a great *Green Dragon*, which a Man within it rouls upon Wheels, and holding out a Couple of Lighted Torches at the Eyes of it, frights the fierceſt Beaſt of them all into the Cell that belongs unto him. Sir *Edmond Andros*, the Governour of *New-England*, that he might Expreſs his Reſolutions to force the Wild Beaſts of the Eaſt into Order, in the *Winter* now coming on, turned upon them as Effectual a *Machin* as the *Green Dragon* of *Florence*; that is to ſay, an Army of near a Thouſand Men. With this Army he marched himſelf in Perſon into the *Caucaſæan* Regions, where he built a Fort at *Pemmaquid*, and another Fort at *Pechypſcot* Falls, beſides the Fort at *Sheepſcote*. He and his *Army* underwent no little Hardſhip, thus in the depth of *Winter* to Expoſe themſelves unto the Circumſtances of a *Campaign*, in all the Bleak *Winds* and Thick *Snows* of that Northern Country. But it was hop'd, that

Good

Good *Forts* being thus Garriſon'd with Stout *Hearts* in ſeveral Convenient Places, the Indians might be kept from their uſual Retreats, both for *Planting*, and for *Fiſhing*, and lye open alſo to perpetual Incurſions from the Engliſh in the fitteſt Seaſons thereof: And it was thought by the moſt ſenſible, this Method would in a little while compel the Enemy to ſubmit unto any Terms: Albeit others conſidering the Vaſt Woods of the Wilderneſs, and the French on the back of theſe Woods, fancied that this was but a project to *Hedge in the Cuckow*. However, partly the *Army*, and partly the *Winter*, frighted the *Salvages* into their Inacceſſible *Dens*: And yet not One of the *Indians* was killed; but Sickneſs and Service kill'd, it may be, more of our *Engliſh* than there were *Indians* then in Hoſtility againſt them. The News of Matters approaching towards a REVOLUTION in *England*, cauſed the Governor to return unto *Boſton* in the Spring; and upon his return there fell out ſeveral odd Events, with *Rumours*, whereof I have now nothing to ſay, but that *I love my Eyes too well* to mention them. Some of the *Soldiers* took Advantage from the Abſence of the Governor to deſert their *Stations* in the Army; and tho' this Action was by *good Men* generally Condemned as an *evil Action*, yet their Friends began to gather together here and there in little Bodies, to protect them from the Governor, concerning whom abundance of odd Stories then buzz'd about the Country, made 'em to Imagine, that he had carried 'em out only to Sacrifice 'em. Some of the principal Gentlemen in *Boſton* conſulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, they Agreed, that altho' *New-England* had as much to Juſtifie a *Revolution* as *Old*, yet they would, if it were poſſible, extinguiſh all Eſſays in the People towards an *Inſurrection*, in daily hopes of Orders from *England* for our Safety: But that if the Country People, by any unreſtrainable Violences puſhed the Buſineſs on ſo far, as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, then to prevent the Shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, ſome of the Gentlemen preſent ſhould appear at the Head of it, with a *Declaration* accordingly prepared. He that Reads the *Narrative of Grievances* under the Male-Adminiſtrations of the Government then Tyrannizing, Written and Signed by the Chief Gentlemen of the *Governor's Council*, will not wonder at it, that a *Revolution* was now rendred indeed unavoidable. It was a Government, whereof *Ned Randolph*, a Bird of their own Feather, confeſs'd as we find in one of his publiſhed Letters, *That they were as Arbitrary as the Great Turk*. And for ſuch a Government a better Similitude cannot perhaps be thought on than that of Monſieur *Souligne*; *'Tis like the Condition of Perſons poſſeſſed with evil Spirits, which will go an Hundred Leagues in leſs time than others can Ten; but at the Journys End find themſelves to be ſo Bruiſed that they never can Recover it.* The *Revolution* (and, ye *Tories*, a *Juſt* one) was accordingly *made* on the Eighteenth of *April*, which Their Majeſties, then happily Seated on the Britiſh Throne, kindly Accepted and Approved. The *Governor* and *Magiſtrates* of the *Maſſachuſets*-Colony, which were in power *Three Years and Half* before, [a Period often obſerved!] did ſome time after this reſume their Places, and apply themſelves to ſuch *Acts of Government*, as Emergencies made neceſſary for them, fortified with a Letter from the *King* to *Authorize and Empower them in their Adminiſtrations*. Thus they waited for further Directions from the Authority of *England*, and ſuch a *Settlement* as would *moſt Conduce* (which were the words of the King's Letter, bearing Date *Aug.* 12 *1689.*) *to the Security and Satisfaction of the Subjects in that Colony.*

ARTICLE IV.

A Flame Spreading *upon the beſt Endeavours to Quench it.*

IT was hop'd the *War* would now come to an immediate End; but the Great God who *Creates that Evil*, had further Intentions to Chaſtiſe a *ſinful People* by thoſe who are *not a People*. The Government ſent Captain *Greenleaf* to Treat with the *Indians* at *Penacook*, who anſwered him with fair Pretences and Promiſes of Amity. They procured an Interview with ſome of the more Eaſtern *Sagamores*, who not only promiſed *Friendſhip* themſelves, but alſo undertook to make our *Enemies* become our *Friends*. They ſent unto the Soldiers yet remaining at *Pammaquid* for to keep their *Poſt*, Engaging to them that they ſhould not want their *Pay*. But all this Care was defeated by *Methods* of *Miſchiefs* too deep for our preſent Penetration. The Salvages began to renew their Hoſtilities at *Saco* Falls, in the Beginning of *April*, on a *Lord's Day* Morning, ſome while before the *Revolution*. The *Penacock* Indians were all this while peaceably Converſant at *Quochecho*; and ſo long as that Converſation continued, the Inhabitants were very ſecure of any Danger, not only from thoſe *Cut-Throats*, but alſo from their *Brethren*. Happy had it been for thoſe honeſt People, if their *Fear* had made ſo much Haſte as my *Pen* has done, to call 'em *Cut-Throats!* For the *Penacookian* joining with the *Saconian* Indians, hovered about *Quochecho*, where one *Meſandowit*, a *Sagamore*, being that Night kindly Entertained by Major *Richard Waldein*, horribly betray'd his kind Hoſt, with the Neighbours, into the Hands of Murderers. Above an Hundred, ſome ſay Five Hundred of the *Indians*, about break of Day having Surprized the Secure and Silent *Engliſh*, they particularly ruſhed into the Garriſon of the Generous Major, which was by *Sinon Meſandowit* (for beſtowing a *Heathen Name* upon him, we'll now call him *ſo*) opened for them, and having firſt Barbarouſly Murthered the Old Gentleman, who was Equivalent unto *Two and Twenty*, they then Murdered Two and Twenty more, and Captived Nine and Twenty of the People; Burnt

Four

Four or Five of the beſt Houſes, took much Plunder, and ſo drew off; but kill'd Mr. *John Broughton* in their drawing off: While Mr. *John Emmerſon*, a worthy Preacher at *Berwick*, by declining to Lodge at the Hoſpitable Major's that Night, when ſtrongly Invited, received a remarkable Deliverance. Hereupon Forces were diſpatch'd for the Relief of what remained in *Quochecho*; Captain *Noyes* alſo with more Forces viſited *Penacook*, where though the *Men* eſcaped him, he deſtroy'd the *Corn* of our New Enemies: But the ſculking Enemies at the ſame time ſlew ſeveral Perſons at an Out-Farm on the North-ſide of *Merrimack*-River. A Party of Men were ſoon after ſent out of *Piſcataqua*, under the Command of Captain *Wincal*, who went up to *Winnopiſſeag* Ponds, (upon Advice of one *John Church*, who ran from them, that the *Indians* were there) where they kill'd One or Two of the *Monſters* they *Hunted* for, and cut down their *Corn*. Four young Men of *Saco*, deſirous to join with them, went into the Woods to *ſeek their Horſes*, and *found* their *Deaths* by an Ambuſh of *Indians*. Twenty-four Armed Men going forth from *Saco-Falls* to bury the Slain, had a briſk Encounter with the *Indians*, whom they purſued, into a Vaſt *Swamp*, until a greater Number of *Indians* pouring in upon them, obliged 'em with the loſs of about Five or Six more, to retire from any further Action. But before the *Dog-Days* were out, there was more *bleeding* ſtill that prov'd fatal to us. On *Aug.* 2. one *Starky* going early in the Morning from the Fort at *Pemmaquid* unto New Harbour, fell into the Hands of the *Indians*, who to obtain his own Liberty informed them, that the Fort had at that inſtant but few Men in it: And that one Mr. *Giles*, with Fourteen Men, was gone up to his Farm, and the reſt ſcattered abroad about their Occaſions. The *Indians* hereupon divided their Army; *Part* going up to the *Falls*, kill'd Mr *Giles* and others; *Part*, upon the Advantage of the Tide, ſnapt the reſt before they could recover the Fort. From a Rock near the Fort, which inconveniently overlook'd it, the Aſſailants now overlook'd it, *as over Lincoln*, and grievouſly gauled the Defendants. Capt. *Weems* had but few with him that were able to *Fight*; and his own Face was in the *Fight* by an Accident horribly Scorched with Gunpowder. Wherefore the Day following they ſurrendred the Fort upon Capitulations for Life and Liberty; which yet the *Indians* broke, by Butchering and Captiving many of them. Capt. *Skynner*, and Capt. *Farnham*, repairing to the Fort, from an Iſland about half a Mile diſtant from it, were both ſlain as they Landed on the Rocks; and Mr *Patiſhal* as he lay with his Sloop in the *Barbican*, was alſo taken and ſlain. This, together with more Spoil done by the *Indians* on the *Engliſh* at *Sheepſcote*, and *Kennebeck*, and other Places Eaſtward caused the Inhabitants to draw off unto *Falmouth* as faſt as they could: And well it they could have made good their *Standing* there!

MANTISSA.

THE foregoing Article of our *Tragedies* hath related the taking of *Quochecho*: The Condition of Two Perſons under and after the Fate of *Quochecho*, may have in it an Entertainment acceptable for ſome ſort of Readers. It ſhall be in this place reported, from the Communications of Mr. *John Pike*, the worthy Miniſter of *Dover*, to whom I have been beholden, for Communicating to me many other Paſſages alſo which occurr in this our Hiſtory.

I. Mrs. *Elizabeth Heard*, a Widow of a good Eſtate, a Mother of many Children, and a Daughter of Mr. *Hall*, a Reverend Miniſter formerly Living at *Piſcataqua*, now lived at *Quochecho*; happening to be at *Portſmouth* on the Day before *Quochecho* was cut off, ſhe returned thither in the Night with One Daughter and Three Sons, all Maſters of Families. When they came near *Quochecho* they were aſtoniſhed with a prodigious Noiſe of *Indians*, Howling, Shooting, Shouting, and Roaring, according to their manner in making an Aſſault. Their Diſtreſs for their Families carried them ſtill further up the River, till they ſecretly and ſilently paſſed by ſome Numbers of the Raging Salvages. They Landed about an Hundred Rods from Major *Waldern*'s Garriſon; and running up the Hill, they ſaw many Lights in the Windows of the Garriſon, which they concluded the *Engliſh* within had ſet up for the Direction of thoſe who might ſeek a Refuge there. Coming to the Gate, they deſired Entrance; which not being readily granted, they called earneſtly, and bounced, and knocked, and cried out of their unkindneſs within, that they would not open to them in this Extremity. No Anſwer being yet made, they began to doubt whether all was well; and one of the young Men then climbing up the Wall, ſaw a horrible Tawny in the Entry, with a Gun in his Hand. A grievous Conſternation ſeiz'd now upon them, and Mrs. *Heard*, ſitting down without the Gate through Deſpair and Faintneſs, unable to ſtir any further, charg'd her Children to ſhift for themſelves, for ſhe muſt unavoidably *there* End her Days. They finding it impoſſible to carry her with them, with heavy Hearts forſook her; but then coming better to her ſelf, ſhe fled and hid among the *Barberry-Buſhes* in the Garden: And then haſtning from thence, becauſe the Daylight advanced, ſhe ſheltered her ſelf (though ſeen by Two of the *Indians*) in a Thicket of other Buſhes, about Thirty Rods from the Houſe. Here ſhe had not been long before an *Indian* came towards her, with a Piſtol in his Hand: The Fellow came up to her, and ſtared her in the Face, but ſaid nothing to her, nor ſhe to him. He went a little way back, and came again, and ſtared upon her as before, but ſaid nothing; whereupon ſhe asked him, *What he would have?* He ſtill ſaid nothing, but went

 away

away to the Houſe Co-hooping, and returned unto her no more. Being thus unaccountably preſerved, ſhe made ſeveral Eſſays to paſs the River; but found her ſelf unable to do it; and finding all Places on that ſide the River fill'd with Blood, and Fire, and Hideous Outcries, thereupon ſhe returned to her old *Buſh*, and there poured out her ardent Prayers to God for help in this Diſtreſs. She continued in the *Buſh* until the Garriſon was Burnt, and the Enemy was gone; and then ſhe ſtole along by the River ſide, until ſhe came to a Boom, where ſhe paſſed over. Many ſad Effects of Cruelty ſhe ſaw left by the *Indians* in her way; until arriving at Captain *Gerriſh*'s Garriſon, ſhe there found a Refuge from the Storm; and here ſhe ſoon had the Satisfaction to underſtand, that her own Garriſon, though one of the firſt that was aſſaulted, had been bravely Defended and Maintained againſt the Adverſary. This Gentlewoman's Garriſon was the moſt Extream Frontier of the Province, and more Obnoxious than any other, and more uncapable of Relief; nevertheleſs, by her Preſence and Courage it held out all the *War*, even for *Ten Years* together; and the Perſons in it have enjoy'd very Eminent Preſervations. The Garriſon had been deſerted, if *ſhe* had accepted Offers that were made her by her Friends, of Living in more ſafety at *Portſmouth*; which would have been a Damage to the Town and Land: But by her Encouragement this Poſt was thus kept; and ſhe is yet Living in much Eſteem among her Neighbours.

II. Mrs. *Sarah Geriſh*, Daughter to Captain *John Geriſh* of *Quochecho*, a very Beautiful and Ingenious Damſel, about Seven Yerrs of Age, lodg'd at the Garriſon of her affectionate Grandfather, Major *Waldern*, when the Indians brought an horrible Deſtruction upon it. She was always very fearful of the *Indians*; but what Fear may we think now Surpriſed her, when they fiercely bid her go into ſuch a Chamber and call the People out? Finding only a little Child in the Chamber, ſhe got into the Bed unto the Child, and hid her ſelf in the Cloaths as well as ſhe could. The Fell-Salvages quickly pull'd her out, and made her Dreſs for a March, but led her away with no more than one Stockin upon her, a terrible March through the thick Woods, and a Thouſand other Miſeries, till they came to the *Norway-Plains*. From thence they made her go to the end of *Winnopiſſeag* Lake, and from thence to the Eaſtward, through horrid Swamps, where ſometimes they muſt Scramble over huge Trees fallen by Storm or Age for a vaſt way together, and ſometimes they muſt Climb up Long, Steep, Tireſome, and almoſt Inacceſſible Mountains. Her Firſt Maſter was one *Sebundowit*, a dull ſort of Fellow, and not ſuch a *Devil* as many of 'em were; but he ſold her to a Fellow that was a more harſh and mad ſort of a *Dragon*, and he carried her away to *Canada*.

A long and a ſad Journey ſhe had of it, thro' the midſt of an hideous *Deſart*, in the midſt of a dreadful *Winter*: And who can enumerate the Frights that ſhe endured before the end of her Journey? Once her Maſter commanded her to looſen ſome of her upper-garments, and ſtand againſt a Tree while he charged his Gun; whereas the poor Child ſhrieked out, *He's going to kill me!* God knows what he was going to do; but the Villain having charged his Gun, he call'd her from the Tree, and forbore doing her any Damage. Another time her Maſter ordered her to run along the Shore with ſome Indian Girls, while he paddled up the River in his Canoo. As they were upon a Precipice, a Tawny Wench violently puſh'd her Headlong into the River: But it ſo fell out, that in that very Place the *Buſhes* hung over the *Water*; ſo that getting hold of them ſhe recovered her ſelf. The Indians ask'd her how ſhe became ſo wet? But ſhe durſt not ſay how, through dread of the young Indians, who were always very Abuſive to her when they had her alone. Moreover, once being ſpent with Travelling all Day, and lying down Spent and Wet at Night, ſhe fell into ſo profound a Sleep that in the Morning ſhe waked not. The Barbarous Indians left her *Aſleep*, and covered with *Snow*; but at length waking, what Agonies may you imagine ſhe was in, to find her ſelf left a prey for *Bears* and *Wolves*, and without any Suſtenance, in an howling Wilderneſs many Scores of Leagues from any Plantation? She ran crying after them; and Providence having ordered a *Snow* to fall, by means whereof ſhe Track'd them until ſhe overtook them. Now the young Indians began to Terrifie her with daily Intimations, *That ſhe was quickly to be Roaſted unto Death*; and one Evening much Fuel was prepared between Two Logs, which they told her was for *her*. A mighty Fire being made, her Maſter call'd her to him, and told her, that ſhe ſhould preſently be Burnt Alive. At firſt ſhe ſtood Amazed; afterwards ſhe burſt into Tears; and then ſhe hung about the Tygre, and begg'd of him with an inexpreſſible Anguiſh, that he would ſave her from the Fire. Hereupon the Monſter ſo relented as to tell her, *That if ſhe would be a good Girl ſhe ſhould not be Burnt.*

At laſt they arrived at *Canada*, and ſhe was carried unto the *Lord Intendant*'s Houſe, where many Perſons of Quality took much notice of her. It was a Week after this that ſhe remained in the *Indian* Hands before the Price of her Ranſom could be agreed on But then the *Lady Intendant* ſent her to the *Nunnery*, where ſhe was comfortably provided for; and it was the Deſign, as was ſaid, for to have brought her up in the *Romiſh Religion*, and then have Married her unto the Son of the *Lord Intendant*. She was kindly uſed there, until Sir *William Phips* lying before *Quebeck*, did, upon exchange of Priſoners, obtain her Liberty After Sixteen Months Captivity ſhe was reſtored unto her Friends; who had the Conſolation of having this their Deſireable Daughter again with them, returned from the

the *Dead*; but coming to be Sixteen Years Old, in the Month of *July* 1697. *Death* by a malignant Feavor, more Irrecoverably took her from them.

ARTICLE V.

New Forces raiſ'd, and New Actions done.

ON *Aug.* 28. 1689. Major *Swayn*, with Seven or Eight Companies raiſed by the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony, marched Eaſtward; and ſoon after Major *Church*, with a Party of Engliſh and *Chriſtian-Indians*, raiſed in *Plymouth*-Colony, follow'd them. While theſe were on their March, the Indians that lay ſculking after the Indian-faſhion in the thick Woods, took notice how many Men belong'd unto Lieut. *Huckin*'s Garriſon: And ſeeing 'em all go out unto their daily Work, nimbly ran ſo between them and the Garriſon, as to Kill 'em all (about Eighteen) but One, who being accidentally gone over the River, eſcaped them. They then Attacqued the Garriſon, in which there now were only Two *Boys*, (and one of *them* Lame) with ſome Women and Children; but theſe Two *Boys* very *Manfully* held 'em in play a Conſiderable while, and Wounded ſeveral of them, and kept 'em off, till the Aſſailants had found a way to ſet the Houſe on a light Fire over their Heads. They then urging 'em to Surrender for the ſake of the *Goods*, the *Boys* [*brave Boys*, truly!] would *not*, until they had Solemnly promiſed 'em their *Lives*: But the perfidious Wretches broke their Promiſe, for they preſently kill'd Three or Four of the Children: However, one of theſe *Minutius*'s the Day after very happily got out of their Clutches. It was by a particular Accident that theſe *Indians* were delivered from falling into the Hands of Captain *Garner*, who purſued 'em Vigorouſly. But while the Forces now gone into the Eaſt were ſettling of *Garriſons* in convenient Places, a huge Body of *Indians* fell upon *Caſco*, where one of their firſt Exploits was their killing of Captain *Bracket*. Nevertheleſs, Captain *Hall*, (a Valiant *Soldier* in the former War, and a Valiant *Commander* in *this*) with his Vigorous Lieutenant *Dawes*, juſt then Arriving with his Company, the Engliſh hotly Engaged them for ſeveral Hours; and after a deal of true Engliſh Valour diſcovered in this Engagement, and the loſs of Ten or a Dozen Men, the *Indians* ran for it, with *What* loſs on their Part we do *not* know: *That* with *Some* we *Do*. Preſently after this, Major *Swayn* paſſing through Extream Difficulties to get at it, gave ſome Relief to a Garriſon at *Blue Point*, which was beſet by the *Indians*; who ſtill Fled into their Inacceſſible *Swamps* when our Bullets began to be hail'd upon them. It was judg'd, That here One or *Two Opportunities* of bringing the War unto an End were ſtrangely miſt and loſt: But where the *Miſmanagement* lay *I cannot Remember*; nor what were the *Faux Pas* of the Actors. Our *Honeſt Major* will clear himſelf, who returning then to his Head Quarters at *Berwick*, ſent abroad *Scouts* to learn if it were poſſible where they might have the *beſt Game* at the *Chaſſe a La Bete noire*, then to be followed. Captain *Wiſwel* having with him a Party of *Indian* Auxiliaries, *they* were ſent out under the Conduct of Lieutenant *Flag*: But coming to *Winnopiſſeag*, theſe *Indians* had a Conſult in their own Language, and ſending back their Lieutenant with Two *Indians*, Nineteen of them ſtaid in that Country Eleven Days, not having any Engliſh with them: At which the Major was juſty and greatly Offended. It was then *Suſpected*, and afterwards (by eſcap'd Captives) *Aſſerted*, that theſe Wretches found the Enemy, and Lodg'd with 'em Two Nights, and told 'em what they knew of the Engliſh Numbers and Motions. The Enemy then retired into the howling Deſarts where there was no coming at them: And no Endeavours being able to reach them, the Army in the Month of *November* following was Diſmiſſed: Only ſome Soldiers were left in Garriſon at *Wells*, at *York*, at *Berwick*, and at *Quechecho*, for the Aſſiſtence of the poor Inhabitants againſt any more Invaſions. There has been little Doubt that our Northern Indians are Originally *Scythians*; and it is become leſs a Doubt, ſince it appears from later Diſcoveries, that the pretended Straits of *Anian* are a Sham; for *Aſia* and *America* it ſeems are there Contiguous. Now of theſe our *Scythians* in *America* we have ſtill found what *Julius Cæſar* does report concerning them of *Aſia*;

Difficilius Invenire quam Interficere:

It is harder to *Find* them, than to *Foil* them.

A Digreſſion,

Relating ſome Wonderful Judgments of God.

BEfore we paſs to another Year, ſtand Still, *Reader*, and *Behold* ſome *Wonderful Events* proper *here* to be Introduced. The Relation thereof ſhall be *given* as I have *Received* it.

Portſmouth, Feb. 27. 169$\frac{8}{9}$.

'MOnſieur *Vincelotte* of *Quebeck* arrived here 'the 25th of the laſt Month, and ſince 'Embarked for *France* by way of *Bilboa*, as A'gent to Repreſent the Affairs of *Canada*.

'He ſays, That about Nine or Ten Years ſince, 'the Earl of *Frontenac*, Governor of that Place, '(who died laſt *November*) did perſonally At'tempt to ſubdue the *Maqua*'s, *&c.* having no 'leſs than *Fifteen Hundred* Soldiers in his Army.

'After a few Days March they (being 'much *Wearied* and very *Thirſty*) came unto a 'certain ſmall *Well*, of which they drank very 'plentifully. But in a few Hours after ſundry 'complained of much *Illneſs*, and according to 'their *various Conſtitutions* fell Sick (as it ſeem'd) 'of *different Diſtempers*; which occaſioned ſo 'great Diſorder and Confuſion in the Army,

‘that no leſs than *Four* well Men, for a while, ‘were engaged in taking Care of every *one* that ‘was Sick. About Three Days after, the *Maqua* ‘Scout narrowly obſerving the Motions of the ‘*French*, rallied together as many as poſſible, ‘to give a Check unto their Undertaking; ‘which they ſoon accompliſhed with very con‘ſiderable Advantage. But the *French* appearing ‘ſo Numerous, forced them to Retreat, and in ‘purſuit of them, took and ranſackt a *Small* ‘*Town.*

‘The *Sickneſs* by this time increaſed unto ſo ‘great an Height, as to occaſion a *Council of* ‘*War*, which ordered their ſpeedy Return; and ‘in a ſhort time no leſs than *Eight Hundred* Per‘ſons Died out of the Army.

‘Now about *Three Years* ago a certain Sol‘dier, who belong’d at that time to the Army, ‘went into *France*. In a ſhort time after his ‘Arrival, he *Robb’d* one of the *Churches* of a ‘conſiderable value of *Plate*; but being ſoon ‘diſcovered, he was Sentenced to be *Burnt*: He ‘then ſent unto ſundry *Father Confeſſors*, unto ‘whom he acknowledged his *many Sins*; parti‘cularly the *Fact* for which he was Condemn‘ed. But he therewithal ſaid, That he had *ſome*‘*thing elſe* of more conſiderable moment to ‘impart, which did much afflict his Conſcience; ‘namely, an Action of his about *Seven* Years ‘before committed, when Liſted under the ‘Conduct of the Earl of *Frontenac*, in an Enter‘prize againſt the *Sennakers* and *Maqua*’s; (for ‘ſaid he) *I was the only Perſon at that time In*‘*ſtrumental to the Death of near Eight Hundred* ‘*Souls. Having Received ſome Affront from* ‘*ſome of the Officers, I was prompted to ſeek* ‘*ſome ſpeedy Revenge, which my own corrupt* ‘*Nature, with the Inſtigation of Satan, did in*‘*ſtantly accompliſh; for being plentifully ſtored* ‘*with ſome Rank Poiſon upon another Account,* ‘*I threw it all into a Well, of which the Thirſty* ‘*Army drank freely, and in the Event it proved* ‘*ſo fatal unto them.*

‘For the further Confirmation of this Report, ‘Monſieur *Vincelotte* at the ſame time told me, ‘That he was himſelf Wounded in the Engage‘ment, and ſhould continue Lame to his Dy‘ing Day.

Reverend Sir, Your moſt Humble Servant,

S. Penhallow.

ARTICLE VI.

New Aſſaults from the Indians, *with ſome Remarkables of* Captives *taken in thoſe Aſſaults.*

THE *Sun* and the *War* be again Returning! The Year 1690. muſt begin very Inauſpiciouſly. In *Febuary*, the *French* with *Indians* made a Deſcent from *Canada*, upon a Dutch Town called *Schenectada*, Twenty Miles above *Albany*, under the Government of *New-York*; and in that ſurpriſing Incurſion, they killed about Sixty Perſons, whereof one was their Miniſter, and carried about Half as many into Captivity; but the People there, aſſiſted by the *Maqua*’s, purſued them, and recovered ſome of their Captives from them. Upon the Advice of this Miſchief in the *Weſt*, order was diſpatch’d unto Major *Froſt* in the *Eaſt*, that the Towns there ſhould ſtand upon their Guard. The Major did *his* Duty; but *they* did not theirs: They Dreamt that while the Deep Snow of the *Winter* continued, they were ſafe enough; but this prov’d as Vain as a *Dream of a Dry Summer.* On *March* 18. the *French* with *Indians*, being half one, half t’other, half Indianized French, and half Frenchified Indians, Commanded by Monſieur *Artel* and *Hoop-Hood*, fell ſuddenly upon *Salmon Falls*, deſtroying the beſt part of the Town with Fire and Sword. Near *Thirty* Perſons were Slain, and more than *Fifty* were led into what the Reader will by and by call, *The worſt Captivity in the World.* It would be a *Long* Story to tell, what a particular ſhare in this Calamity fell to the Family of One *Clement Short*: This Honeſt Man, with his Pious Wife, and Three Children, were kill’d; and Six or Seven of their Children were made Priſoners: The moſt of which arrived ſafe to *Canada*, through a Thouſand Hardſhips; and the moſt of theſe were with more than a Thouſand Mercies afterwards Redeemed from *Canada*, unto their Engliſh Friends again. But my Readers will be ſo Reaſonable as to Excuſe me, if I do not mention the Fate of every Family that hath ſuffered a ſhare in the Calamity of this grievous *War*; for ’tis impoſſible that I ſhould *Know All* that hath happened; and it would be improper for me to *Write All* that I know: And very little is the Advantage of having a Name ſtanding upon Record only among unhappy *Sufferers.* About Sevenſcore *Engliſh* went out after ’em, and came up with ’em: Nevertheleſs, through the Diſadvantages of their *Feet* by the *Snow*, they could make no *Hand* on it. Four or Five of ours were kill’d, and as many of the Enemy; but the Night put an End unto the Action. Ours took One Priſoner, a Frenchman, who Confeſſed that they came from *Canada*, where both *French* and *Indians* were in Pay at Ten Livers *per* Month, and he particularly Declared the State of *Canada*. This *Priſoner* met with ſuch kind uſage from us, that he became a *Freeman of Chriſt*, and Embraced and Profeſſed the *Proteſtant Religion.* But of the Priſoners which the Enemy took from us, there were Two which immediately met with a very *Different Fate.* *Three* Indians hotly purſued one *Thomas Toogood*, and *One* of them overtaking him, while the reſt perceiving it, ſtaid behind the Hill, he yielded himſelf a Priſoner. While the Salvage was getting *Strings* to bind him, he held his *Gun* under his Arm; which *Toogood* obſerving, ſuddenly pluckt it from his Friend *Stark Naught*, Threatning and Proteſting that he would Shoot him down if he made any Noiſe; and ſo away he ran with it unto *Quochecho*. If my Rea-

der

der be inclined now to ſmile, when he thinks how ſimply poor *Iſgrim* look'd, returning to his Mates behind the Hill, without either *Gun* or *Prey*, or any thing but *Strings*, to remember him of his *own Deſerts*, the *Smiles* will all be preſently turn'd into *Tears*. The *Indians* had now made a Priſoner of one *Robert Rogers*, and being on their Journey they came to an Hill, where this Man, being through his Corpulency, (for which he was uſually Nicknamed, *Robin Pork*) and an Inſupportable and Intolerable *Burden* laid upon his Back, not ſo able to Travel as the reſt, he Abſconded. The Wretches miſſing him, immediately went in purſuit of him; and it was not long before they found his *Burden* caſt in the way, and the *Track* of his going out of the way, which they followed, until they found him hidden in a *Hallow Tree*. They took him out, they ſtript him, they beat him, and prick'd him, and puſh'd him forward with their Swords, until they were got back to the Hill; and it being almoſt Night, they faſtned him to a Tree with his Hands behind him, and made themſelves a Supper, Singing, Dancing, Roaring and Uttering many Signs of *Joy*, but with *Joy* little enough to the poor Creature who foreſaw what all this tended unto. They then cut a parcel of *Wood*, and bringing it into a plain place, they cut off the *Top* of a ſmall *Red Oak* Tree, leaving the *Trunk* for a *Stake*, whereto they bound their Sacrifice. They firſt made a great Fire near this *Tree of Death*, and bringing him unto it, they bid him take his leave of his Friends, which he did in a doleful manner; no Pen, though made of an *Harpy*'s Quill, were able to deſcribe the Dolour of it! They then allow'd him a little time to make his *Prayers* unto Heaven which he did with an extream Fervency and Agony: Whereupon they bound him to the Stake, and brought the reſt of the Priſoners with their Arms tied each to other, ſo ſetting them round the *Fire*. This being done, they went behind the *Fire*, and thruſt it forwards upon the Man, with much Laughter and Shouting; and when the *Fire* had burnt ſome while upon him, even till he was near ſtifled, they pull'd it again from him. They Danced about him, and at every Turn they did with their Knives cut Collops of his *Fleſh* from his naked Limbs, and throw them with his Blood into his *Face*. When he was dead, they ſet his Body down upon the *Glowing Coals*, and left him tied with his Back to the Stake; where the *Engliſh* Army ſoon after found him. He was left for *Us* to put out the *Fire* with our *Tears!*

Reader, who ſhould be the *Father* of theſe *Myrmidons?*

ARTICLE VII.

The Condition of the Captives *that from time to time fell into the Hands of the* Indians; *with ſome very Remarkable Accidents.*

WE have had *Some* Occaſion, and ſhall have *More*, to mention *Captives* falling into the Hands of the *Indians*. We will here, without any thing worthy to be call'd *A Digreſſion*, a little *Stand Still*, and with mournful *Hearts* look upon the Condition of the *Captives* in thoſe cruel Hands. Their Condition truly might be expreſs'd in the Terms of the Ancient *Lamentations*, (thus by ſome Tranſlated) *Lam.* 4. 3. *The Daughter of my People is in the Hands of the Cruel, that are like the Oſtrich in the Wilderneſs.* Truly the *Dark places* of *New-England*, where the *Indians* had their Unapproachable *Kennels*, were *Habitations of Cruelty*; and no Words can ſufficiently deſcribe the *Cruelty* undergone by our *Captives* in thoſe *Habitations*. The *Cold*, and *Heat*, and *Hunger*, and *Wearineſs*, and *Mockings*, and *Scourgings*, and *Inſolencies* endured by the *Captives*, would enough deſerve the Name of *Cruelty*; but there was this alſo added unto the reſt, that they muſt ever now and then have their Friends made a *Sacrifice of Devils* before their Eyes, but be afraid of dropping a Tear from thoſe Eyes, leſt it ſhould upon that Provocation be next their own turn to be ſo Barbarouſly *Sacrificed*. Indeed, ſome *few* of the *Captives* did very happily eſcape from their Barbarous Oppreſſors, by a *Flight* wiſely managed; and many more of them were bought by the *French*, who Treated them with a Civility ever to be acknowledged, until Care was taken to fetch 'em home. Nevertheleſs many Scores of them died among the *Indians*; and what uſage they had may be gathered from the following Relations, which I have obtained from Credible Witneſſes.

RELATION I.

JAmes Key, Son to *John Key* of *Quochecho*, was a Child of about Five Years of Age, taken Captive by the *Indians* at *Salmon Falls*; and that Helliſh Fellow, *Hope-Hood*, once a Servant of a *Chriſtian Maſter* in *Boſton*, was become the Maſter of this *Little Chriſtian*. This Child lamenting with Tears the want of *Parents*, his Maſter Threatned him with Death if he did not refrain his Tears; but theſe Threatnings could not extinguiſh the Natural Affections of a Child. Wherefore upon his next Lamentations, this Monſter ſtript him ſtark Naked, and laſh'd both his Hands round a Tree, and Scourg'd him ſo, that from the Crown of his Head unto the Sole of his Foot he was all over Bloody and Swollen; and when he was tired with laying on his Blows on the Forlorn Infant, he would lay him on the Ground, with Taunts remembring him of his Parents. In this Miſery the poor Creature lay horribly roaring for divers Days together, while his Maſter, gratified with the *Muſick*, lay contriving of new Torments wherewith to Martyr him. It was not long before the Child had a *Sore Eye*, which his Maſter ſaid proceeded from his *Weeping* on the forbidden Accounts: Whereupon, laying hold on the *Head* of the Child with his *Left Hand*, with the Thumb of his *Right* he forced

forced the Ball of his *Eye* quite out, therewithal telling him, *That when he heard him Cry again he would ſerve t'other ſo too, and leave him never an Eye to weep withal.* About Nine or Ten Days after this Wretch had Occaſion to remove with his Family about Thirty Miles further; and when they had gone about Six Miles of the Thirty, the Child being Tir'd and Faint, ſat him down to reſt, at which this Horrid Fellow being provoked, he Buried the Blade of his Hatchet in the Brains of the Child, and then chopp'd the Breathleſs Body to pieces before the reſt of the Company, and threw it into the River. But for the ſake of theſe and other ſuch Truculent Things done by *Hope-Hood*, I am reſolved, that in the Courſe of our Story I will watch to ſee what becomes of that Hideous *Loup-garou*, if he come to his *End*, as I am apt to think he will, before the Story.

RELATION II.

MEhetabel Goodwin, being a Captive among the *Indians*, had with her a Child about Five Months Old; which thro' Hunger and Hardſhip, ſhe being unable to nouriſh it, often made moſt grievous Ejaculations. Her *Indian* Maſter told her, that if the Child were not quiet he would ſoon diſpoſe of it; which cauſed her to uſe all poſſible Means that his *Netop-ſhip* might not be offended; and ſometimes carry it from the Fire out of his hearing, where ſhe ſat up to the Waſte in Snow and Froſt for ſeveral Hours until it was lull'd aſleep. She thus for ſeveral Days preſerved the Life of her *Babe*, until he ſaw Cauſe to Travel with his own *Cubs* farther afield; and then leſt he ſhould be Retarded in his Travel, he violently ſnatch'd the Babe out of its Mother's Arms, and before her Face knock'd out its *Brains*, and ſtript it of the few *Rags* it had hitherto enjoy'd, and order'd her the Task to go Waſh the *Bloody Cloaths*. Returning from this *Melancholy Task*, ſhe found the Infant hanging by the Neck in a Forked Bough of a *Tree*. She deſired leave to lay it in the *Earth*; but he ſaid, *It was better as it was, for now the Wild Beaſts would not come at it,* [I am ſure they had been at it!] *and ſhe might have the Comfort of ſeeing it again if ever they came that way.* The Journey now before them was like to be very long, even as far as *Canada*, where his Purpoſe was to make Merchandiſe of his Captive, and glad was the Captive of ſuch happy Tidings. But the deſperate length of the *Way*, and want of *Food*, and grief of *Mind*, wherewith ſhe now Encountred, cauſed her within a few Days to faint under her Difficulties. When at length ſhe ſat down for ſome Repoſe, with many *Prayers* and *Tears* unto God for the Salvation of her Soul, ſhe found her ſelf unable to riſe, until ſhe eſpied her Furious Executioner coming towards her with *Fire* in his *Eyes*, the *Devil* in his *Heart*, and his *Hatchet* in his *Hand*, ready to beſtow a *Mercy-ſtroak* of Death upon her. But then this miſerable Creature got on her *Knees*, and with Weeping, and Wailing, and all Expreſſions of *Agony* and *Entreaty*, prevail'd on him to ſpare her Life a little, and ſhe did not queſtion but God would enable her to *Walk a little faſter*. The mercileſs *Tyrant* was prevailed withal to ſpare her this time; nevertheleſs her former Weakneſs quickly returning upon her, he was juſt going to Murder her; but a Couple of *Indians* juſt at that Inſtant coming in, ſuddenly call'd upon him to *Hold his Hand*; whereat ſuch an Horror ſurprized his *Guilty Soul*, that he ran away. But hearing them call his *Name*, he returned, and then permitted theſe his Friends to Ranſom his Priſoner from him. After this, being Seated by a River ſide, they heard ſeveral *Guns* go off on the other ſide, which they concluded was from a Party of *Albany Indians*, who were Enemies unto theſe; whereupon this bold Blade would needs go in a *Canoo* to diſcover what they were. They Fired upon him, and Shot through him and ſeveral of his Friends before the Diſcovery could be made unto Satisfaction. But ſome Days after this, divers of his Friends gathered a Party to Revenge his Death on their *Suppoſed Enemies*; with whom they joyned Battel, and Fought ſeveral Hours, until their *Suppoſed Enemies* did *Really* put 'em to the Rout. Among the Captives which they left in their Fight, one was this poor *Goodwin*, who was *Overjoyed* in ſeeing her ſelf thus at Liberty; but the *Joy* did not laſt long, for theſe *Indians* were of the *Same Sort* with the other, and had been by their own *Friends* thus through a ſtrange *Miſtake* ſet upon. However, this Crew proved more favourable to her than the former, and went away ſilently with their Booty, being loth to have any *Noiſe* made of their foul *Miſtake*. And yet a few Days after ſuch another *Miſtake* happened; for meeting with another Party of *Indians*, which they imagined in the *Engliſh Intereſts*, they furiouſly engaged each other, and many were killed and wounded on either Side; but they proved a Party of the *French Indians*, who took this poor *Goodwin*, and preſented her to the *French* Captain, by whom ſhe was carried unto *Canada*, where ſhe continued Five Years, and then was brought ſafe back into *New-England*.

RELATION III.

MARY *Plaiſted*, the Wife of Mr. *James Plaiſted*, was made a Captive by the *Indians* about Three Weeks after her Delivery of a Male Child. They then took her, with her Infant, off her Bed, and forced her to Travel in this her Weakneſs the beſt part of a Day, without any Reſpect of Pity. At Night the *Cold Ground* in the *Open Air* was her Lodging; and for many a Day ſhe had no Nouriſhment, but a little *Water* with a little *Bears-fleſh*; which rendred her ſo *Feeble*, that ſhe with her Infant were not far from totally *Starved*. Upon her Cries to God there was at length ſome

ſome Supply ſent in by her Maſter's taking a *Mooſe*, the Broth whereof Recovered her. But ſhe muſt now Travel many Days thro' Woods, and Swamps, and Rocks, and over Mountains, and Froſt and Snow, until ſhe could ſtir no farther. Sitting down to reſt, ſhe was not able to riſe, until her Diabolical Maſter help'd her up; which when he did, he took her Child from her, and carried it unto a River, where ſtripping it of the few Rags it had, he took it by the Heels, and againſt a Tree daſh'd out its Brains, and then flung it into the River. So he returned unto the miſerable Mother, telling her, *She was now eaſed of her Burden, and muſt walk faſter than ſhe did before!*

RELATION IV.

MARY *Ferguſon*, taken Captive by the *Indians* at *Salmon Falls*, declares, that another Maid of about Fifteen or Sixteen Years of Age, taken at the ſame time, had a *Great Burden* Impoſed on her. Being over-born with her *Burden*, ſhe burſt out into Tears, telling her *Indian* Maſter, *That ſhe could go no further.* Whereupon he immediately took off her *Burden*, and leading her aſide into the Buſhes, he cut off her *Head*, and *Scalping* it, he ran about Laughing and Bragging what an *Act* he had now done; and ſhowing the *Scalp* unto the reſt, he told them, *They ſhould all be ſerved ſo if they were not patient.*

In fine, when the *Children* of the *Engliſh Captives* cried at any time, ſo that they were not preſently quieted, the manner of the *Indians* was to daſh out their Brains againſt a *Tree.*

And very often, when the *Indians* were on or near the Water, they took the ſmall *Children*, and held 'em under Water till they had near Drowned them, and then gave 'em unto their Diſtreſſed Mothers to quiet 'em.

And the *Indians* in their Frolicks would Whip and Beat the ſmall *Children*, until they ſet 'em into grievous Outcries, and then throw 'em to their amazed Mothers for them to quiet 'em again as well as they could.

This was *Indian Captivity!*

Reader, A Modern Traveller aſſures us, that at the *Villa Ludoviſia*, not far from *Rome*, there is to be ſeen the Body of a *Petrified Man*; and that he himſelf ſaw by a piece of the Man's Leg, broken for Satiſfaction, both the *Bone* and the *Stone* Cruſted over it. All that I will ſay, is, That if thou canſt read theſe Paſſages without Relenting Bowels, thou thy ſelf art as really *Petrified* as the Man at *Villa Ludoviſia.*

Neſcio tu quibus es, Lector, Lecturus Ocellis;
Hoc Scio quod Siccis Scribere non potui.

ARTICLE VIII.

A little Account of the greateſt Action that ever New-England *Attempted.*

I Have read or heard, that when the inſufferable Abuſes which the *Engliſh* Nation ſuffered from the *Abbeys* were in the Parliament complained of, the Total Diſſolution of thoſe *Abbeys* was much forwarded by a Speech of a Gentleman in the *Houſe of Commons* to this purpoſe; That his own Houſe had been much annoy'd by *Rooks* building in a *Tree* near unto it, and that he had uſed many Ineffectual ways to diſturb and diſrooſt theſe Miſchievous *Rooks*, until at laſt he found out an *Infallible way* to be delivered from the *Rooks*, and that was to cut down the *Tree* that Lodged 'em. The Diſtreſſes into which *New-England* was now fallen, made this very Compariſon to be thought of. The *Indian Rooks* grievouſly infeſted the Country; and while the Country was only on the *Defenſive Part*, their *Men* were Thinned, their *Towns* were Broken, and their *Treaſures* Conſumed, without any hope of ſeeing an End of theſe Troubleſome *Tragedies*. The *French* Colonies to the Northward were the *Tree* in which thoſe *Rooks* had their *Neſts*; and the *French* having in Perſon firſt fallen upon the *Engliſh* of *New-England*, it was thought that the *New-Englanders* might very juſtly take this Occaſion to reduce thoſe *French* Colonies under the *Engliſh* Government, and ſo at once take away from all the *Rooks* for ever all that gave 'em any Advantage to Infeſt us. Accordingly, a *Naval Force*, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir *William Phips*, was diſpatched away to *L'accady* and *Nova Scotia.* This Fleet ſetting Sail from *New-England*, *April* 28. 1690. in a Fortnight arrived at *Port-Royal*, and Sir *William* having the Fort Surrendred unto him, took Poſſeſſion of that Province for the Crown of *England.* But this was only a ſtep towards a far greater Action! There was no Speech about the Methods of Safety made, which did not conclude with a *Delenda eſt Carthago.* It was become the Concurring Reſolution of all *New-England*, with *New-York*, that a Vigorous Attack ſhould be made upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land. A Fleet of *Thirty-two* Sail, under the Command of Sir *William Phips*, was Equipp'd at *Boſton*, and began their Voyage, *Aug.* 9. and the whole *Matter* was put into *Form*, with ſo much Contrivance, and Caution, and Courage, that nothing but an Evident Hand of *Heaven* was likely to have given ſuch a *Defeat* unto it, as has been indeed generally and remarkably given unto all the Colonies of *America*, when they have Invaded one another. If this Expedition did miſcarry, and if *Canada* proved unto *New-England* what it prov'd unto the *Spaniards*, when at their Deſerting it they call'd it, *E Capo de Nada*; or, *The Cape of nothing*, (whence the Name *Canada*) there is no *New-Englander* but what will

will maintain, that it was with a leſs Diſgraceful Miſcarriage, than what baffled every one of thoſe that were made in this War againſt the *French Iſlands*, by more powerful Fleets of thoſe who were forward enough to reproach *New-England*. I am ſure he that reads the Account of what was done at *Martineco*, in the *Relation of the Voyage of M. de Gennes*, lately publiſhed, muſt be very eaſie in his Reflections upon what was done at *Canada*. And I will add that if the *New-England*-Men return'd *re infecta* from *Canada*, yet they did not leave Two Hundred Men behind them to the Mercy of the *French* as they who moſt reproached *New-England* ſoon after did at *Guadalupa*.

The fuller Narrative of theſe memorable things the Reader may find Written in *The Life of Sir* **William Phips,** lately publiſhed, of which I muſt here give this Atteſtation. That as my Acquaintance with the Author gives me Aſſurance of his being as willing to *Retract* a Miſtake, as unwilling to *Commit* one, and of his Care in whatever he Writes, to be able to make the Profeſſion of *Oecolampadius*, *Nolui aliquid Scribere, quod improbaturum putem Chriſtum:* So I have compared this Narrative with the *Journals* of the *Expedition*; and I find the moſt Conteſted Paſſages of the Story, (nor did I ever hear of any more than one or two little Circumſtantial Paſſages Conteſted as carrying a ſound a little too *Rhetorical*; but I ſay, I find them) to be the very Expreſs Words thereof contained in thoſe *Journals*; and more than ſo, that very Credible Perſons concerned therein have readily offered their Depoſitions upon *Oath* to the Truth of what is Written. So I take my leave of that Hiſtory, and of Sir *William Phips*, the Memorable Subject of that Hiſtory, whom I leave under this

EPITAPH.

Bonus non eſt, qui non ad Invidiam uſque Bonus eſt.

[A Digreſſion.]

READER, ſince we can give no better an Account of the *laſt Engliſh* Expedition to *Canada*, why may we not for a Minute or two refreſh our ſelves with a Story of an *Old* one?

In the very Year when the *Maſſachuſet*-Colony begun, the *Engliſh* Attempted the Conqueſt of *Canada*; and though the *Firſt* Attempt Miſcarried, the *Second* Proſpered. The Story of it makes a Chapter in Father *Hennepin*'s Account of the vaſt Country lately diſcovered betwixt *Canada* and *Mexico*; and this is the Sum of it.

While a Colony was forming it ſelf at *Canada*, an *Engliſh* Fleet was Equipp'd in the Year 1628. under the Command of Admiral *Kirk*, with a Deſign to take Poſſeſſion of that Country. In their Voyage having taken a *French* Ship at the Iſle *Percee*, they Sailed up the River as far as *Tadouſac*, where they found a Bark, in which they ſet aſhore ſome Soldiers to ſeize on Cape *Tourment*. And here a Couple of *Salvages* diſcovering them, ran away to adviſe the People of *Quebeck* that the *Engliſh* were approaching. When the Fleet arrived, the Admiral Summoned the Town to Surrender, by a Letter to Monſieur *Champelin* the Governour: But the Governour, notwithſtanding his being ſo ſurprized with the Invaſion, made ſuch a reſolute Anſwer, that the *Engliſh* (though as the Hiſtorian ſays, *They are a People that will ſooner die than quit what they once undertake*) did conclude the Fort *Quebeck* was in a much better Condition for Defence than it really was; and therefore deſiſting from any further Attempt at this time, they returned into *England* with Reſolution further to purſue their Deſign at a more favourable Opportunity.

Accordingly on *July* 19. 1629. in the Morning, the *Engliſh Fleet* appear'd again over-againſt the Great Bay of *Quebeck*, at the Point of the Iſle of *Orleans*; which Fleet conſiſted of Three Men of War and Six other Veſſels. Admiral *Kirk* ſending a Summons form'd in very Civil Expreſſions for the Surrender of the Place, the miſerable State of the Country, which had been by the *Engliſh* Interceptions hindred of Supplies from *France* for Two Years together, oblig'd the Sieur *Champelin* to make a ſofter Anſwer than he did before. He ſent Father *Joſeph Le Caron* aboard the Admiral to Treat about the Surrender, and none of his Demands for Fifteen Day, and then for Five Days time to conſider on't, could obtain any longer time than till the Evening to prepare their *Articles*. Upon the Delivery of this Meſſage a Council was held, wherein ſome urged, that the *Engliſh* had no more than Two Hundred Men of regular Troops aboard, and ſome others which had not much of the Air of Soldiers; and that the Courage of the Inhabitants was much to be relied upon, and therefore it was beſt for to run the Riſk of a Siege: But Monſieur *Champelin* apprehending the Bravery of the *Engliſh*, remonſtrated unto the Council, that it was better to make a Surrender on good Terms, than be all cut in pieces by an unreaſonable Endeavour to defend themſelves. Upon this the Articles, regulating all Matters, were got ready, and Father *Joſeph* had his Commiſſion to carry them aboard the *Engliſh* Admiral, where the *Signing* of them was deferred until to Morrow. On *July* 20. the Articles of Capitulation were Signed on both Sides, and the *Engliſh* being Landed, were put in Poſſeſſion of *Canada* by the Governour of it. The *French* Inhabitants, who were then in the Country, had Twenty Crowns apiece given them, the reſt of their Effects remained unto the Conquerors; but thoſe who were willing to ſtay, were favoured by the *Engliſh* with great Advantages. The Fleet ſet Sail again for *England*, *Sept.* 14. and arrived at *Plymouth*, *Oct.* 18. in that Year.

ARTICLE IX.

Caſco Loſt.

WHEN the *Indians* at laſt perceived that the *New-Englanders* were upon a likely Deſign to ſwallow up the *French* Territories, the *Proſpect* of it began to have the ſame Operation upon them, that the *Succeſs* of the Deſign would have made *Perpetual*; that is, to Diſ-ſpirit them for giving the *New-Englanders* any further Moleſtations. Nevertheleſs, *Before* and *Until* they were thoroughly adviſed of what was a doing, and likely to be done, they did moleſt the Country with ſome Tragical Efforts of their Fury. Captain *James Convers* was Marching through the vaſt Wilderneſs to *Albany* with ſome Forces, which the *Maſſachuſets* Colony were willing to ſend by Land (beſides what they did ſend by Sea unto *Quebeck*,) for the aſſiſtance of the Army in the *Weſt*, that was to go from thence over the *Lake*, and there fall upon *Mount Real*; but unhappy Tidings out of the *Eaſt* required the Diverſion of thoſe Forces thither. About the beginning of *May*, the *French* and *Indians*, between Four and Five Hundred, were ſeen at *Caſco*, in a great Fleet of *Canoos* paſſing over the Bay; but not ſeeing or hearing any more of them for Two or Three Weeks together, the *Caſconians* flattered themſelves with hopes that they were gone another way. But about *May* 16. thoſe hopes were over; for one *Greſſon*, a *Scotchman*, then going out early, fell into the Mouths of theſe hungry *Salvages*. It proved no kindneſs to *Caſco*, tho' it proved a great one to *himſelf*, that a Commander ſo qualified as Captain *Willard* was called off Two or Three Days before. But the Officers of the Place now concluding that the whole *Army* of the Enemy were watching for an Advantage to ſurprize the Town, reſolved that they would keep a ſtrict Watch for Two or Three Days, to make ſome further Diſcovery before they Salley'd forth. Notwithſtanding this, one Lieutenant *Clark*, with near Thirty of their Stouteſt Young Men, would venture out as far as the Top of an Hill in the Entrance of the *Wood*, half a Mile diſtant from the Town. The out-let from the Town to the *Wood* was thro' a Lane that had a Fence on each ſide, which had a certain *Block-Houſe* at one end of it; and the *Engliſh* were ſuſpicious, when they came to enter the *Lane*, that the *Indians* were lying behind the *Fence*, becauſe the *Cattel* ſtood ſtaring that way, and would not paſs into the *Wood* as they uſe to do. This Mettleſome Company then ran up to the Fence with an *Huzza!* thinking thereby to diſcourage the Enemy, if they ſhould be lurking there; but the Enemy were ſo well prepared for them, that they anſwered them with an horrible Vengeance, which kill'd the Lieutenant with Thirteen more upon the Spot, and the reſt eſcaped with much ado unto one of the Garriſons. The Enemy then coming into Town, beſet all the *Garriſons* at once, except the *Fort*; which were Manfully Defended ſo long as their Ammunition laſted; but that being ſpent without a Proſpect of a Recruit, they quitted all the Four *Garriſons*, and by the Advantage of the Night got into the *Fort*. Upon this the Enemy ſetting the Town on Fire, bent their whole Force againſt the *Fort*, which had hard by it a deep *Gully*, that contributed not a little unto the Ruin of it: For the Beſiegers getting into that *Gully*, lay below the danger of our *Guns*. Here the Enemy began their *Mine*, which was carried ſo near the Walls, that the *Engliſh*, who by Fighting Five Days and Four Nights, had the greateſt part of their Men killed and wounded, (Captain *Lawrence* mortally among the reſt,) began a Parley with them. Articles were agreed, that they ſhould have liberty to March unto the next *Engliſh* Town, and have a Guard for their Safety in their March; and the *French Commander* lifting up his Hand, Swore by the Everlaſting God for the Performance of theſe Articles. But the Agreement was kept as thoſe that are made with *Hugonots* uſe to be: The *Engliſh* being firſt Admoniſhed by the *French*, that they were all *Rebels* for Proclaiming the Prince of *Orange* their King, were Captived, and many of them cruelly Murdered by the *Indians*: Only ſome of them (and particularly Major *Davis*) were carried unto *Canada*, where the Gentry very civilly Treated them. The Garriſons at *Papoodack*, *Spurwink*, *Black Point*, and *Blue Point*, were ſo diſanimated at theſe Diſaſters, that without *Orders* they drew off immediately to *Saco*, Twenty Miles within *Caſco*, and from *Saco* in a few Days alſo they drew off to *Wells*, Twenty Miles within the ſaid *Saco*; and about half *Wells* drew off as far as Lieutenant *Storer*'s. But the Arrival of *Orders* and *Soldiers* from the Government, ſtopt them from retiring any further; and *Hope-Hood*, with a Party that ſtaid for further Miſchief, meeting with ſome reſiſtance here, turn'd about, and having firſt had a Skirmiſh with Captain *Sherborn*, they appear'd the next Lord's-Day at *Newichawannick* or *Berwick*, where they Burnt ſome Houſes, and Slew a Man. Three Days after they came upon a ſmall Hamlet on the South ſide of *Piſcataqua* River, called *Fox Point*, and beſides the Burning of ſeveral Houſes, they took half a Dozen, and kill'd more than a Dozen of the too Securely Ungarriſoned People; which it was as eaſie to do, as to have ſpoiled an ordinary *Hen-Rooſt*. But Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Greenleaf* coming upon thoſe *Indians*, made ſome ſlaughter among them, recovered ſome Captives with much Plunder, and beſtow'd a good Wound upon *Hope-Hood*, who loſt his *Gun* (which was next his *Life*) in this Action.

[Villain! *Thou ſhalt not eſcape ſo: There muſt quickly be another ſtroke upon thee!*]

All that ſhall further belong to this Paragraph of our Story, is, that when the *Indians* were got into the Woods, they made one Goody *Stockford* their Meſſenger to her Neighbours, whoſe *Charity* ſhe ſo well Sollicited, that ſhe got a *Shalop* full of it unto *Caſco*, where the *Indians* permitted us to Redeem ſeveral of the *Priſoners*.

ARTICLE X.

Harm *Watch'd and Catch'd by the* Indians, *and ſeveral rare Inſtances of* Mortal *Wounds upon the* Engliſh, *not proving* Mortal.

THAT memorable Tygre, *Hope-Hood*, (called alſo *Wohawa.*) finding the Coaſt hereabouts too Hot for him, went away with his Crew a great way to the *Weſtward*, with a Deſign to Bewitch another Crew at *Aquadocta* into his Aſſiſtance. Here a Party of *French Indians*, by a ſtrange Miſtake, ſuppoſing *Hope-Hood* and his Wretches to have been the *Indians* who had lately done ſome Spoil upon them at *Canada*, furiouſly fell upon them, and in their *Blind Fury* flew him and a conſiderable part of his Company. So we have now done with *him:* In the mean time, ſome other *Indians* came upon an helpleſs Place, called *Spruce Creek*, and kill'd an Old Man, and carried a Woman into Captivity, but tho' Captain *Convers* purſued 'em Three Days, they were too nimble for him. On *July* 4. Eight or Nine Perſons working in a Field at a Place call'd *Lamperel-River*, the *Scythe* of *Death* unhappily Mow'd them down in that *Field of Blood:* The *Indians* by Surprize kill'd 'em all, and carried a Lad Captive. About this time a *Council of War* was called at *Portſmouth*, by which 'twas thought adviſeable to ſend out Captain *Wiſwel*, with a conſiderable Scout, for to Scour the Woods as far as *Caſco*; and it being reſolved, that one of the other Captains, with about Fourſcore Stout Men, ſhould accompany Captain *Wiſwel* in this Action; they *All* with ſuch a generous Emulation offered it, that it was neceſſary to determine it by a *Lot*, which fell upon Captain *Floyd*. On *July* 4. aſſiſted with Lieutenant *Andrews*, and a Detachment of of Twenty-two Men from *Wells*, they took their March from *Quochecho* into the Woods. But the Day following the Enemy ſet upon Captain *Hilton*'s Garriſon in *Exeter*, which Lieutenant *Bancroft* then Poſted at *Exeter*, with the loſs of a few of his Men relieved. At this time there happened a Remarkable thing. I know not whether the Story told by *Plato* be true, that one *Herus Armenius* (whom *Clemens* will have to be *Zoroaſter*) being Slain in War, lay Ten Days among the Dead, and then being brought away, and on the Twelfth Day laid on a Funeral Pile, he came to Life again. But it is true, that one *Simon Stone* being here Wounded with Shot in *Nine* ſeveral places, lay for *Dead* (as it was time!) among the *Dead*. The *Indians* coming to Strip him, attempted with *Two* ſeveral Blows of an Hatchet at his *Neck* to cut off his *Head*, which Blows added, you may be ſure, more Enormous Wounds unto thoſe *Port-holes* of *Death*, at which the *Life* of the poor Man was already running out as faſt as it could. Being charged hard by Lieutenant *Bancroft*, they left the Man without *Scalping* him; and the *Engliſh* now coming to Bury the *Dead*, one of the Soldiers perceived this poor Man to fetch a Gaſp; whereupon an *Iriſh* Fellow then preſent, adviſed 'em to give him another Dab with an Hatchet, and ſo Bury him with the reſt. The *Engliſh* deteſting this Barbarous Advice, lifted up the Wounded Man, and poured a little *Fair Water* into his Mouth, at which he Coughed; then they poured a little *Strong Water* after it, at which he opened his Eyes. The *Iriſh* Fellow was ordered now to hale a Canoo aſhore to carry the Wounded Men up the River unto a Chirurgeon; and as Teague was fooliſhly pulling the Canoo aſhore with the Cock of his *Gun*, while he held the Muzzle in his *Hand*, his Gun went off and broke his *Arm*, whereof he remains a Cripple to *this Day:* But *Simon Stone* was thoroughly Cured, and is at *this Day* a very Luſty Man; and as he was Born with *Two Thumbs* on one Hand, his Neighbours have thought him to have at leaſt as many *Hearts* as *Thumbs!*

Reader, Let us leave it now unto the Sons of *Æſculapius* to diſpute out the Problem, *What Wounds are to be judged Mortal?* The Sovereign Arbiter of *Life* and *Death* ſeems to have determined it, *That no Wounds are Mortal, but ſuch as he ſhall in his Holy Providence actually make ſo.* On the one ſide let it be remembred, That a Scratch of a *Comb* has proved *Mortal*; that the Incomparable Anatomiſt *Spigelius*, at the Wedding of his Daughter, gathering up the Reliques of a broken Glaſs, a Fragment of it ſcratched one of his Fingers; and all his Exquiſite Skill in *Anatomy* could not prevent its producing an *Empyema* that killed him: That Colonel *Roſſiter*, cracking a Plumbſtone with his Teeth, broke his Tooth, and loſt his Life: That the Lord *Fairfax* cutting a *Corn* in his Foot, cut aſunder the *Thread* of his *Life:* That Mr. *Fowler*, a *Vintner*, playing with his Child, received a little Scratch of a *Pin*, which turn'd unto a *Gangrene* that coſt him his Life. And, Reader, let the Remembrance of ſuch things cauſe thee to *Live*, preparing for *Death* continually. But then on the other ſide, that nothing may be deſpaired of, remember *Simon Stone*. And, beſides him, I call to Remembrance, that the *Indians* making an Aſſault upon *Deerfield* in this *Preſent War*, they ſtruck an Hatchet ſome Inches into the *Skull* of a Boy there, even ſo deep, that the Boy felt the force of a Wrench uſed by 'em to get it out. There he lay a long while Weltring in his *Blood*; they found him, they Dreſs'd him, conſiderable Quantities of his *Brain* came out from time to time when they opened the Wound; yet the Lad recovered, and is now a Living Monument of the Power and Goodneſs of God. And in our *Former War* there was one *Jabez Muſgrove*, who tho' he were Shot by the *Indians* with a Bullet that went in at his *Ear*, and went out at his *Eye* on the other ſide of his Head; and a Brace of Bullets that went into his *Right Side*, a little above his Hip, and paſſing thro' his Body within the *Back-bone*, went out at his *Left Side*; yet he recovered and lived many Years after it.

Certainly this Fellow was worthy to have been at leaſt a Lackey to the *Hungarian* Nobleman, whoſe Pourtraiture Dr. *Patin* ſaw in a Gallery at *Inſpruck*, repreſenting a Wound made in his Eye with a Lance, which penetrated into the Subſtance of the Brain, even to the hinder part of the Head, and yet proved not a *Mortal Wound.*

ARTICLE XI.

A Worthy Captain dying in the Bed of Honour.

ON *July* 6. Lord's-Day, Captain *Floyd* and Captain *Wiſwel* ſent out their Scouts before their *Breakfaſt*, who immediately returned with *Tidings* of *Breakfaſt* enough provided for thoſe who had their Stomach ſharp ſet for Fighting: *Tidings* of a conſiderable Track of the Enemy going to the Weſtward. Our Forces vigorouſly followed the Track, till they came up with the Enemy at a Place call'd *Wheelright*'s Pond, where they engaged 'em in a Bloody Action for ſeveral Hours. The manner of the Fight here was as it is at all times with *Indians*; namely, what your Artiſts at *Fighting* do call, *A la disbandad:* And here the Worthy Captain *Wiſwel*, a Man worthy to have been *Shot* (if he muſt have been *Shot.*) with no *Gun* inferior to that at *Florence*, the Barrel whereof is all pure *Gold*, behaving himſelf with much Bravery, ſold his Life as dear as he could; and his Lieutenant *Flag*, and Sergeant *Walker*, who were *Valiant in their Lives, in their Death were not divided.* Fifteen of ours were Slain, and more Wounded; but how many of the Enemy 'twas not exactly known, becauſe of a ſingular Care uſed by them in all their Battels to carry off their *Dead*, tho' they were forced now to leave a good Number of them on the Spot. Captain *Floyd* maintained the Fight after the Death of Captain *Wiſwel* ſeveral Hours, until ſo many of his Tired and Wounded Men drew off, that it was time for him to draw off alſo; for which he was blamed perhaps, by ſome that would not have continued it ſo long as *he.* Hereupon Captain *Convers* repaired with about a Score Hands to look after the *Wounded* Men, and finding Seven yet *Alive*, he brought 'em to the *Hoſpital* by Sun-riſe the next Morning. He then returned with more Hands to Bury the *Dead*, which was done immediately; and *Plunder* left by the Enemy at their going off was then alſo taken by them. But the ſame Week theſe *Rovers* made their Deſcent as far as *Ameſbury*, where Captain *Foot* being *Enſnared* by them, they Tortured him to Death; which Diſaſter of the *Captain* was an *Alarum* to the Town, and an Effectual Word of *Command*, cauſing 'em to fly out of their *Beds* into their *Garriſons*; otherwiſe they had all undoubtedly before next Morning ſlept their laſt; their *Beds* would have been their *Graves*. However, the Enemy Kill'd *Three Perſons*, Burnt *Three Houſes*, Butchered many Cattel; and ſo that *Scene* of the *Tragedy* being over, away they went.

In fine, from the *Firſt* Miſchief done at *Lampereel* River, to the *Laſt* at *Ameſbury*, all belong'd unto one *Indian* Expedition, in which, though no *Engliſh Places* were taken, yet Forty *Engliſh People* were cut off.

ARTICLE XII.

An Indian Fort *or Two taken, and ſome other Actions.*

READER, I remember the *Prolixity* of *Guicciardine* the Hiſtorian gave ſuch Offence, that *Boccalini* brings in an Offender at *Verboſity*, ordered for his Puniſhment by the Judges at *Parnaſſus*, to read that punctual Hiſtorian; but the poor Fellow begg'd rather to be Fley'd Alive, than to be Tortured with reading an Hiſtorian, who in relating the War between the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, made longer Narrations about the Taking of a *Pigeon-Houſe*, than there needed of the moſt Fortified Caſtle in the World. For this Cauſe let me be excuſed, Reader, if I make *ſhort Work* in our Story, and leave the Honeſt Actors themſelves to run over Circumſtances more at large, with their Friends by the Fireſide.

The Enemy appearing a little Numerous and Vexatious, the Government ſent more Forces to break up the Enemies Quarters; and Auxiliaries both of *Engliſh* and *Indians*, under the Command of Major *Church*, aſſiſted the Enterprize. About Three Hundred Men were diſpatched away upon this Deſign in the beginning of *September*, who Landed by Night in *Caſco Bay*, at a Place called *Macquoit*, and by Night Marched up to *Pechypſcot-Fort*; where, from the Information of ſome eſcaped *Captives*, they had an Expectation to meet with the Enemy, but found that the Wretches were gone farther afield. They then Marched away for *Amonoſcoggin* Fort, which was about Forty Miles up the River; and Wading through many *Difficulties*, whereof one was a *Branch* of the River it ſelf; they met with Four or Five *Salvages* going to their Fort with Two *Engliſh* Priſoners. They ſav'd the *Priſoners*, but could not catch the *Salvages*; however, on the *Lord's Day* they got up to the Fort undiſcovered, where, to their ſorrowful Diſappointment, they found no more than One and Twenty of the Enemy, whereof they took and ſlew Twenty. They found ſome conſiderable ſtore of *Plunder*, and reſcued Five *Engliſh Captives*, and laid the Fort in Aſhes; but one Diſaſter they much complained of, that the Captain of the Fort, whoſe Name was *Agamcus*, alias, *Great Tom*, ſlipt away from the Hands of his too *Careleſs* Keepers. But if this piece of *Careleſneſs* did any *Harm*, there was another which did ſome *Good*: For *Great Tom* having terribly ſcared a Part of his Countrymen with the Tidings of what had happened; and an *Engliſh* Lad in their Hands alſo telling ſome Truth unto them; they betook themſelves to ſuch a *Flight* in their *Fright*, as gave one Mr. *Anthony Bracket*, then a

 Priſoner

Priſoner with 'em, an Opportunity to fly Four-ſcore Miles another way. Our Forces returning to *Macquoit*, one of our Veſſels was there *Careleſly* ran *aground*, and compelled thereby to ſtay for the next Tide; and Mr. *Bracket* had been miſerably *aground*, if it had not ſo fell out; for he thereby got thither before ſhe was afloat, otherwiſe he might have periſhed, who was afterwards much Improved in Service againſt the Murderers of his Father. Arriving at *Winter Harbour*, a Party of Men were ſent up the River, who coming upon a parcel of the *Mankeen Wolves* then hunted for, killed ſome of them, and ſeized moſt of their Arms, and Stores, and Recovered from them an *Engliſhman*, who told them that the Enemy were intending to Rendezvouz on *Pechypſcot Plain*, in Order to an Attempt upon the Town of *Wells*. Upon this they Reimbark'd for *Macquoit*, and repaired as faſt as they could unto *Pechypſcot Plain*, and being divided into Three Parties, they there *waited* for the Approach of the Enemy. But being tired with one of the Three *Italian* Miſeries, *Waiting for thoſe who did not come*, they only poſſeſſed themſelves of more Plunder there hid by the Enemy, and returned unto *Caſco*-Harbour. The Enemy it ſeems *dogg'd* their Motions; and in the Night they made a Miſchievous Aſſault upon ſuch of the *Engliſh* Army as were too remiſs in providing for their own Safety in their going aſhore; killing Five of our *Plymouth* Friends, who had Lodg'd themſelves in an Houſe, without *Commanders* or *Centinels*. The *Engliſh*, as ſoon as the Light of the Day (which was the *Lord's-Day*, *Sept.* 21.) gave 'em leave quickly ran upon the Enemy, and eaſed the World of ſome of them, and made the reſt Scamper from that part of the World, and got many of their Canoos, and not a little of their Ammunition, and their beſt Furniture for the Winter. The Army was after this Diſmiſs'd, only an Hundred Men were left with Captain *Convers* and Lieutenant *Plaiſted*, who ſpent their time as profitably as they could, in Scouting about the Frontiers, to prevent Surprizals from on Enemy which rarely did *Annoy* but when they could *Surprize*.

ARTICLE XIII.

A Flag of Truce.

NEw-*England* was now quite out of Breath! A Tedious, Lingring, Expenſive *Defence*, againſt an *Ever-approaching* and *Unapproachable* Adverſary, had made it ſo. But nothing had made it more ſo, than the Expedition to *Canada*, which had Exhauſted its beſt Spirits, and ſeem'd its *Ultimus Conatus*. While the Country was now in too great Amazements to *proceed any farther* in the *War*, the *Indians* themſelves Entreat them to *proceed no farther*. The *Indians* came in to *Wells* with a Flag of *Truce*, and there Enſued ſome Overtures with the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, Major *Hutchinſon* and Captain *Townſend*, ſent from *Boſton* to join with ſome others at *Wells*. At length a meeting was appointed and obtained at *Sagadehock*, *Nov.* 23. where the Redemption of Ten *Engliſh* Captives was accompliſhed; one of whom was Mrs. *Hall*, whom the *Indians* were very loth to part withal, becauſe being able to Write well, they made her ſerve them in the Quality of a *Secretary*: Another was named *Nathanael White*, whom the Barbarous *Canibals* had already tied unto a Stake, and cut off one of his Ears, and made him Eat it Raw, and intended for to have Roaſted the reſt of him alive: The poor Man being aſtoniſhed at his own Deliverance! At laſt they Signed Articles, dated *Nov.* 29. 1691. wherein they engaged, that no *Indians* in thoſe Parts of the World ſhould do any Injury to the Perſons or Eſtates of the *Engliſh* in any of the *Engliſh* Colonies, until the *Firſt* of *May* next enſuing: And that on the ſaid *Firſt* of *May* they would bring into *Storer's* Garriſon at *Wells* all the *Engliſh Captives* in their Hands, and there Make, and Sign, and Seal Articles of Peace with the *Engliſh*; and in the mean time give ſeaſonable Advice of any Plots which they might know the *French* to have againſt them. To this Inſtrument were ſet the *Paws* of *Edgeremet*, and Five more of their *Sagamores* and Noblemen.

But as it was not upon the *Firm Land*, but in their *Canoos* upon the *Water*, that they Signed and Sealed this Inſtrument; ſo, Reader, we will be Jealous that it will prove but a *Fluctuating* and *Unſtable* ſort of a Buſineſs; and that the *Indians* will *Do a Lie* as they uſe to do. However, we will diſmiſs all our Soldiers to their ſeveral Homes, leaving only Captain *Convers* to keep *Wells* in ſome Order, until the *Firſt* of *May* do ſhow whether any more than a meer *Flag* of *Truce* be yet ſhown unto us.

ARTICLE XIV.

Remarkable Encounters.

AT the Day appointed there came to the place Mr. *Danforth*, Mr. *Moodey*, Mr. *Vaughan*, Mr. *Brattle*, and ſeveral other Gentlemen, guarded with a Troop, to ſee how the *Frenchified Indians* would *keep their Faith with the Hereticks* of *New-England*. The *Indians* being poor *Muſicians* for *keeping of time*, came not according to their *Articles*, and when Captain *Convers* had the Courage to go fetch in ſome of them, they would have made a Lying Excuſe, *That they did not know the time*. They brought in *Two* Captives, and promiſed, that in *Twenty Days* more they would bring into Captain *Convers* all the reſt; but finding that in *Two and Twenty* Days they came not, with much Concern upon his Mind he got himſelf ſupplied as faſt as he could with Five and Thirty Men from the County of *Eſſex*. His Men were not come half an Hour to *Storer's* Houſe, on *June* 9. 1691. nor had they got their *Indian Weed* fairly lighted into their

their Mouths, before fierce *Moxus*, with Two Hundred *Indians*, made an Attacque upon the Garriſon. This Recruit of *Men*, thus at the very *Nick of time*, ſaved the Place; for *Moxus* meeting with a brave Repulſe, drew off; and gave *Modockawando* cauſe to ſay, (as a Captive afterwards related it) *My Brother* Moxus *has miſs'd it now, but I will go my ſelf the next Year, and have the Dog* Convers *out of his Hole.* About this time the Enemy ſlew Two Men at *Berwick*, Two more at *Exeter*, and the biggeſt Part of *Nine*, loading a Veſſel at Cape *Nidduck*. But about the latter end of *July* we ſent out a ſmall Army under the Command of Captain *March*, Captain *King*, Captain *Sherburn*, and Captain *Walten* (*Convers* lying *Sick* all Summer, had this to make him yet more *Sick* that he could have no part in theſe Actions) who landing at *Macquoit*, marched up to *Pechypſcot*, but not finding any ſigns of the Enemy, *marched down again*. While the *Commanders* were waiting *Aſhore* till the *Soldiers* were got *aboard*, ſuch great Numbers of *Indians* pour'd in upon them, that tho' the *Commanders* wanted not for Courage or Conduct, yet they found themſelves obliged, with much ado, (and not without the Death of worthy Captain *Sherburn*) to retire into the Veſſels which then lay aground. Here they kept peiting at one another all Night; but unto little other purpoſe than *this* which was indeed Remarkable, That the Enemy was at this time *going* to *take* the Iſle of *Shoales*, and no doubt had they *gone* they would have *taken* it, but having exhauſted all their Ammunition on this Occaſion, they deſiſted from what they deſigned. For the reſt of the Year, the Compaſſion of Heaven towards diſtreſſed *New-England* kept the *Indians* under a ſtrange *Inactivity*; only on *Sept.* 28. *Seven* Perſons were Murthered and Captived at *Berwick*; and the Day following *Thrice Seven* of *Sandy-Beach*: On *Octob.* 23. one *Goodridge* and his Wife were Murdered at *Rowly*, and his Children Captived. And the Day following the like Fate befel a Family at *Haverhil*. And this Year, a very good ſtrong Fort at Cape *Nidduck*, owned by a Widow, was unhappily Deſerted; after which the Enemy came and burnt the Houſes in it.

ARTICLE XV.

The Martyrdom of Mr. Shubael Dummer, *with the Fate of* York.

Quoties viri boni violenta morte perierunt toties apud Pios Crevit Fides Reſurrectionis Grot. in Zech. 13. 7.

BUT the *Winter* muſt not paſs over without a *Storm* of Blood! The Popiſh *Indians*, after long Silence and Repoſe in their *Inacceſſible Kennels*, which made our Frontier Towns a little Remit their tired Vigilance, did, *Jan.* 25. 1691. ſet upon the Town of *York*, where the Inhabitants were in their unguarded Houſes here and there ſcattered, *Quiet and Secure*. Upon the Firing of a *Gun* by the *Indians*, which was their *Signal*, the Inhabitants looked out but unto their Amazement, found their Houſes to be Inveſted with horrid *Salvages*, who immediately kill'd many of thoſe unprovided Inhabitants, and more they took Priſoners. This Body of *Indians* conſiſting of divers Hundreds, then ſent in their *Summons* to ſome of the *Garriſon'd Houſes*, and thoſe *Garriſons*, whereof ſome had no more than Two or Three *Men* in them, yet being ſo well *Mann'd*, as to Reply, *That they would ſpend their Blood unto the laſt Drop, e'er they would ſurrender*; theſe cowardly Miſcreants had not Mettle enough to meddle with 'em. So they retired into their howling Thickets, having firſt *Murdered* about *Fifty*, and *Captived* near an *Hundred* of that unhappy People. In this Calamity great was the Share that fell to the Family of Mr. *SHUBAEL DUMMER*, the Paſtor of the *little Flock* thus prey'd upon: thoſe Blood-Hounds, being ſet on by ſome *Romiſh Miſſionaries*, had long been wiſhing, that they might Embrue their Hands in the Blood of ſome *New-Engliſh* MINISTER; and in this Action they had their Diabolical Satisfaction. Our **Dummer**, the Miniſter of *York*, was One of whom for his Exemplary Holineſs, Humbleneſs, Modeſty, Induſtry and Fidelity, *The World was not Worthy*. He was a Gentleman *Well*-Deſcended, *Well* Tempered, *Well*-Educated; and now ſhort of Sixty Years of Age. He might have taken for his *Coat of Arms* the ſame that the Holy Martyr *Hooper* Prophetically did, *A Lamb in a Flaming Buſh, with Rays from Heaven ſhining on it.* He had been Sollicited with many Temptations to *leave his Place*, when the Clouds grew Thick and Black in the *Indian Hoſtilities*, and were like to break upon it; but he choſe rather with a paternal Affection to ſtay amongſt thoſe who had been ſo many of them Converted and Edified by his Miniſtry; and he ſpent very much of his own *Patrimony* to ſubſiſt among them, when their Diſtreſſes made them unable to ſupport him, as otherwiſe they would have done. In a word, he was one that might by way of Eminency be called, *A Good Man*. This *Good Man* was juſt going to take Horſe at his own Door, upon a Journey in the Service of God, when the *Tygres* that were making their Depredations upon the *Sheep* of *York* ſeiz'd upon this their *Shepherd*; and they ſhot him ſo, that they left him Dead among the Tribe of *Abel* on the Ground. Thus was he as *Ambroſe* in his Elegant Oration, *De obitu Fratris*, Expreſſes it, *Non nobis ereptus, ſed periculis.* His *Wife* they carried into Captivity, where through Sorrows and Hardſhips among thoſe *Dragons of the Deſart*, ſhe alſo quickly Died; and his *Church*, as many of them as were in that Captivity, endured this, among other Anguiſhes, that on the next *Lord's Day*, one of the Tawnies choſe to exhibit himſelf unto them, [*A Devil as an Angel of Light!*] in the *Cloaths* whereof they had ſtript the Dead Body of this their *Father*. Many were the *Tears*

that were dropt throughout *New-England* on this Occaſion; and *theſe* among the reſt: For tho' we do not, as Tradition tells us, the *Antediluvians* did uſe to do *by the Blood of* **Abel**, yet we cannot but mournfully *Sing of the Blood of ſuch an* **Abel**.

EPITAPH.

Dummer *the* Shepherd *Sacrific'd*
By Wolves, *becauſe the* Sheep *he priz'd.*
The Orphans Father, *Churches* Light,
The Love *of* Heav'n, *of* Hell *the* Spight.
The Countries Gapman, *and the* Face
That Shone, *but knew it not*, *with* Grace.
Hunted by Devils, *but Reliev'd*
By Angels *and on high Receiv'd.*
The Martyr'd Pelican, *who Bled*
Rather than leave his Charge Unfed.
A proper Bird of Paradiſe,
Shot, and Flown thither in a Trice.

Lord, *hear the Cry of* Righteous **Dummer**'s *Wounds*,
Aſcending ſtill againſt the Salvage Hounds,
That Worry thy dear Flocks; *and let the* Cry
Add Force to Theirs *that at thine* Altar *lye.*

To Compleat the *Epitaph* of this Good Man, there now needs no more than the famous old *Chaucer*'s Motto,

Mors mihi ærumnarum Requies.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Memorable Action at Wells.

A Veſſel, the Name whereof I know not, [Reader, let it be *the Charity*] being immediately diſpatched unto *Sagadehock*, by the *Charitable Compaſſions* of the more Southward Neighbours, with Effects to accompliſh it, happily Effected the Redemption of many that were taken Captives at *York*. But the reſt of the People in that broken Town talking of Drawing off the Government, ſent Captain *Convers* and Captain *Greenleaf*, with ſuch Encouragements unto them to keep their *Station*, as prevailed with 'em ſtill to *Stand* their Ground. In *February* Major *Hutchinſon* was made Commander in Chief, and Forces under the Command of Captain *Convers*, Captain *Floyd*, and Captain *Thaxter*, were by him ſo prudently Poſted on the *Frontiers*, that by maintaining a continual Communication, it became a Difficult thing for the Enemy to make any more Approaches. Lieutenant *Wilſon* particularly hearing of a Man ſhot at in *Quochecho*-Woods, went out with a Scout of about Eighteen Men, who came upon the *Indians* that had ſhot at the Man, and killed and wounded *all* but *one* of the whole Company. But now, *Reader*, the *longeſt Day* in the *Year* is to come on, and if I miſtake not, the *braveſt Act* in the *War* fell out upon it. *Modockawando* is now come, according to his Promiſe a Twelve-month ago. Captain *Convers* was lodg'd in *Storer*'s Garriſon at *Wells* with but Fifteen Men; and there came into *Wells* Two Sloops, with a Shallop, which had aboard ſupplies of *Ammunition* for the Soldiers, and *Contribution* for the Needy. The *Cattel* this Day came *Frighted*, and *Bleeding* out of the Woods, which was a more certain *Omen* of *Indians* a coming, than all the *Prodigies* that *Livy* Reports of the *ſacrificed Oxen*. *Convers* immediately iſſued out his Commands unto all Quarters, but eſpecially to the *Sloops* juſt then arrived. The *Sloops* were Commanded by *Samuel Storer*, and *James Gouge*, and *Gouge*'s being Two Miles up the *River*, he wiſely brought her down undiſcovered unto *Storer*'s, by the advantage of a Miſt then prevailing. A careful *Night* they had on't! The next *Morning* before *Day-Light*, one *John Diamond*, a Stranger that came in the Shallop on a Viſit, came to Captain *Convers* Garriſon, where the Watch invited him in; but he choſe rather to go aboard the Sloops, which were little more than a Gun-ſhot off; and, alas, the Enemy iſſuing out from their Lurking-places, immediately ſeiz'd him, and haled him away by the Hair of the Head, (in ſpight of all Attempts uſed by the Garriſon to Recover him) for an *horrible Story* to be told by and by concerning him. The General of the Enemies Army was Monſieur *Burniff*, and one Monſieur *Labrocree* was a principal Commander; (the Enemy ſaid, he was Lieutenant General:) there were alſo divers other Frenchmen of Quality, accompanied with *Modockawando*, and *Moxus*, and *Egeremet*, and *Warumbo*, and ſeveral more Indian Sagamores; the Army made up in all about Five Hundred *Men*, or Fierce things in the ſhape of *Men*, all to Encounter Fifteen *Men* in one little *Garriſon*, and about Fifteen more *Men*, [worthily called *Such!*] in a Couple of open *Sloops*. *Diamond* having informed 'em *how 'twas* in all Points, (only that for *Fifteen*, by a miſtake he ſaid *Thirty*,) they fell to Dividing the Perſons and Plunder, and agreeing that ſuch an *Engliſh Captain* ſhould be Slave to ſuch a one, and ſuch a Gentleman in the Town ſhould ſerve ſuch a one, and his *Wife* be a *Maid of Honour* to ſuch or ſuch a *Squaw* propoſed, and Mr. *Wheelright* (inſtead of being a Worthy Counſellor of the Province, which he *now* is!) was to be the Servant of ſuch a *Netop*; and the *Sloops*, with their *Stores*, to be ſo and ſo parted among them. There wanted but *One Thing* to Conſummate the whole Matter, even the *Chief Thing* of all, which I ſuppoſe they had not thought of; that was, for *Heaven* to deliver all this Prize into their Hands: But, *Aliter Statutum eſt in Cœlo!* A Man habited like a Gentleman made a *Speech* to them in Engliſh, Exhorting 'em to Courage, and Aſſuring 'em, that if they would Courageouſly fall upon the Engliſh, all was their own. The *Speech* being Ended, they fell to the *Work*, and with on horrid Shout and Shot, made their Aſſault upon the Feeble *Garriſon*: But the Engliſh anſwered with a

a briſk Volley, and ſent ſuch a Leaden Shower among them, that they retired from the *Garriſon* to ſpend the Storm of their Fury upon the *Sloops*. You muſt know, that *Wells Harbour* is rather a *Creek* than a *River*, for 'tis very Narrow, and at low Water in many Places *Dry*; nevertheleſs, where the Veſſels ride it is *Deep* enough, and ſo far off the Bank, that there is from thence no leaping Aboard. But our *Sloops* were ſorely incommoded by a Turn of the *Creek*, where the Enemy could lye out of danger ſo near 'em as to throw Mud Aboard with their Hands. The Enemy was alſo priviledged with a great Heap of *Plank* lying on the Bank, and with an *Hay Stock*, which they ſtrengthened with *Poſts* and *Rails*; and from all theſe Places, they poured in their Vengeance upon the poor *Sloops*, while they ſo placed ſmaller Parties of their Salvages, as to make it impoſſible for any of the Garriſons to afford 'em any relief. Lying thus within a Dozen Yards of the *Sloops*, they did with their *Fire Arrows*, divers times deſperately ſet the *Sloops* on Fire: But the brave Defendants, with a *Swab* at the end of a *Rope* tied unto a *Pole*, and ſo dipt into the *Water*, happily put the Fire out. In brief, the *Sloops* gave the Enemy ſo brave a Repulſe, that at Night they Retreated: When they renewed their Aſſault, finding that their *Fortitude* would not aſſure the Succeſs of the Aſſault unto them, they had recourſe unto their *Policy*. Firſt, an *Indian* comes on with a *Slab* for a *Shield* before him, when a Shot from one of the *Sloops* pierced the *Slab*, which fell down inſtead of a *Tombſtone* with the dead *Indian* under it: On which, as little a Fellow as he was, I know not whether ſome will not reckon it proper to inſcribe the *Epitaph* which the *Italians* uſe to beſtow upon their *Dead Popes*; *When the Dog is Dead, all his Malice is Dead with him*. Their next *Stratagem* was this: They brought out of the Woods a kind of a *Cart*, which they Trimm'd and Rigg'd and Fitted up into a thing that might be called, *A Chariot*: Whereon they built a Platform, ſhot-proof in the Front, and placed many Men upon the Platform. Such an Engine they underſtood how to Shape, without having Read (I ſuppoſe) the Deſcription of the *Pluteus* in *Vegetius*! This *Chariot* they puſh'd on towards the *Sloops*, till they were got, it may be, within *Fifteen Yards* of them; when lo one of the *Wheels*, to their Admiration, ſunk into the Ground. A *Frenchman* ſtepping to heave the *Wheel* with an helpful Shoulder, *Storer* ſhot him down; another ſtepping to the *Wheel*, *Storer* with a well-placed Shot, ſent *him* after his *Mate*: So the Reſt thought it was beſt let it ſtand as it was. The Enemy kept Gauling the *Sloop* from their ſeveral Batteries, and calling 'em to Surrender, with many fine Promiſes to make them *happy*, which ours anſwered with a juſt *Laughter*, that had now and then a mortiferous *Bullet* at the End of it. The Tide Riſing, the *Chariot* overſet, ſo that the Men behind it lay open to the *Sloops*, which immediately Diſpenced an horrible Slaughter among them; and they that could get away, got as faſt, and as far off as they could. In the Night the Enemy had much Diſcourſe with the *Sloops*; they enquired, *Who were their Commanders?* And the Engliſh gave an Anſwer, which in ſome other Caſes and Places would have been too true, *That they had a great many Commanders*: But the Indians replied, *You Lie, you have none but* Convers, *and we will have him too before Morning!* They alſo knowing that the *Magazine* was in the *Garriſon*, lay under an Hill-ſide, Pelting at *that* by times; but Captain *Convers* once in the Night, ſent out Three or Four of his Men into a Field of Wheat for a *Shot*, if they could get one. *There* ſeeing a *Black Heap* lying together, Ours all at once let Fly upon them a *Shot*, that ſlew ſeveral of them that were thus *Caught in the Corn*, and made the reſt glad that they found themſelves able to run for it. Captain *Convers* was this while in much Diſtreſs about a *Scout* of Six Men which he had ſent forth to *Newichawannick* the Morning before the Arrival of the Enemy, ordering them to *Return* the Day following. The Scout *return'd* into the very Mouth of the Enemy that lay before the Garriſon; but the *Corporal* having his Wits about him, call'd out aloud, (as if he had ſeen Captain *Convers* making a Salley forth upon 'em) *Captain, Wheel about your Men round the Hill, and we ſhall Catch 'em; there are but a few Rogues of 'em!* Upon which the *Indians* imagining that Captain *Convers* had been at their *Heels*, betook themſelves to their *Heels*; and our Folks got ſafe into another Garriſon. On the *Lord's-Day* Morning there was for a while a deep Silence among the Aſſailments; but at length getting into a Body, they marched with great Formality towards the *Garriſon*, where the Captain ordered his handful of Men to lye Snug, and not to make a *Shot*, until every *Shot* might be likely to do ſome Execution. While they thus beheld a formidable Crew of *Dragons*, coming with open Mouth upon them to Swallow them up at a Mouthful, one of the Soldiers began to ſpeak of *Surrendring*; upon which the Captain vehemently proteſted, *That he would lay the Man Dead who ſhould ſo much as mutter that baſe Word any more!* And ſo they heard no more on it: But the Valiant *Storer* was put upon the like Proteſtation, to keep 'em in good Fighting Trim aboard the *Sloops* alſo. The Enemy now approaching very near, gave Three Shouts that made the Earth ring again; and Crying out in Engliſh, *Fire, and fall on brave Boys!* The whole Body drawn into Three Ranks, Fired at once. Captain *Convers* immediately ran into the ſeveral Flankers, and made their beſt Guns Fire at ſuch a rate, that ſeveral of the Enemy fell, and the reſt of 'em diſappeared almoſt as nimbly as if there had been ſo many *Spectres*: Particularly a Parcel of them got into a ſmall deſerted Houſe; which having but a Board-Wall to it, the Captain ſent in after them thoſe *Bullets* of Twelve to the Pound, that made the Houſe too hot for them that could get out of it. The *Women* in the Garriſon on this occaſion took up the *Amazonian* Stroke, and not only

brought

brought Ammunition to the *Men*, but alſo with a *Manly* Reſolution fired ſeveral times upon the Enemy. The Enemy finding that things would not yet go to their Minds at the *Garriſon*, drew off to try their Skill upon the *Sloops*, which lay ſtill abreaſt in the Creek, laſh'd faſt one to another. They built a great *Fire-Work* about Eighteen or Twenty Foot Square, and fill'd it up with combuſtible Matter, which they fired and then they ſet it in the way for the *Tide* now to Float it up unto the *Sloops*, which had now nothing but an horrible *Death* before them. Nevertheleſs their demands of both the *Garriſon* and the *Sloops* to yield themſelves, were anſwered no otherwiſe than with *Death* upon many of them, ſpit from the Guns of the beſieged Having tow'd their *Fire-Work* as far as they durſt, they committed it unto the *Tide*; but the diſtreſſed Chriſtians that had this deadly *Fire* ſwiming along upon the *Water* towards them, committed it unto *God:* And *God* looked from Heaven upon them in this prodigious Article of their Diſtreſs. *Theſe poor Men cried, and the Lord heard them, and ſaved them out of their Troubles:* The *Wind*, unto their Aſtoniſhment, immediately turn'd about, and with a freſh Gale drove the *Machin* Aſhore on the other ſide, and ſplit it ſo, that the *Water* being let in upon it, the *Fire* went out. So the godly Men that ſaw God from Heaven thus Fighting for them, cried out with an Aſtoniſhing Joy, *If it had not been the Lord, who was on our ſide, they had ſwallowed us up quick; bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their Teeth; our Soul is Eſcaped as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowlers!* The Enemy were now in a pitiful Pickle with Toiling and Moiling in the *Mud*, and black'ned with it, if *Mud* could add *Blackneſs* to ſuch Miſcreants; and their Ammunition was pretty well Exhauſted: So that now they began to draw off in all Parts, and with Rafts get over the River; ſome where of breaking, there did not a few *Cool* their late *Heat* by falling into it. But firſt, they made all the ſpoil they could upon the *Cattel* about the Town; and giving one Shot more at the *Sloops*, they kill'd the only *Man* of ours that was kill'd aboard 'em. Then after about half an Hours Conſultation, they ſent a *Flag of Truce* to the Garriſon, adviſing 'em with much Flattery to *Surrender*; but the Captain ſent 'em Word, *That he wanted for nothing but for Men to come and Fight him.* The *Indian* replied unto Captain *Convers*, *Being you are ſo Stout, why don't you come and Fight in the open Field like a Man, and not Fight in a Garriſon like a Squaw?* The Captain rejoined, *What a Fool are you? Do you think Thirty Men a match for Five Hundred?* No, (ſays the Captain, counting, as well he might, each of his *Fifteen* Men to be as good as *Two!*) *Come with your Thirty Men upon the Plain and I will meet you with my Thirty as ſoon as you will.* Upon this the *Indian* anſwered; *Nay me own Engliſh Faſhion is all one Fool: you kill me, me kill you! No, better lye ſomewhere and Shoot a Man, and he no ſee! That the beſt Soldier!* Then they fell to Coakſing the Captain with as many *fine Words* as the *Fox* in the Fable had for the Allurement of his Prey unto him; and urged mightily, that Enſign *Hill*, who ſtood with the *Flag of Truce*, might ſtand a little nearer their Army. The Captain for a good Reaſon to be preſently diſcerned, would not allow *that:* Whereupon they fell to Threatning and Raging, like ſo many defeated Devils, uſing theſe Words, *Damn ye, we'll cut you as ſmall as Tobacco before to morrow Morning.* The Captain bid 'em to make Haſte, for *he wanted Work*. So the Indian throwing his Flag on the Ground, ran away, and Enſign *Hill* nimbly Stripping his Flag, ran into the *Valley*; but the Salvages preſently Fired from an Ambuſhment behind an *Hill*, near the Place where they had urged for a *Parley*.

And now for poor *John Diamond!* The Enemy Retreating (which opportunity the *Sloops* took to Burn down the Dangerous *Hay-Stack*) into the Plain, out of Gun-ſhot, they fell to Torturing their Captive *John Diamond* after a manner very Diabolical. They *Stripped* him, they *Scalped* him Alive, and after a *Caſtration*, they finiſhed that Article in the Puniſhment of *Traitors* upon him; they ſlit him with *Knives* between his *Fingers* and his *Toes*; they made cruel *Gaſhes* in the moſt fleſhy Parts of his Body, and ſtuck the Gaſhes with *Firebrands* which were afterwards found ſticking in the Wounds. Thus they Butchered *One* poor Engliſhman with all the *Fury* that they would have ſpent upon them *all*; and performed an Exploit for Five Hundred *Furies* to brag of at their coming home. Ghaſtly to *Expreſs!* What was it then to *Suffer?* They returned then unto the *Garriſon*, and kept Firing at it now and then till near Ten a Clock at Night; when they all marched off leaving behind 'em ſome of their Dead; whereof one was Monſieur *Labocree*, who had about his *Neck* a Pouch with about a Dozen *Reliques* ingeniouſly made up, and a Printed Paper of *Indulgencies*, and ſeveral other Implements; and no doubt, thought himſelf in as good Safety as if he had all the Spells of *Lapland* about him: But it ſeems none of the *Amulets* about his *Neck* would ſave him from a *Mortal Shot* in the *Head*. Thus in Forty-eight Hours was finiſhed an Action as Worthy to be Related, as perhaps any that occurrs in our Story. And it was not long before the Valiant *Gouge*, who bore his part in this Action, did another that was not much inferiour to it, when he ſuddenly recovered from the French a valuable Prey, which they had newly taken upon our Coaſt.

I doubt, Reader, we have made this *Article* of our Hiſtory a little too long. We will finiſh it when we have Remark'd, that albeit there were too much *Feebleneſs* diſcovered by my Countrymen in ſome of their Actions during this War at *Sea*, as well as on *Shore*, yet ſeveral of their Actions, eſpecially at *Sea*, deſerve to be Remembred. And I cannot but particularly beſpeak a Remembrance for the Exploit per-

performed by ſome of my Neighbours in a Veſſel going into *Barbadoes*. They were in ſight of *Barbadoes* aſſaulted by a *French Veſſel*, which had a good number of Guns, and between *Sixty* and *Seventy* Hands. Our Veſſel had Four Guns, and *Eight Fighting Men*. [Truly *ſuch !*] with Two Tawny Servants. The Names of theſe *Men* were *Barret*, *Sanderland*, *Knoles*, *Naſh*, *Morgan*, *Foſdyke*, and Two more that I now forget. A deſperate Engagement enſued, wherein our *Eight* Marriners managed the matter with ſuch Bravery, that by the help of Heaven they killed between *Thirty* and *Forty* of the *French Aſſailants*, without loſing one of their own little Number: And they ſank the *French Veſſel* which lay by their ſide, out of which they took *Twenty-ſeven* Priſoners, whereof *ſome* were wounded, and *all* crying for *Quarter*. In the Fight the *French Pennant*, being by the Wind faſtned about the Top-Maſt of the Engliſh Veſſel, it was torn off by the ſinking of the French Veſſel, and left pleaſantly flying there. So they Sail'd into *Barbadoes*, where the *Aſſembly* voted them one Publick Acknowledgment of their Courage and Conduct in this brave Action, and our *Hiſtory* now gives them another.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Fort at Pemmaquid.

HIS Excellency Sir *William Phips* being arrived now the Governour of *New-England*, applied himſelf with all poſſible Vigour to carry on the *War:* And the Advice of a New Slaughter ſome time in *July* made by the *Indians*, on certain poor Husbandmen in their Meadows, at the Northſide of *Merrimack*-River, put an Accent upon the Zeal of the Deſigns, which he was now vigorouſly proſecuting. He raiſed about Four Hundred and Fifty Men, and in purſuance of his Inſtructions from *Whitehall*, he laid the Foundations of a Fort at *Pemmaquid*, which was the fineſt thing that had been ſeen in theſe Parts of *America*. Captain *Wing*, aſſiſted with Captain *Bancroft*, went thro' the former Part of the Work; and the latter Part of it was finiſhed by Captain *March*. His Excellency attended in this Matter, with theſe worthy Captains, did in a few Months diſpatch a Service for the King, with a *Prudence*, and *Induſtry*, and *Thriſtineſs*, greater than any *Reward* they ever had for it. The Fort called, The *William-Henry*, was built of Stone in a *Quadrangular* Figure, being about *Seven Hundred and Thirty Seven* Foot in Compaſs, without the *Outer Walls*, and an *Hundred and Eight* Foot Square, within the *Inner* ones; *Twenty-eight* Ports it had, and *Fourteen* (if not *Eighteen*) Guns mounted, whereof Six were *Eighteen-Pounders*. The Wall on the South-Line, fronting to the Sea, was *Twenty-two* Foot *High*, and more than *Six* Foot *Thick* at the Ports, which were *Eight* Foot from the Ground. The greater Flanker or Round Tower at the *Weſtern*-End of this Line, was *Twenty-nine* Foot High. The *Wall* on the *Eaſt* Line was *Twelve* Foot High, on the *North* it was *Ten*, on the *Weſt* it was *Eighteen*. It was computed that in the whole there were laid above *Two Thouſand Cart-Loads* of Stone. It ſtood about a Score of Rods from *High-Water Mark*; and it had generally at leaſt *Sixty Men* poſted in it for its Defence, which if they were *Men*, might eaſily have maintained it againſt more than *Twice Six Hundred* Aſſailants. Yea, we were almoſt ready to flatter our ſelves, that we might have writ on the Gates of this Fort, as the French did over that of *Namur*, (yet afterwards taken by K. *William*) *Reddi, non Vinci poteſt.* Now as the Architect that built the ſtrong Fortreſs at *Narne* in *Poland*, had, for his Recompence, his Eyes put out, leſt he ſhould build ſuch another; Sir *William Phips* was almoſt as hardly Recompenced for the building of this at *Pammaquid.* Although this Fort thus Erected in the *Heart* of the Enemies Country, did ſo break the *Heart* of the Enemy, that indeed they might have call'd it, as the French did theirs, upon the River of the *Illinois*, the Fort of *Crevecœur*; and the Tranquillity *After* Enjoy'd by the *Country*, (which was very much more than *Before*) was, under God, much owing thereunto: Yet the Expence of maintaining it, when we were ſo much impoveriſhed otherwiſe, made it continually complained of as one of the *Countries Grievances*. The Murmurings about this *Fort* were ſo Epidemical, that if we may ſpeak in the Fooliſh Cant of *Aſtrology*, and Prognoſticate from the Aſpect of *Saturn* upon *Mars* at its Nativity, *Fort William-Henry, Thou haſt not long to Live! Before the Year* Ninety-ſix *Expire, thou ſhalt be demoliſhed.* In the mean time let us accompany Major *Church* going with a Company to *Penobſcot*, where he took Five Indians; and afterwards to *Taconet*, where the *Indians* diſcovering his Approach, ſet their own *Fort* on Fire themſelves, and flying from it, left only their *Corn* to be deſtroy'd by *him*. And ſo we come to the End of 1692. only we are ſtopt a little with a very ſtrange *Parentheſis*.

ARTICLE XVIII.

A Surpriſing Thing laid before the Reader for him to judge, *(if he* can*) what to make of it.*

READER, I muſt now addreſs thee with the *Words* of a Poet:

> *Dicam Inſigne Recens, adhuc*
> *Indictum ore alio.* Horat.

But with *Truths* more confirmed, than what uſes to come from the Pen of a *Poet*. The Story of the Prodigious *War*, made by the *Spirits* of the *Inviſible World* upon the People of *New-England*, in the Year 1692. hath Entertain'd a great Part of the Engliſh World with a juſt Aſtoniſhment: And I have met with ſome ſtrange things,

things, not here to be mentioned, which have made me often think, that this inexplicable *War* might have ſome of its Original among the *Indians*, whoſe chief *Sagamores* are well known unto ſome of our Captives to have been horrid *Sorcerers*, and helliſh *Conjurers*, and ſuch as Converſed with *Dæmons*. The Sum of that Story is Written in *The Life of Sir* William Phips; with ſuch Irreproachable Truth, as to defie the utmoſt Malice and Cunning of all our *Sadduces* to confute it in ſo much as one Material Article: And that the Balant and Latrant Noiſes of that ſort of People may be for ever Silenced, the Story will be abundantly Juſtified, when the further Account written of it by Mr. *John Hale* ſhall be publiſhed: For none can ſuſpect a Gentleman ſo full of Diſſatisfaction at the proceedings then uſed againſt the ſuppoſed *Witchcrafts*, as now that Reverend Perſon is, to be a *Superſtitious Writer* upon that Subject.

Now in the time of that matchleſs *War*, there fell out a thing at *Gloceſter* which falls in here moſt properly to be related: A Town ſo Scituated, Surrounded, and Neighboured, in the County of *Eſſex*, that no Man in his Wits will imagine, that a Dozen *Frenchmen* and *Indians* would come and alarm the Inhabitants for Three Weeks together, and Engage 'em in ſeveral Skirmiſhes, while there were Two Regiments Raiſed, and a Detachment of Threeſcore Men ſent unto their Succour, and not One Man hurt in all the Actions, and all End unaccountably. And becauſe the Relation will be Extraordinary, I will not be my ſelf the Author of any one Clauſe in it; but I will Tranſcribe the Words of a Miniſter of the Goſpel, who did me the Favour, with much Critical Caution, to Examine *Witneſſes*, not long after the thing happened, and then ſent me the following Account.

A faithful Account of many Wonderful and Surpriſing Things which happened in the Town *of* Gloceſter *in the Year* 1692.

'*E*Benezer *Bapſon*, about Midſummer, in the 'Year 1692. with the reſt of his Family, almoſt every Night heard a Noiſe 'as if Perſons were going and running about his 'Houſe. But one Night being abroad late, at 'his return Home he ſaw Two Men come out 'of his Door, and run from the end of the 'Houſe into the Corn. But thoſe of the Family told him, there had been no Perſon at 'all there; whereupon he got his Gun, and 'went out in purſuit after them, and coming 'a little Diſtance from the Houſe, he ſaw the 'Two Men ſtart up from behind a Log, and 'run into a little Swamp, ſaying to each other, '*The Man of the Houſe is come now, elſe we might have taken the Houſe.* So he heard 'nor ſaw no more of them.

'Upon this the whole Family got up, and 'went with all ſpeed to a Garriſon near by; 'and being juſt got into the Garriſon, they 'heard Men ſtamping round the Garriſon. 'Whereupon *Bapſon* took his Gun and ran out, 'and ſaw Two Men again running down an 'Hill into a Swamp. The next Night but one, 'the ſaid *Bapſon* going toward a freſh Meadow, 'ſaw Two Men, which looked like *Frenchmen*, 'one of them having a bright Gun upon his 'Back, and both running a great Pace towards 'him, which cauſed him to make the beſt of 'his way to the Garriſon, where being come, 'ſeveral heard a Noiſe as if Men were ſtamping 'and running not far from the Garriſon. Within a Night or Two after this, the Perſons in 'the Garriſon heard a Noiſe, as if Men were 'throwing Stones againſt the Barn. Not long 'after this, *Bapſon*, with *John Brown*, ſaw Three 'Men about a Gunſhot off the Garriſon, which 'they endeavoured to Shoot at, but were diſappointed by their running to and fro from the 'Corn into the Buſhes. They were ſeen Two 'or Three Nights together; but though the abovesaid ſtrove to ſhoot at them, they could 'never attain it. On *July* 14. *Bapſon* and '*Brown*, with the reſt of the Men in the Garriſon, ſaw, within Gun-ſhot, half a Dozen Men; 'whereupon all the Men but One made haſte 'out of the Garriſon, marching towards them. '*Bapſon* preſently overtook Two of them which 'run out of the Buſhes, and coming cloſe to 'them, he preſented his Gun at them, and his 'Gun miſſing Fire, the Two Men returned into 'the Buſhes. *Bapſon* then called unto the other 'Perſons, which were on the other ſide of the 'Swamp, and upon his call they made Anſwer, '*Here they are! Here they are!* *Bapſon* then running to meet them, ſaw Three Men walk ſoftly 'out of the Swamp by each other's Side; the 'middlemoſt having on a white Waſtecoat. So 'being within Two or Three Rod of them, he 'ſhot, and as ſoon as his *Gun* was off, they all 'fell down. *Bapſon* then running to his ſuppoſed Prey, cried out unto his Companions, whom 'he heard on the other ſide of the Swamp, and 'ſaid, *He had kill'd Three! He had kill'd Three!* 'But coming almoſt unto them, they all roſe up, 'and One of them ſhot at him, and hearing the 'Bullet whiſs by him, he ran behind a Tree, 'and loaded his Gun; and ſeeing them lye behind a Log, he crept toward them again, telling his Companions, *They were here!* So his 'Companions came up to him, and they all ran 'directly to the Log with all ſpeed; but before 'they got thither, they ſaw them ſtart up, and 'run every Man his way; One of them run 'into the Corn, whom they purſued, and hemm'd 'in; and *Bapſon* ſeeing him coming toward 'himſelf, ſhot at him as he was getting over 'the Fence, and ſaw him fall off the Fence on 'the Ground, but when he came to the Spot, 'he could not find him. So they all ſearched the Corn; and as they were ſearching, 'they heard a great Diſcourſing in the Swamp, 'but could not underſtand what they ſaid; for 'they ſpoke in an *unknown Tongue*. Afterwards 'looking out from the Garriſon, they ſaw ſeve-

‘ral Men ſculking among the *Corn* and *Buſhes*, but could not have a Shot at them.

‘The next Morning, juſt at Day-break, they ſaw One Man come out of the Swamp not far from the Garriſon, and ſtand cloſe up againſt the Fence, within Gun-ſhot. Whereupon *Iſaac Prince*, with a long Gun, ſhot at him with *Swan-ſhot*, and in a moment he was gone out of ſight, they ſaw him no more. Upon this *Bapſon* went to carry News to the Harbour; and being about half a Mile in his way thither, he heard a Gun go off, and heard a Bullet whiſs cloſe by his Ear, which cut off a Pine-buſh juſt by him, and the Bullet lodg'd in an Hemlock-Tree. Then looking about he ſaw Four Men running towards him, one with a Gun in his Hand, and the other with Guns on their Shoulders. So he ran into the Buſhes, and turning about, ſhot at them, and then ran away, and ſaw them no more. About Six Men returned from the Harbour with him, ſearching the Woods as they went; and they ſaw where the *Bullet* had cut off the Pine-buſh, and where it was lodg'd in the Hemlock-Tree, and they took the Bullet out, which is ſtill to be ſeen. When they were come to the Garriſon, they went to look for the Tracks of the ſtrange Men that had been ſeen, and ſaw ſeveral Tracks; and whilſt they were looking on them, they ſaw one which look'd like an *Indian*, having on a blue Coat, and his Hair ty'd up behind, ſtanding by a Tree, and looking on them. But as ſoon as they ſpake to each other, he ran into a Swamp, and they after him, and one of them ſhot at him, but to no purpoſe. One of them alſo ſaw another, which look'd like a *Frenchman*, but they quickly loſt the ſight of him.

‘*July* 15. *Ezekiel Day* being in Company with ſeveral others, who were ordered to Scout the Woods, when they came to a certain Freſh Meadow, Two Miles from any Houſe, at ſome diſtance from the ſaid Meadow, he ſaw a Man which he apprehended to be an *Indian*, cloathed in Blue; and as ſoon as he ſaw him ſtart up and run away, he ſhot at him; whereupon he ſaw another riſe up a little way off, who alſo run with ſpeed; which, together with the former, were quickly out of ſight; and though himſelf, together with his Companions, diligently ſought after them, they could not find them. The ſame Day *John Hammond*, with ſeveral other Perſons, ſcouting in the Woods, ſaw another of theſe *ſtrange Men*, having on a blue Shirt and white Breeches, and ſomething about his Head; but could not overtake him.

‘*July* 17. Three or Four of theſe *Unaccountable Troublers* came near the Garriſon; but they could not get a ſhot at them. *Richard Dolliver* alſo, and *Benjamin Ellary*, creeping down an Hill upon Diſcovery, ſaw ſeveral Men come out of an Orchard, walking backward and forward, and ſtriking with a Stick upon *John Row*'s deſerted Houſe, (the Noiſe of which was heard by others at a conſiderable Diſtance;) *Ellary* counting them to be Eleven in all; *Dolliver* ſhot at the midſt of them, where they ſtood thickeſt, and immediately they diſperſed themſelves, and were quickly gone out of ſight.

‘*July* 18. Which was the time that Major *Appleton* ſent about Sixty Men from *Ipſwich*, for the Towns Aſſiſtance under theſe *inexplicable Alarms*, which they had ſuffered Night and Day for about a Fortnight together; *John Day* teſtifies, that he went in Company with *Ipſwich* and *Gloceſter* Forces, to a Garriſon about Two Miles and an half from the Town; and News being brought in, that Guns went off in a Swamp not far from the Garriſon, ſome of the Men, with himſelf, ran to diſcover what they could; and when he came to the Head of the Swamp, he ſaw a Man with a blue Shirt, and buſhy black Hair, run out of the Swamp, and into the Woods; he ran after him with all ſpeed, and came ſeveral times within ſhot of him; but the Woods being thick, he could not obtain his deſign of Shooting him; at length he was at once gone out of ſight; and when afterwards he went to look for his Track, he could find none, though it were a low miry Place that he ran over.

‘About *July* 25. *Bapſon* went into the Woods after his Cattel, and ſaw Three Men ſtand upon a Point of Rocks which look'd toward the Sea. So he crept among the Buſhes till he came within Forty Yards of them; and then preſented his *Gun* at them, and Snapt, but his Gun miſs'd Fire, and ſo it did above a Dozen Times, till they all Three came up towards him, walking a ſlow Pace, one of them having a Gun upon his Back. Nor did they take any more Notice of him, than juſt to give him a *Look*; though he ſnapt his Gun at them all the while they walked toward him, and by him; neither did they quicken their Pace at all, but went into a parcel of Buſhes, and he ſaw them no more. When he came home he ſnapt his Gun ſeveral times, ſometimes with but a few Corns of Powder, and yet it did not once miſs Fire. After this there occurred ſeveral ſtrange things; but now concluding they were but *Spectres*, they took little further Notice of them.

[Several other Teſtimonies, all to the ſame Effect with the foregoing, my Friend has added, which for brevity I omit; and only add, the moſt conſiderable of theſe Paſſages were afterward Sworn before one of Their Majeſties Council.]

‘Reverend and truly Honoured Sir, According to your Requeſt I have Collected a brief Account of the Occurrences remark'd in our Town the laſt Year. Some of them are very Admirable things, and yet no leſs True than Strange, if we may believe the Aſſertions of Credible Perſons. Tho' becauſe of great Haſte it is a rough Draught, yet there is nothing written but what the Perſons mentioned would, if duly called, confirm the Truth of by *Oath*.

'I might have given you a larger Account; 'only ſeveral who Saw and Heard ſome of the 'moſt Remarkable things are now beyond Sea. 'However, I hope the Subſtance of what is 'Written will be enough to ſatisfie all Rational 'Perſons, that *Glocester* was not Alarumed laſt 'Summer for above a Fortnight together by 'real *French* and *Indians*, but that the *Devil* and 'his Agents were the cauſe of all the Moleſtation which at this time befel the Town; in 'the Name of whoſe Inhabitants I would 'take upon me to Entreat your Earneſt Prayers to the Father of Mercies, that thoſe Apparitions may not prove the ſad *Omens* of 'ſome future and more horrible Moleſtations 'to them.

'*May* 19. 169⅞.

SIR,

Your very humble Servant,

J. E.

NOW, Reader, albeit that paſſage of the Sacred Story, 2 *Chron.* 20. 22. *The Lord ſet Ambuſhments againſt the Children of* Ammon, Moab, *and Mount* Seir, *and they were ſmitten*, is by the beſt Expoſitors thus underſtood; that there was the Miniſtry of the *Holy Angels* wondrouſly Employ'd in this Matter; the *Angels* in the ſhape of *Moabites* and *Ammonites* fell upon them of Mount *Seir*, and upon this apprehended Provocation they then all fell upon one another, until the whole Army was deſtroyed: Nevertheleſs I entirely refer it unto thy Judgment, (without the leaſt offer of my own) whether *Satan* did not now *ſet Ambuſhments* againſt the good People of *Glocester*, with *Dæmons* in the ſhape of Armed *Indians* and *Frenchmen* appearing to conſiderable Numbers of the Inhabitants, and mutually Firing upon them for the beſt part of a Month together. I know the moſt Conſiderate Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood unto this Day believe this whole matter to have been a Prodigious Piece of the Strange deſcent from the *Inviſible World*, then made upon other Parts of the Country. And the publication of this Prodigy, among other *Wonders of the Inviſible World* among us, has been delay'd until *now*, that ſo the Opinion of our moſt conſiderate Gentlemen about it might have time for a thorough *Concoction*: And that the Gentlemen of the Order of St. *Thomas* may have no *Objection* to make againſt it. But be it what it will, they are not a few profane *Squibs* from the Sons of the Extravagant *Bekkar*, that will be a fit Explication for things thus *Atteſted*, and ſo very *Marvellous*.

ARTICLE XIX.

PACEM, Te Poſcimus Omnes.

IN the Year 1693. His Excellency ſent away Captain *Convers* to draw off the fitteſt of the Officers and Soldiers quartered in the Eaſt for a March; and cauſing about Three Hundred and Fifty more to be Levied, gave him what he had merited above a Year ago; even a Commiſſion of *Major*, and Commander in Chief over theſe Forces. While Major *Convers* was at *Wells*, hearing of ſome Indians that were ſeen in the Woods, he ſurpriſed them all; and finding that they had cut off a poor Family at *Oyſter River*, he gave the chief of them ſomething of what *they* alſo had merited. Going to *Pemmaquid* after ſome Service there, they Sailed up *Sheepſcote* River, and then marched through the Woods to *Taconet*, which being deſerted by the *Indians*, they ranged through many other Woods; but could meet with none of their Enemies. Repairing then to *Saco*, they began another *Fort*, which was carried on by that worthy Gentleman Major *Hook*, and the truly commendable Captain *Hill*, and proved a matter of good Conſequence unto the Province. While theſe things were doing ſometime in *July*, the Straggling Indians did ſome Spoil upon *Quaboag*, a remote Village in the Road unto *Connecticut*; but Advice being diſpatch'd unto the Towns upon *Connecticut*-River, a Party immediately Salley'd out after the Spoilers, and leaving their Horſes at the Entrance of a *Swamp*, whither by their Track they had followed them, they came upon the ſecure Adverſary, and kill'd the moſt of them, and recovered the Captives, with their Plunder; and returning Home, had ſome Reward for ſo brisk an Action.

But now the *Indians* in the Eaſt, probably diſheartened by the *Forts* Erecting that were like to prove a ſore Annoyance to them in their Enterprizes; and by the fear of wanting *Ammunition*, with other Proviſions, which the *French* were not ſo able juſt now to diſpence unto them; and by a preſumption that an Army of *Maqua's*, [part of thoſe terrible *Cannibals* to the Weſtward, whereof 'tis affirm'd by thoſe who have publiſhed the Stories of their Travels among them, that they have deſtroy'd no leſs than Two Million Salvages of other Nations about them, through their being ſupplied with *Fire-Arms*, before Hundreds of other Nations [lying between them and the River *Meſchaſippi*] was come into their Country, becauſe they found ſome of their *Squa's* killed upon a *Whortle-berry Plain*, all the Charms of the *French Friar*, then Reſident among them, could not hinder them from ſuing to the Engliſh for *Peace*. And the *Engliſh* being ſo involved in *Debts*, that they ſcarce knew how to proſecute the *War* any further, took ſome Notice of their Suit. Accordingly a *Peace* was made upon the Enſuing Articles.

Province

Province of the Maſſachuſets Bay *in* New-England.

The Submiſſion and Agreement of the Eaſtern Indians *at Fort* William Henry *in* Pemmaquid, *the* 11th *Day of* Auguſt, *in the Fifth Year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord and Lady*, William *and* Mary, *by the Grace of God, of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *King and Queen, Defenders of the Faith*, &c. 1693.

'WHereas a Bloody War has for ſome 'Years now paſt been made and carried on by the *Indians* within the Eaſtern Parts 'of the ſaid Province, againſt Their Majeſties 'Subjects the *Engliſh*, through the Inſtigation 'and Influences of the *French*; and being ſenſible of the Miſeries which we and our People 'are reduced unto, by adhering to their ill 'Council: We whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed, being *Sagamores* and Chief Captains 'of all the *Indians* belonging to the ſeveral 'Rivers of *Penobſcote* and *Kennebeck*, *Amaraſcogin* and *Saco*, Parts of the ſaid Province 'of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* within Their ſaid 'Majeſties Soveraignty, having made Application unto his Excellency Sir *William Phips*, 'Captain General and Governour in Chief in 'and over the ſaid Province, that the War may 'be put to an end, do lay down our Arms, and 'caſt our ſelves upon Their ſaid Majeſties 'Grace and Favour. And each of us reſpectively for our ſelves, and in the Name and with 'the free Conſent of all the *Indians* belonging unto the ſeveral Rivers aforeſaid, and of 'all other *Indians* within the ſaid Province of 'and from *Merrimack* River, unto the moſt 'Eaſterly Bounds of the ſaid Province; hereby 'acknowledging our hearty Subjection and 'Obedience unto the Crown of *England*; and 'do ſolemnly Covenant, Promiſe and Agree, to 'and with the ſaid Sir *William Phips*, and his 'Succeſſors, in the Place of Captain General 'and Governour in Chief of the aforeſaid Province or Territory, on Their ſaid Majeſties 'behalf in manner following *viz*.

'That at all time and times for ever, from 'and after the date of theſe Preſents, we will 'ceaſe and forbear all Acts of Hoſtility towards 'the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and 'not offer the leaſt Hurt or Violence to them, 'or any of them, in their Perſons or Eſtate: 'But will henceforward hold and maintain a firm 'and conſtant Amity and Friendſhip with all the '*Engliſh*.

'*Item*. We abandon and forſake the *French* 'Intereſt, and will not in any wiſe adhere to 'Join with, Aid or Aſſiſt them in their Wars 'or Deſigns againſt the *Engliſh*, nor Countenance, Succour or Conceal any of the Enemy '*Indians* of *Canada*, or other Places, that ſhall 'happen to come to any of our Plantations within the *Engliſh* Territory, but ſecure them, if 'in our Power, and deliver them up unto the '*Engliſh*.

'That all *Engliſh* Captives in the Hands or 'Power of any of the *Indians* within the Limits aforeſaid, ſhall with all poſſible ſpeed be 'ſet at Liberty, and returned Home without any 'Ranſom or Payment to be made or given for 'them, or any of them.

'That Their Majeſties Subjects the *Engliſh*, 'ſhall and may peaceably and quietly enter upon, 'improve, and for ever enjoy all and ſingular 'their Rights of Lands, and former Settlements 'and Poſſeſſions within the Eaſtern Parts of the 'ſaid Province of the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, without any Pretenſions or Claims by us, or any other *Indians* and be in no wiſe moleſted, interrupted, or diſturbed therein.

'That all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter may be allowed between the *Engliſh* and '*Indians* ſhall be under ſuch Management and 'Regulation, as may be Stated by an Act of the 'General Aſſembly, or as the Governor of the 'ſaid Province for the time being, with the Advice and Conſent of the Council, ſhall ſee Cauſe 'to Direct and Limit.

'If any Controverſie or Difference at any time 'hereafter happen to ariſe between any of the '*Engliſh* and *Indians*, for any real or ſuppoſed 'Wrong or Injury done on one ſide or the other, no private Revenge ſhall be taken by the '*Indians* for the ſame but proper Application 'be made to Their Majeſties Government upon 'the Place, for Remedy thereof, in a due 'Courſe of Juſtice; we hereby ſubmitting our 'ſelves to be Ruled and Governed by Their Majeſties Laws, and deſire to have the Benefit of 'the ſame.

'For the more full Manifeſtation of our Sincerity and Integrity in all that which we have 'herein before Covenanted and Promiſed, we do 'deliver unto Sir *William Phips*, Their Majeſties Governor as aforeſaid, *Abaſſombamett*, 'Brother to *Edgeremett*; *Wenongahewitt*, Couſin 'to *Madockawando*, and *Edgeremett*, and *Bagatawawongon*; alſo *Sheepſcoat John*, to abide 'and remain in the Cuſtody of the *Engliſh*, 'where the Governour ſhall direct, as Hoſtages 'or Pledges for our Fidelity, and true Performance of all and every the foregoing Articles, 'reſerving Liberty to exchange them in ſome 'reaſonable time for a like number, to the acceptance of the Governor and Council of the 'ſaid Province, ſo they be Perſons of as good 'Account and Eſteem amongſt the *Indians* as 'thoſe which are to be exchanged. In Teſtimony whereof, we have hereunto ſet our ſeveral Marks and Seals, the Day and Year firſt 'above-written.

'The above-written Inſtrument was deliberately read over, and the ſeveral Articles and 'Clauſes thereof Interpreted unto the *Indians*, 'who ſaid they well underſtood and conſented 'thereunto, and was then Signed, Sealed, and 'Delivered in the Preſence of us,

John Wing.
Nicholas Manning.
Benjamin Jackſon.
Edgeremett.

Edgeremett.
Madockawando.
Waſſambomet of *Navidgwock.*
Wenohſon of *Teconnet* in behalf of *Moxis.*
Ketterramogis of *Narridgwock.*
Abanquit of *Penobſcot.*
Bomaſeen.
Nitamemet.
Webenes.
Awanſomeck.
Robin Doney.
Madaumbis.
Paquaharet, alias, *Nathaniel.*
John Hornybrook, } Interpreters.
John Bagatawawongo, alias, *Sheepſcoat John.*
Phill. Ounſakis, Squaw.

ARTICLE XX.

Bloody Fiſhing at Oyſter *River*; *and Sad Work at* Groton.

A *Years Breathing time* was a great Favour of Heaven to a Country quite out of *Breath* with numberleſs Calamities. But the Favour was not ſo thankfully enjoyed as it ſhould have been. And now *The Clouds return after the Rain.* The *Spectre* that with Burning Tongs drove *Xerxes* to his War upon the *Græcians*, had not loſt his Influence upon our *Indians.* The Perfidy of the *Indians* appeared firſt in their not reſtoring the *Engliſh Captives* according to their *Covenant*; but the perfidious Wretches excuſed this with many Proteſtations. That which added unto our *Jealouſies* about them, was their Inſolent Carriage towards a *Sloop*, Commanded by Captain *Wing*; and the Information of a Fellow called *Hector*, that the *Indians* intended moſt certainly to break the *Peace*, and had promiſed the *French Prieſts*, taking the *Sacrament* thereupon, to deſtroy the firſt *Engliſh Town* they could Surprize. Rumours of *Indians* Lurking about ſome of the Frontier-Plantations, now began to put the poor People into *Conſternation*; but upon an Imagination that they were only certain *Bever-Hunters*, the Conſternation of the People went off into *Security.* 'Tis affirmed by *Engliſh* Captives, which were then at *Canada*, that the Deſolation of *Oyſter River* was commonly talk'd in the Streets of *Quebeck* Two Months before it was Effected; for the Spies had found no Town ſo ſecure as *That.* And now what was *Talk'd* at *Quebeck* in the Month of *May*, muſt be *Done* at *Oyſter River* in the Month of *July*; for on *Wedneſday, July* 18. 1694. the Treacherous Enemy, with a great Army fell upon that Place, about break of Day, and Kill'd and Captiv'd Ninety Four, (or an Hundred) Perſons; about a Score of whom were Men belonging to the Trained Band of the Town. Several Perſons Remarkably eſcaped this Bloody Deluge, but none with more Bravery than one *Thomas Bickford*, who had an Houſe, a little Palliſado'd, by the River ſide, but no Man in it beſides himſelf. He dexterouſly put his Wife, and Mother, and Children aboard a Canoo, and ſending them down the River, he *Alone* betook himſelf to the Defence of his Houſe, againſt many *Indians* that made an Aſſault upon him. They firſt would have perſwaded him with many fair *Promiſes*, and then terrified him with as many fierce *Threatnings*, to yield himſelf; but he Flouted and Fired at them, daring 'em to come if they durſt. His main *Stratagem* was to change his *Livery* as frequently as he could; appearing ſometimes in one *Coat*, ſometimes in another, ſometimes in an *Hat*, and ſometimes in a *Cap*; which cauſed his Beſiegers to miſtake this *One* for *Many* Defendants. In fine, the pitiful Wretches deſpairing to *Beat* him out of his Houſe, e'en left him in it; whereas many that opened unto them, upon their Solemn Engagements of giving them Life and good Quarter, were barbarouſly Butchered by them; and the Wife of one *Adams*, then with Child, was with horrible Barbarity ripped up. And thus there was an end of the *Peace* made at *Pemmaquid!* Upon this, the Friends of Mrs. *Urſula Cutt*, (Widow of Mr. *John Cutt*, formerly Preſident of *New-Hampſhire*,) deſired her to leave her Farm, which was about a Mile above the Bank expoſed to the Enemy, on the South ſide of *Piſcataqua* River. She thank'd them for their *Care*; but added, that ſhe believed the Enemy had now done their Do for this time; and however, by the *End of the Week* her *Buſineſs at the Farm* would be all *diſpatched*, and on *Saturday* ſhe would repair to her Friends at the Bank. But alas! before the *End of the Week*, ſhe ſaw the *End of her Life:* On *Saturday*, about One or Two a Clock in the Afternoon, the *Buſineſs at the Farm* was *Diſpatched* ſure enough! The *Indians* then kill'd this Gentlewoman and Three other People, a little before they had finiſhed a point of Husbandry then in their Hands. Nor did the Storm go over ſo: Some Drops of it fell upon the Town of *Groton*, a Town that lay, one would think, far enough off the Place where was the laſt *Scene* of the *Tragedy.* On *July* 27. about break of Day *Groton* felt ſome ſurprizing Blows from the *Indian Hatchets.* They began their Attacks at the Houſe of one Lieutenant *Lakin*, in the Out-skirts of the Town; but met with a Repulſe there, and loſt one of their Crew. Neverthele ſs, in other Parts of that Plantation, (when the good People had been ſo tired out as to lay down their *Military Watch*) there were more than Twenty Perſons killed, and more than a Dozen carried away. Mr. *Gerſhom Hobart*, the Miniſter of the Place, with part of his Family, was Remarkably preſerved from falling into their Hands, when they made themſelves the Maſters of his Houſe; though they Took Two of his Children, whereof the one was Killed, and the other ſome time after happily Reſcued out of his Captivity.

I remember, the *Jews* in their Book *Taanith*, tell us, *The Elders Proclaimed a Faſt in their Cities on this Occaſion, becauſe the Wolves had devoured Two little Children beyond* Jordan. Truly, the Elders of *New-England* were not a little concerned at it, when they ſaw the *Wolves* thus devouring their Children, even on this ſide of *Merrimack!*

ARTICLE XXI.

More Engliſh *Blood* Swallowed, *but* Revenged.

READER, We muſt after this, ever now and then, expect the happening of ſome unhappy Accident. The *Blood-thirſty Salvages*, not content with Quaffing the *Blood* of Two or Three Perſons, found at Work in a Field at *Spruce-Creek*, on *Aug.* 20. and of another Perſon at *York*, the ſame Day, (Captivating alſo a Lad which they found with him;) they did on *Aug.* 24. Kill and Take Eight Perſons at *Kittery*. Here a little Girl about Seven Years Old, the Daughter of one Mr. *Downing*, fell into their Barbarous Hands; they Knock'd her o'th' Head, and barbarouſly Scalped her, leaving her on the *Cold Ground*, (and it was then very *Cold*, beyond what uſe to be,) where ſhe lay all the Night enſuing: Yet ſhe was found *Alive* the next Morning, and recovering, ſhe is to this Day *Alive* and Well; only the place broke in her Skull will not endure to be cloſed up. He had another Daughter, which at the ſame time almoſt miraculouſly eſcaped their Hands. But ſo could not at another time *Joſeph Pike* of *Newbury*, the *Deputy Sheriff* of *Eſſex*, who on *Sept.* 4. Travelling between *Amesbury* and *Haverhil*, in the Execution of his Office, with one *Long*, they both had an *Arreſt of Death* ſerved upon them from an *Indian* Ambuſcado. *Bommaſeen*, a Commander of Prime Quality among the *Indians*, who had ſet his Hand unto the late *Articles of Submiſſion*, came, *Nov.* 19. with Two other *Indians*, to *Pemmaquid*, *as loving as Bears, and as harmleſs as Tygres*, pretending to be juſt *Arrived* from *Canada*, and much *Afflicted* for the late Miſchiefs, (whereof there was Witneſs that he was a Principal Actor,) but Captain *March* with a ſufficient Activity ſeized them; as *Robin Doney*, another Famous Villain among them, with Three more, had been ſeized at *Saco* Fort a little before. *Bommaſeen* was convey'd unto *Boſton*, that he might, in a cloſe Impriſonment there, have time to conſider of his Treacheries and his Cruelties, for which the Juſtice of Heaven had thus delivered him up. When he was going to *Pemmaquid*, he left his Company with a ſtrange Reluctancy and Formality, as if he had preſaged the Event; and when at *Pemmaquid* he found the Event of his coming, he diſcovered a more than ordinary Diſturbance of Mind; his *Paſſions* Foam'd and Boil'd like the very *Waters* at the Fall of *Niagara*.

But being thus fallen upon the mention of that *Vengeance*, wherewith Heaven purſued the chief of the *Salvage Murderers*, it may give ſome Diverſion unto the Reader, in the midſt of a long and a ſad Story, to inſert a Relation of an Accident that fell out a little after this time.

The *Indians*, (as the Captives inform us) being *Hungry, and hardly beſtead*, paſſed through deſerted *Caſco*, where they ſpied ſeveral *Horſes* in Captain *Bracket*'s Orchard. Their famiſhed *Squa's* begg'd them to Shoot the *Horſes*, that they might be revived with a little *Roaſt-meat*; but the Young Men were for having a little Sport before their Supper. Driving the *Horſes* into a Pond, they took one of them, and furniſhed him with an *Halter*, ſuddenly made of the *Main* and the *Tail* of the Animal, which they cut off. A Son of the Famous *Hegon* was ambitious to mount this *Pegaſæan Steed*; but being a pitiful Horſeman, he ordered them, for fear of his falling, to tie his Legs faſt under the *Horſe*'s Belly. No ſooner was this *Beggar ſet on Horſe-back*, and the Spark, in his own Opinion, throughly Equipt, but the Mettleſome *Horſe* furiouſly and preſently ran with him out of ſight. Neither *Horſe* nor *Man* were ever ſeen any more; the aſtoniſh'd Tawnies howl'd after one of their Nobility, diſappearing by ſuch an unexpected Accident. A few Days after they found one of his *Legs*, (and that was *all*,) which they buried in Captain *Bracket*'s Cellar, with abundance of Lamentation.

ARTICLE XXII.

A Conference with an Indian-Sagamore.

BUT now *Bommaſeen* is fallen into our Hands, let us have a little Diſcourſe with him.

Behold, Reader, the Troubles and the Troublers of *New-England!* That thou may'ſt a little more exactly behold the *Spirit* of the Matter, I'll recite certain Paſſages occurring in a Diſcourſe that paſs'd between this *Bommaſeen* (who was one of the *Indian Princes*, or *Chieftains*,) and a Miniſter of the Goſpel, in the Year 1696.

Bommaſeen was with ſome other *Indians* now a Priſoner in *Boſton*. He deſired a Conference with a Miniſter of *Boſton*, which was granted him. *Bommaſeen*, with the other *Indians*, aſſenting and aſſerting to it, then told the Miniſter, that he pray'd his Inſtruction in the *Chriſtian Religion*; inaſmuch as he was afraid, that the *French* in the *Chriſtian Religion*, which they taught the *Indians*, had abuſed them. The Miniſter enquired of him, what of the things taught 'em by the *French* appear'd moſt ſuſpicious to 'em? He ſaid, the *French* taught 'em, that the Lord JESUS CHRIST was of the *French Nation*; that his Mother, the Virgin *Mary*, was a *French Lady*; that they were the *Engliſh* who had Murdered him; and that whereas he roſe from the Dead, and went up to the Heavens, all that would Recommend

them

themſelves unto his Favour, muſt Revenge his Quarrel upon the *Engliſh* as far as they can. He ask'd the Miniſter whether theſe things were ſo; and pray'd the Miniſter to inſtruct him in the true *Chriſtian Religion.* The Miniſter conſidering, that the Humour and Manner of the *Indians* was to have their Diſcourſes managed with much of *Similitude* in them, look'd about for ſome agreeable Object, from whence he might with apt *Reſemblances* convey the *Idæa's* of Truth unto the Minds of *Salvages*; and he thought none would be more agreeable to *them* than a *Tankard of Drink*, which happened then to be ſtanding on the Table. So he proceeded in this *Method* with 'em.

He told them, [ſtill with proper Actions Painting and Pointing out the *Signs* unto them,] That our Lord JESUS CHRIST had given us a *Good Religion*, which might be reſembled unto the *Good Drink in the Cup* upon the Table.

That if we take this *Good Religion*, (even that *Good Drink*,) into our Hearts, it will do us *Good*, and preſerve us from *Death*.

That God's *Book*, the *Bible*, is the *Cup* wherein that *Good Drink* of *Religion* is offered unto us.

That the *French* having the *Cup* of *Good Drink* in their Hands, had put *Poiſon* into it, and then made the *Indians* to Drink that *Poiſoned Liquor*, whereupon they run Mad, and fell to killing of the *Engliſh*, though they could not but know it muſt unavoidably iſſue in their own Deſtruction at the laſt.

That it was plain the *Engliſh* had put no *Poiſon* into the *Good Drink*; for they ſet the *Cup* wide open, and invited all Men to *Come* and *See* before they *Taſte*, even the very *Indians* themſelves; for we Tranſlated the *Bible* into *Indian*. That they might gather from hence, that the *French* had put *Poiſon* into the *Good Drink*, inaſmuch as the *French* kept the *Cup* faſt ſhut, (the Bible in an *Unknown Tongue*,) and kept their *Hands* upon the *Eyes* of the *Indians*, when they put it unto their Mouths.

The *Indians* expreſſing themſelves to be well ſatisfied with what the Miniſter had hitherto ſaid, pray'd him to go on, with ſhowing 'em what was the *Good Drink*, and what was the *Poiſon* which the *French* had put into it.

He then ſet before them diſtinctly the chief *Articles* of the *Chriſtian Religion*, with all the Simplicity and Sincerity of a *Proteſtant*: Adding upon each, *This is the Good Drink in the Lord's Cup of Life*: And they ſtill profeſſed, *That they liked it all.*

Whereupon he Demonſtrated unto them, how the *Papiſts* had in their Idolatrous *Popery*, ſome way or other depraved and alter'd every one of theſe *Articles*, with Scandalous *Ingredients* of their own Invention; adding upon each, *This is the Poiſon which the* French *have put into the Cup.*

At laſt he mentioned this Article.

To obtain the Pardon of your Sins, you muſt confeſs your Sins to God, and pray to God, that he would Pardon your Sins for the Sake of Jeſus Chriſt, who died for the Sins of his People: God loves Jeſus Chriſt infinitely; and if you place your Eye on Jeſus Chriſt only, when you beg the Pardon of your Sins, God will Pardon them. You need confeſs your Sins to none but God, except in Caſes where Men have known your Sins, or have been hurt by your Sins; and then theſe Men ſhould know that you confeſs your Sins; but after all, none but God can Pardon them.

He then added, *The* French *have put Poiſon into this Good Drink; they tell you, that you muſt confeſs your Sins to a Prieſt, and carry Skins to a Prieſt, and ſubmit unto a Penance enjoined by a Prieſt; and this Prieſt is to give you a Pardon. There is no need of all this: 'Tis nothing but* French *Poiſon, all of it.*

The Wretches appearing aſtoniſh'd to meet with one who would ſo fairly put them into a glorious way to obtain the *Pardon of their Sins*, and yet take no *Bever-skins* for it, in a Rapture of Aſtoniſhment they fell down on their *Knees*, and got his *Hand* into theirs, and fell to kiſſing of it with an extream ſhow of Affection.

He ſhaking them off with diſlike of their Poſture, *Bommaſeen*, with the reſt of them, ſtood up; and firſt lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, declaring, that *God* ſhould be *Judge* of his *Heart* in what he ſaid, he then ſaid, Sir, *I thank you for theſe things; I reſolve to Spit up all the* French *Poiſon; you ſhall be my Father; I will be your Son; I beſeech you to continue to inſtruct me in that Religion which may bring me to the Salvation of my Soul!*——Now God knows what *Heart* this *Indian* had when he ſo expreſſed himſelf: To *Him* let us leave it.

But ſo much for this Digreſſion.

ARTICLE XXIII.

More Miſchiefs *in Spite of* Treaties.

EXcept it were the falling of Two Soldiers belonging to *Saco* Garriſon into the Hands of the Enemy, who took the one, and kill'd the other, ſome time in *March*, 1695. many Months paſs'd away without any Action between Them and Us; and it is reported by returned Captives, that the Hand of *God* reach'd them, when the Hand of *Man* could not find them, and a *Mortal Sickneſs* did at a ſtrange rate carry off Multitudes of them. At length, upon the Mediation of Old *Sheepſcoat John*, once a *Praying Indian* of the Reverend ELIOT's *Catechumens*, but afterwards a *Pagan*, and now a *Popiſh* Apoſtate, a great Fleet of *Canoos* came into an Iſland, about a League from the Fort at *Pemmaquid*, *May* 20. 1695. and after they had laid ſtill there all the *Lord's-Day*, on *Monday* Morning they ſent unto the *Engliſh* for another Treaty. They declared, their Deſign was to *Exchange Captives*, and renew the *Peace*, and condemned themſelves for their Violating the *Peace* made

made near Two Years ago. *Eight Captives* they immediately delivered up; and upon a Grant of a *Truce* for Thirty Days, Colonel *John Philips*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hawthorn*, and Major *Converſe* were ſent Commiſſioners unto *Pemmaquid* for the Management of that Affair. Our Commiſſioners, with good Reaſon, demanding a Surrender of all the *Engliſh Captives*, according to former Agreement, before they would allow any new Propoſitions of *Peace* to be offered, the *Indians* diſguſted that their Idol *Bommaſeen* was left at *Boſton*, broke off the Conference, and went off in Diſcontent. Advice was immediately diſpatch'd into all Parts of the *Eaſtern Country* to ſtand well upon their Guard: notwithſtanding which, on *July* 6. Major *Hammond* of *Kittery* fell into the Hands of the Lurking *Indians*; and the next Week Two Men at *Exeter* were kill'd by ſome of the ſame Dangerous *Lurkers*. Major *Hammond* was now aboard a *Canoo*, intending to put aſhore at *Saco*; but ſome of the Garriſon-Soldiers there, not knowing that they had ſuch a good Friend aboard, inadvertently Fired upon the *Canoo*; and ſo the *Indians* carried him clear away. They Tranſported him at length to *Canada*, where he met with Extraordinary Civilities; Count *Frontenac*, the Governor himſelf, Nobly purchaſed him of his Tawny Maſter, and ſent him home to *New-England* by a Veſſel which alſo fetch'd from thence a Conſiderable number (perhaps near *Thirty*) of *Engliſh* Priſoners. In *Auguſt* the Houſe of one *Rogers* at *Billerica* was Plundered, and about Fifteen People Kill'd and Taken by *Indians*, which, by appearing and approaching, 'tis ſaid on *Horſe-back*, were not ſuſpected for *Indians*, [for, *Who ſet them on Horſe back?*] till they ſurprized the Houſe they came to. And about the ſame time, Sergeant *Haley* venturing out of his Fort at *Saco*, ſtept into the *Snares of Death*. On *Sept.* 9. Sergeant *March*, with Three more, were Killed by the *Indians*, and Six more at the ſame time Wounded at *Pemmaquid* Rowing a *Gondula* round an high Rocky Point above the *Barbican*. On *Oct.* 7. the *Indians* entred the Houſe of one *John Brown* at *Newbury*, carrying away Nine Perſons with them; whereupon Captain *Greenleaf* nimbly purſuing the Murderers, did unhaply ſo ſtumble on them in the Night, that they Wounded the good Man, and made their Eſcape over the River. The Captain Retook all the Captives; but the *Indians* in their going off ſtrook them all ſo violently on the *Head* with the *Clubs*, which I remember a *French* Hiſtorian ſomewhere calls by the frightful Name of *Head-breakers*, that they afterwards all of them *Died*, except a *Lad* that was only hurt in the Shoulder. Some of them lingred out for half a Year, and ſome of them for more than a whole Year; but if the Doctors cloſed up the *Wounds* of their *Heads*, they would grow *Light-headed*, and Faint, and Sick, and could not bear it; ſo at laſt they died with their very *Brains* working out at their *Wounds*.

But having thus run over a *Journal of Deaths* for the Year 1695. let us before the Year be quite gone ſee ſome Vengeance taken upon the *Heads in the Houſe of the Wicked*. Know then, Reader, that Captain *March* Petitioning to be diſmiſs'd from his Command of the Fort at *Pemmaquid*, one *Chub* ſucceeded him. And this *Club* found an Opportunity, in a pretty *Chubbed manner*, to Kill the Famous *Edgeremett* and *Abenquid*, a Couple of Principal *Sagamores*, with One or Two other *Indians*, on a Lord's-Day, the Sixteenth of *February*. Some that well enough liked the *Thing* which was now done, did not altogether like the *Manner* of doing it, becauſe there was a pretence of *Treaty* between *Chub* and the *Sagamores*, whereof he took his Advantage to lay violent Hands on them. If there were any unfair Dealing (which I know not) in this Action of *Chub*, there will be another *February* not far off, wherein the *Avengers of Blood* will take their *Satisfaction*.

ARTICLE XXIV.

Still *Miſchief upon Miſchief*.

THE next whole Year, namely 1696. had it not been for the Degree of a *Famine*, which the *Alteration of the Courſe of Nature* in theſe, as well as other Parts of the World, threatned us withal, would have been a Year of *Leſs Trouble* than ſome of the reſt in our *Troubleſome Decad*. The moſt *uneaſie Accident* of this Year, ſhall be told when we arrive unto the Month of *Auguſt*; but in the mean time it was a Matter of ſome *Uneaſineſs*, that on *May* 7. one *John Church* of *Quochecho*, who had been a Captive, eſcaped from the Hands of the *Indians*, almoſt Seven Years before, was now Slain and Stript by their Barbarous Hands: And on *June* 24. one *Thomas Cole* of *Wells* and his Wife were Slain by the *Indians*, returning Home with Two of his Neighbours and their Wives, all Three Siſters, from a Viſit of their Friends at *York*: And on *June* 26. at ſeveral Places within the Confines of *Portſmouth*, ſeveral Perſons, Twelve or Fourteen, were Maſſacred, (with ſome Houſes Burnt,) and Four Taken, which yet were ſoon Retaken; among whom there was an Ancient Woman Scalpt for Dead, and no doubt the *Salvages* upon producing her *Scalp*, received the *Price of her Death* from thoſe that hired them, and yet ſhe ſo recovered as to be ſtill *Alive*. Moreover, on *July* 26. the *Lord's-Day*, the People at *Quochecho* returning from the Publick Worſhip of God, *Three* of them were killed, *Three* of them were wounded, and *Three* of them were carried away Priſoners to *Penobſcot*; which laſt *Three* were nevertheleſs in leſs than Three Weeks returned. But now we are got into fatal *Auguſt*; on the Fifth or Sixth Day of which Month, the *French* having taken one of the *Engliſh Men of War*, called, *The Newport*, and Landed a few Men, who joined with the *Indians* to purſue their Buſineſs, *Chub* with an unaccountable baſeneſs

 did

did Surrender the Brave Fort at *Pemmaquid* into their Hands. There were Ninety-five Men double-armed in the Fort, which might have defended it againſt Nine times as many Aſſailants; that a *Fort* now ſhould be ſo baſely given up! Imitating the Stile of *Homer* and *Virgil*, I cannot forbear crying out, *O meræ Novanglæ, neque enim Novangli!* And yet if you read the Story Written by the Sieur *Froger*, how poorly St. *James*'s Fort in *Africa* was given up to the *French* in the Year 1695. you'll ſay the things done in *America* are not ſo bad as what have been done in either Parts of the World. The Enemy having Demoliſhed ſo fair a Citadel, now grown mighty *Uppiſh*, Triumph'd, as well they might, exceedingly; and threatned that they would carry all before them. The Honourable Lieutenant-Governor *Stoughton*, who was now Commander in Chief over the Province, immediately did all that could be done to put a ſtop unto the Fury of the Adverſary. By *Sea* he ſent out Three *Men of War*, who, diſadvantaged by the Winds, came not ſoon enough to engage the *French*. By *Land* the *Indians* being ſo Poſted in all Quarters, that the People could hardly ſtir out, but about half a Score of the poor People in their Fields here and there were pick'd off; he ſent Colonel *Gidney* with Five Hundred Men, who perceiving the *Salvages* to be drawn off, only ſtrengthened the Garriſons, and returned. The Lieutenant-Governor, that he might not in any other Point be wanting to the Publick Safety, hereupon diſpatched Colonel *Hawthorn*, with a ſuitable number of Soldiers and Frigats, unto St. *John*'s, with Orders to fetch away ſome great Guns that were lying there, and join with Major *Church*, who was gone with Forces that way to Attack the Fort at St. *John*'s, which was the Neſt of all the *Waſps* that ſtung us; but the Difficulty of the *Cold Seaſon* ſo diſcouraged our Men, that after the making of ſome few Shot, the Enterprize found it ſelf under too much *Congelation* to proceed any further. So we will afflict our ſelves no further for this Year; except only with mentioning the Slaughter of about Five poor Soldiers, belonging to *Saco*-Fort, *Oct.* 13. who had a Diſcovery of the Enemy ſeaſonable enough to have made their Eſcape; yet not agreeing about the way of making it, as if led by ſome *Fatality* to their *Deſtruction*, or as if they had been like the *Squirrels*, that muſt run down the Tree Squeaking and Crying into the Mouths of the *Rattle-Snakes* that fix their *Eyes* upon them, they went back into the very Path where the *Indian* Ambuſh was lying for them.

ARTICLE XXV.

A Notable Exploit; wherein, Dux Fæmina Facti.

On *March* 15. 1697. the *Salvages* made a Deſcent upon the Skirts of *Haverhil*, Murdering and Captiving about Thirty-nine Perſons, and Burning about half a Dozen Houſes. In this Broil, one *Hannah Duſtan* having lain-in about a Week, attended with her Nurſe, *Mary Neff*, a Widow, a Body of terrible *Indians* drew near unto the Houſe where ſhe lay, with Deſigns to carry on their Bloody Devaſtations. Her Husband haſtened from his Employments abroad unto the relief of his Diſtreſſed Family; and firſt bidding *Seven* of his *Eight* Children (which were from *Two* to *Seventeen* Years of Age) to get away as faſt as they could unto ſome Garriſon in the Town, he went in to inform his Wife of the horrible Diſtreſs come upon them. E'er ſhe could get up, the fierce *Indians* were got ſo near, that utterly deſpairing to do her any Service, he ran out after his Children; reſolving that on the Horſe which he had with him, he would Ride away with *That* which he ſhould in this Extremity find his Affections to pitch moſt upon, and leave the reſt unto the Care of the Divine Providence. He overtook his Children about Forty Rod from his Door; but then ſuch was the *Agony* of his Parental Affections, that he found it impoſſible for him to diſtinguiſh any one of them from the reſt; wherefore he took up a Courageous Reſolution to Live and Die with them all. A Party of *Indians* came up with him; and now though they Fired at him, and he Fired at them, yet he Manfully kept at the Reer of his *Little Army* of Unarmed Children, while they Marched off with the Pace of a Child of Five Years Old; until, by the Singular Providence of God, he arrived ſafe with them all unto a Place of Safety about a Mile or two from his Houſe. But his Houſe muſt in the mean time have more diſmal *Tragedies* acted at it. The *Nurſe* trying to eſcape with the New-born Infant, fell into the Hands of the Formidable *Salvages*; and thoſe furious Tawnies coming into the Houſe, bid poor *Duſtan* to riſe immediately. Full of Aſtoniſhment ſhe did ſo; and ſitting down in the Chimney with an Heart full of moſt fearful *Expectation*, ſhe ſaw the raging Dragons rifle all that they could carry away, and ſet the Houſe on Fire. About Nineteen or Twenty *Indians* now led theſe away, with about half a Score other *Engliſh Captives*; but e'er they had gone many Steps, they daſh'd out the Brains of the *Infant* againſt a Tree; and ſeveral of the other *Captives*, as they began to Tire in their ſad *Journey*, were ſoon ſent unto their *Long Home*; the *Salvages* would preſently Bury their Hatchets in their Brains, and leave their Carcaſes on the Ground for Birds and Beaſts to Feed upon. However, *Duſtan* (with her Nurſe) notwithſtanding her preſent Condition, Travelled that Night about a Dozen Miles, and then kept up with their New Maſters in a long Travel of an Hundred and Fifty Miles, more or leſs, within a few Days Enſuing, without any ſenſible Damage in their Health, from the Hardſhips of their *Travel*, their *Lodging*, their *Diet*, and their many other Difficulties. Theſe Two poor Women were

now in the Hands of thoſe whoſe *Tender Mercies are Cruelties*; but the good God, who hath all *Hearts in his own Hands*, heard the Sighs of theſe *Priſoners*, and gave them to find unexpected Favour from the *Maſter* who laid claim unto them. That *Indian Family* conſiſted of Twelve Perſons; Two Stout Men, Three Women, and Seven Children; and for the Shame of many an *Engliſh Family*, that has the Character of *Prayerleſs* upon it, I muſt now Publiſh what theſe poor Women aſſure me: 'Tis this, in Obedience to the Inſtructions which the *French* have given them, they would have *Prayers* in their Family no leſs than Thrice every Day; in the *Morning*, at *Noon*, and in the *Evening*; nor would they ordinarily let their Children *Eat or Sleep* without firſt ſaying their *Prayers*. Indeed theſe *Idolaters* were like the reſt of their whiter Brethren *Perſecutors*, and would not endure that theſe poor Women ſhould retire to their *Engliſh Prayers*, if they could hinder them. Nevertheleſs, the poor Women had nothing but Fervent Prayers to make their Lives Comfortable or Tolerable; and by being daily ſent out upon Buſineſs, they had Opportunities together and aſunder to do like another *Hannah*, in *Pouring out their Souls before the Lord*: Nor did their praying Friends among our ſelves forbear to *Pour out* Supplications for them. Now they could not obſerve it without ſome Wonder, that their *Indian* Maſter ſometimes when he ſaw them dejected would ſay unto them, *What need you Trouble your ſelf? If your God will have you delivered, you ſhall be ſo!* And it ſeems our God would have it ſo to be. This *Indian Family* was now Travelling with theſe Two Captive Women, (and an *Engliſh* Youth taken from *Worceſter* a Year and half before,) unto a Rendezvouz of *Salvages*, which they call a *Town* ſomewhere beyond *Penacook*; and they ſtill told theſe poor Women, that when they came to this Town they muſt be Stript, and Scourg'd, and Run the *Gantlet* through the whole Army of *Indians*. They ſaid this was the *Faſhion* when the Captives firſt came to a Town; and they derided ſome of the Faint-hearted *Engliſh*, which they ſaid, fainted and ſwoon'd away under the *Torments* of this Diſcipline. But on *April* 30. while they were yet, it may be, about an Hundred and Fifty Miles from the *Indian* Town, a little before break of Day, when the whole Crew was in a *Dead Sleep*, (Reader, ſee if it prove not ſo!) one of theſe Women took up a Reſolution to imitate the Action of *Jael* upon *Siſera*; and being where ſhe had not her own *Life* ſecured by any *Law* unto her, ſhe thought ſhe was not forbidden by any *Law* to take away the *Life* of the *Murderers*, by whom her *Child* had been Butchered. She heartened the *Nurſe* and the *Youth* to aſſiſt her in this Enterprize; and all furniſhing themſelves with *Hatchets* for the purpoſe, they ſtruck ſuch home Blows upon the Heads of their *Sleeping Oppreſſors*, that e'er they could any of them ſtruggle into any effectual reſiſtance, *at the Feet* of thoſe poor Priſoners, *they bow'd, they fell, they lay down*; *at their Feet they bowed, they fell*; *where they bowed, there they fell down Dead.* Only one *Squaw* eſcaped ſorely Wounded from them in the Dark; and one *Boy*, whom they reſerved aſleep, intending to bring him away with them, ſuddenly wak'd and Scuttled away from this Deſolation. But cutting off the *Scalps* of the *Ten Wretches*, they came off, and received *Fifty Pounds* from the General Aſſembly of the Province, as a Recompence of their Action; beſides which, they received many *Preſents of Congratulation* from their more private Friends; but none gave 'em a greater Taſte of Bounty than Colonel *Nicholſon*, the Governour of *Maryland*, who hearing of their Action, ſent 'em a very generous Token of his Favour.

ARTICLE XXVI.

Remarkable Salvations; *and ſome Remarkable* Diſaſters.

BEſides a Man taken at *York* in *May*, and another Man kill'd at *Hatfield* in *June*, and a Third kill'd at *Groton*, and a Fourth with Two Children carried Captives, there fell out more *Miſchief*, with no ſmall *Mercy*, on *June* 10. at *Exeter*. The Day before, ſome Women and Children would needs ramble without any Guard into the Woods to gather *Strawberries*; but ſome that were willing to Chaſtiſe them with a *Fright* for their Preſumption, made an *Alarum* in the Town, whereupon many came together in their *Arms*. The *Indians*, it ſeems, were at this very time unknown to the *Engliſh*, lying on the other ſide of the Town ready to make a Deſtructive Aſſault upon it; but ſuppoſing this *Alarum* to be made on their Account, they therefore ſuppoſed themſelves to be diſcovered. Wherefore they laid aſide their Purpoſe of attempting the Deſtruction of the Town, and contented themſelves with *Killing* one Man, *Taking* another, and *Wounding a* Third. But on *July* 4. *Lord's-Day*, Major *Charles Froſt*, who had been a Perſon of no little Conſequence to our Frontiers, returning from the Publick Worſhip of God in *Berwick*, (to repair unto which, about Five Miles from his own Houſe, he had that Morning expreſs'd ſuch an *Earneſtneſs*, that much notice was taken of it,) paſs'd ſeveral more Dangerous Places without any Damage; but in a Place, on a little Plain by the Turn of a *Path*, where no Danger was expected, *the Adder in the Path* ſurprized him; the *Indians* having ſtuck up certain Boughs upon a Log, there Mortally Shot him, with Two more, while his *Two Sons* that were in the Front of the Company happily eſcaped: And the Two Young Men that Rode Poſt unto *Wells* with theſe *Tidings*, in their going back had their own Death added for another Article of ſuch unhappy *Tidings*. About the latter end of this Month alſo, *Three Men Mowing* the Meadows at *Newichawannic*, were

themſelves **Cut down** by the *Indians*; tho' one of the *Mowers* bravely ſlew one of the *Murtherers*. But the moſt Important Action of this Year was a little further off. About the beginning of *July*, Major *March* was employ'd with about Five Hundred Soldiers, not only to Defend the *Frontiers*, but alſo to ſeek out, and beat up the Enemies Quarters. In the mean time, the Lieutenant Governor apprehending an *Invaſion* from a formidable *French Fleet* on the Coaſt of *New-England*, with his accuſtomed Prudence and Vigour applied himſelf to put the whole Province into a Poſture of Defence: And the *Militia*, with the ſeveral *Forts*, eſpecially that of *Boſton*, (very much through the Contrivance and Induſtry of Captain *Fairweather*,) were brought into ſo good a Poſture, that ſome could hardly forbear too much Dependance on our Preparations. But it being more particularly Apprehended, that in the intended *Invaſion*, the *Indians*, aſſiſted by the *French*, would make a Deſcent upon our *Frontiers* by *Land*, Major *March* was adviſed therefore to employ ſome of his Forces in Scouting about the Woods. Before the Major arrived at *York*, a Party of the Enemy kill'd a Man that ſtood Centinel for ſome of his Neighbours at Work in the Marſh at *Wells*; and catching another *Alive*, they carried him a Mile and half off, and Roaſted him to *Death*: But Captain *Bracket*, that followed them *quite* as far as *Kennebunk*, did but *almoſt* overtake them: For truly, Reader, our Soldiers cannot, as Antiquity reports the Old *Grecian* and *Roman* Soldiers could, March at a running Pace or Trot heavily Loaded, Five and Twenty Miles in Four Hours; but rather ſuſpect whether thoſe Reports of Antiquity be not Romantick. Three Soldiers of *Saco Fort*, after this cutting ſome *Fire-wood* on *Cow-Iſland*, for the uſe of the Fort, were by the *Indians* cut off: while that Lieutenant *Fletcher* with his Two Sons, that ſhould have Guarded them, went a *Fowling*; and by doing ſo, *they* likewiſe fell into the *Snare*. The *Indians* carrying theſe Three Captives down the River in one of their *Canoos*, Lieutenant *Larabe*, that was abroad with a Scout, way-laid them; and Firing on the foremoſt of the *Canoos* that had Three Men in it, they all Three fell and ſank in the *River of Death*. Several were killed aboard the other *Canoos*; and the reſt ran their *Canoos* aſhore, and eſcaped on the other ſide of the River; and one of the *Fletchers*, when all the *Indians* with him were killed, was delivered out of the Hands which had made a Priſoner of him; tho' his poor Father afterwards died among them. Hereupon Major *March*, with his Army, took a Voyage farther Eaſtward, having ſeveral *Tranſport Veſſels* to accommodate them. Arriving at *Caſco-Bay*, they did, upon the Ninth of *September*, come as Occult as they could, further Eaſt among the Iſlands, near a Place called *Corbin's Sounds*; and Landed before Day at a Place called *Damaſcotta River*; where, before half of them were well got aſhoar, and drawn up, the ſcarce yet expected Enemy entertained them with a *Volley* and an *Huzza!* None of ours were hurt; but Major *March* repaid 'em in their own *Leaden Coin*; and it was no ſooner Light but a *Conſiderable Battel* enſued. The Commanders of the *Tranſport Veſſels* were Perſons of ſuch a Mettle, that they could not with any patience forbear going aſhore to take a part of their *Neighbours Fare*; but the Enemy ſeeing things operate this way, fled into their Fleet of *Canoos*, which hitherto lay out of ſight, and got off as *faſt* and as *well* as they could, leaving ſome of their *Dead* behind them, which they never do, but when under extream Diſadvantages. Our Army thus beat 'em off, with the loſs of about a Dozen Men, whereof one was the Worthy Captain *Dymmock* of *Barnſtable*; and about as many Wounded, whereof one was Captain *Philips* of *Charlestown*; and in this Action Captain *Whiting*, a Young Gentleman of much *Worth* and *Hope*, Courageouſly acting his Part as Commander of the *Forces*; the *Helpers of the War*, which the Colony of *Connecticut* had Charitably lent unto this Expedition, had his Life remarkably reſcued from a Bullet grazing the top of his Head. But there was a Singular Providence of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the whole of this Matter. For by the ſeaſonable *Arrival* and *Encounter* of our Army, an horrible Deſcent of *Indians*, which probably might have laid whole Plantations Deſolate, was moſt happily *Defeated*. And at the ſame time, the Signal Hand of Heaven gave a *Defeat* unto the Purpoſes of the *French Squadrons* at Sea, ſo that they had ſomething elſe to do, than to Viſit the Coaſt of *New-England*.

ARTICLE XXVII.

The End of the Year; *and, we hope, of the* War.

O *Thou Sword of the Wilderneſs, when wilt thou be quiet?* On *Sept.* 11. A Party of the Enemy came upon the Town of *Lancaſter*, then prepared for *Miſchief* by a wonderful Security, and they did no little *Miſchief* unto it. Near Twenty were killed, and among the reſt Mr. *John Whiting*, the Paſtor of the Church there: Five were carried *Captive*; Two or Three *Houſes* were burnt, and ſeveral *Old People* in them. Captain *Brown* with Fifty Men purſued them, till the Night ſtopp'd their purſuit; but it ſeems a ſtrange *Dog* or two, unknown to the Company, did by their Barking alarum the Enemy to riſe in the Night, and Strip and Scalp an *Engliſh* Captive Woman, and fly ſo far into the Woods, that after Two Days Bootleſs Labour our Men returned. *November* arrived before any farther *Bloodſhed*; and *then* 'twas only of one Man in the *Woods* at *Oyſter-River*. *December* arrived with the welcome Tidings of a *Peace* concluded between *England* and *France*; which made us hope

that

that there would be little more of any *Bloodſhed* at all. The *Winter* was the ſevereſt that ever was in the Memory of Man. And yet *February* muſt not paſs without a Stroke upon *Pemmaquid Chub*, whom the Government had mercifully permitted, after his *Examination*, to retire unto his Habitation in *Andover*. As much out of the way as to *Andover*, there came above Thirty Indians, about the middle of *February*, as if their Errand had been for a *Vengeance* upon *Chub*, whom (with his Wife) they now Maſſacred there. They took Two or Three Houſes, and Slew Three or Four Perſons; and Mr. *Thomas Barnard*, the worthy Miniſter of the Place, very narrowly eſcaped their *Fury*. But in the midſt of their *Fury* there was one piece of *Mercy*, the like whereof had never been ſeen before: For they had got Colonel *Dudley Bradſtreet*, with his Family, into their *Hands*; but perceiving the Town Muſtering to follow them, their *Hearts* were ſo changed, that they diſmiſſed their Captives without any further Damage unto their Perſons. Returning back by *Haverhil*, they *kill'd* a Couple, and a Couple they *took*, with ſome remarkable Circumſtances worthy to be made a *diſtinct Hiſtory*. But, Reader, we are now in Haſte for to have our *preſent Hiſtory* come unto an End: And though the end of this *Year* did not altogether prove the end of the *War*; for on *May* 9. 1698. the Indians Murdered an old Man at *Spruce-Creek*, and carried away Three Sons of that old Man, and wounded a Man at *York*: Yet we were not without proſpect of our Troubles growing towards a Period. And even in that very Murder at *Spruce-Creek* there fell out one thing that might a little encourage our Hopes concerning it. The Murderer was a famous kind of a *Giant* among the Indians; a Fellow Reputed Seven Foot High: This Fellow kill'd the poor old Man in cold Blood, after he had Surrendred himſelf a Priſoner: But behold, before many Hours were out, this famous and bloody Fellow accidentally ſhot himſelf to Death by his Gun going off, when he was fooliſhly pulling a Canoo to the Shore with it.

The laſt bloody Action that can have a Room in our Story is this.

The *Indians*, (though ſometimes it hath been much doubted, *What Indians!*) have in this War made ſeveral Deſcents upon ſome of the upper Towns that were our moſt *Northerly Settlements* upon *Connecticut*-River. But the Pious and Honeſt People in thoſe Towns, have always given them a brave Repulſe, and had a notable Experience of the Divine Favour to them in their Preſervations. *Deerfield* has been an Extraordinary Inſtance of Courage in keeping their *Station*, though they have lived all this while in a very *Pihahiroth*; and their worthy Paſtor Mr. *John Williams*, deſerves the Thanks of all this Province, for his Encouraging them all the ways Imaginable to *Stand* their Ground. Once the Enemy was like to have ſurpriſed them into a grievous Deſolation; but *he*, with his Praying, and Valiant Little Flock, moſt happily repelled them. And now about the middle of *July*, 1698. a little before Sun-ſet, *Four Indians* killed a Man and a Boy in *Hatfield* Meadows, and carried away Two Boys into Captivity. The Advice coming to *Deerfield* in the Night, they preſently Diſpatched away Twelve Men to way-lay the Enemy coming up the River; having firſt look'd up unto the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that they might find the *Enemy*, and harm none but the *Enemy*, and Reſcue the Children which the *Enemy* had ſeized upon. After a Travel of near Twenty Miles, they perceived the *Indians* in their *Canoos* coming up the River, but on the other ſide of it, within a Rod or Two of the oppoſite Shore: Whereupon they ſo *Shot* as to *Hit* one of the *Indians*, and then they all Jumpt out of the *Canoos*, and one of the Boys with them. The *wounded Salvage* crawled unto the Shoar; where his *Back* being broken, he lay in great Anguiſh, often Endeavouring with his Hatchet for to knock out his own *Brains*, and tear open his own *Breaſt*, but could not: And another *Indian* ſeeing the Two Boys getting one to another, deſign'd 'em a Shot, but his Gun would not go off: Whereupon he followed 'em with his Hatchet for to have knock'd 'em on the Head; but juſt as he came at 'em, one of our Men ſent a *Shot* into him that ſpoil'd his Enterprize; and ſo the Boys getting together into one *Canoo*, brought it over to the Friends thus concerned for them. Theſe good Men ſeeing their Exploit performed thus far; *Two Indians* deſtroy'd, and *Two Children* delivered, they fell to *Praiſing of God*; and One young Man particularly kept thus Expreſſing himſelf; *Surely, 'tis God, and not we, that have wrought this Deliverance!* But as we have ſometimes been told, that even in the Beating of a *Pulſe*, the dilating of the Heart, by a *Diaſtole* of Delight, may be turned into a contracting of it, with a *Syſtole* of Sorrow: In the beating of a few *Pulſe*, after this, they ſent Five or Six Men with the *Canoo*, to fetch the other which was lodged at an Iſland not far off, that they might purſue the other *Indians*: When thoſe Two *Indians* having hid themſelves in the High-graſs, unhappily Shot a quick *Death* into the young Man, whoſe Expreſſions were but now recited. This hopeful young Man's Brother-in-Law was intending to have gone out upon this Action: but the young Man himſelf importuned his Mother to let *him* go: Which, becauſe he was an *only Son*, ſhe denied; but then fearing ſhe did not well to *withhold her Son* from the Service of the Publick, ſhe gave him leave: Saying, *See that you do now, and as you go along, reſign, and give give up your ſelf unto the Lord; and I deſire to reſign you to him!* So he goes, and ſo he dies; and may *he* be the *laſt* that falls in a long and ſad *War* with *Indian Salvages!*

ARTI-

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Epilogue *of a long* Tragedy.

FOR the preſent then the *Indians* have *done* Murdering; they'll *do ſo no more till next Time.* Let us then have *done* Writing, when we have a little informed our ſelves what is become of the chief *Murderers* among thoſe Wretches, for whom, if we would find a *Name* of a length like one of their own *Indian* Long-winded words, it might be,

Bombardo-gladio-fun haſti-flammi-loquentes.

Major *Convers*, and Captain *Alden*, in purſuance of Inſtructions received from the Lieut. Governour and Council, arriving at *Penobſcot* on *Octo.* 14. 1698. were there informed, that *Madockawando*, the noted Sagamore, with ſeveral other *Sachims* of the Eaſt, were lately Dead. And Six Days after this, the chief *Sachims* now living, with a great Body of Indians, entertained them with a Friendly Diſcourſe; wherein they ſaid, That the Earl of *Frontenac* had ſent them word, there was a *Peace* concluded between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and that one of the Articles in the *Peace* was, for Priſoners on both ſides to be Returned, and they were reſolved to Obey the Earl of *Frontenac* as their Father; and accordingly ſuch Priſoners of ours as they had now at Hand might immediately Return, if *we* could *Perſwade* them, for *they* would not *Compel* them. When our Engliſh Meſſengers argued with them upon the *Perfidiouſneſs* of their making a *New War* after their *Submiſſion*, the *Indians* replied, That they were Inſtigated by the *French* to do what they did, againſt their own Inclinations; adding, That there were Two *Jeſuits*, one toward *Amonoſcoggin*, the other at *Narridgaway*, both of which they deſired the Earl of *Bellomont*, and the Earl of *Frontenac*, to procure to be Removed; otherwiſe it could not be expected that any *Peace* would continue long. The *Indians* alſo, and the *Engliſh* Priſoners, gave them to underſtand, that the laſt *Winter*, many, both *Indians* and *Engliſh* Priſoners, were ſtarved to Death; and particularly, *Nine Indians* in one Company went a Hunting, but met with ſuch hard Circumſtances, that after they had Eat up their *Dogs*, and their *Cats*, they died horribly Famiſhed: And ſince the laſt Winter, a grievous and unknown *Diſeaſe* is got among them, which conſumed them wonderfully. The Sagamore *Saquadock* further told them, That the *Kennebeck* Indians would fain have gone to War again this laſt Summer, but the other *Refuſed*, whereupon they likewiſe *Deſiſted:* And they Reſolved now to *Fight no more*; but if any Ill Accident or Action ſhould happen on either ſide, he did in the Name of the Indians Deſire, that we would not preſently make a *War* upon it, but in a more amicable way compoſe the Differences.

¶ That the *Indian* Affairs might come to be yet more exactly underſtood, the General Aſſembly of the Province employ'd Colonel *John Phillips*, and Major *Convers*, to ſettle them. Theſe Gentlemen took a Difficult and a Dangerous Voyage, in the Depth of Winter, unto the Eaſtern Parts in the Province-Galley, then under the Command of Captain *Cyprian Southack*; and the Principal *Sagamores* of the *Indians* there coming to them, did again Renew and Subſcribe the *Submiſſion* which they had formerly made in the Year 1693. with this Addition unto it.

'And whereas, notwithſtanding the aforeſaid 'Submiſſion and Agreement, the ſaid *Indians* 'belonging to the Rivers aforeſaid, or ſome of 'them, thro' the ill Counſel and Inſtigation of 'the *French*, have perpetrated ſundry Hoſtilities 'againſt His Majeſties Subjects the *Engliſh*, and 'have not delivered and returned home ſeveral 'Engliſh Captives in their Hands, as in the ſaid 'Submiſſion they Covenanted.

'Wherefore we whoſe Names are hereunto 'Subſcribed, Sagamores, Captains, and Principal 'Men of the *Indians* belonging unto the Rivers 'of *Kennebeck*, *Ammonoſcoggin*, and *Saco*, and 'Parts adjacent, being ſenſible of our great Of'fence and Folly, in not complying with the 'aforeſaid Submiſſion and Agreement, and alſo 'of the Sufferings and Miſchiefs that we have 'hereby expoſed our ſelves unto, do in all Hum'ble and moſt Submiſſive manner caſt our 'ſelves upon His Majeſties Mercy, for the Par'don of all our Rebellions, Hoſtilities, and Vio'lations of our Promiſes, praying to be Recei'ved into His Majeſties Grace and Protecti'on; and for, and on behalf of our ſelves, and of 'all other the Indians, belonging to the ſeveral 'Rivers and Places aforeſaid, within the Sove'raignty of His Majeſty of *Great Britain*, do a'gain acknowledge and profeſs our Hearty and 'Sincere Obedience unto the Crown of *Eng'land*, and do ſolemnly Renew, Ratifie, and 'Confirm all and every of the Articles and A'greements contained in the aforeſaid Recited 'Commiſſion. And in Teſtimony thereof, we 'the ſaid Sagamores, Captains, and Principal 'Men, have hereunto ſet our ſeveral Marks and 'Seals at *Caſco-Bay*, near *Mares-Point*, the Se'venth Day of *January*, in the Tenth Year of 'the Reign of His Majeſty King WILLIAM 'the Third, *Annoque Domini*, $169\frac{8}{9}$.

In the Preſence of *James Convers.* *Cyprian Southack.* *John Gills*, Interpreter, And *Scodook*, alias *Sampſon.*	Subſcribed by *Moxus*, —and a Great Number more.

At this time alſo, the *Indians* Reſtored as many of the *Engliſh Captives* in their Hands as were able to Travel above an Hundred Miles in this terrible Seaſon of the Year, from their Head-quarters down to the Sea-ſide; giving all poſſible

poſſible Satiſfaction for the Reſtoration of the Reſt as Early in the Spring as there could be any Travelling.

The Condition of theſe *Captives* has afforded many very *Remarkable Things*, whereof 'tis a Thouſand Pities that ſo many are loſt. But becauſe One of the Two Gentlemen Employ'd as *Commiſſioners* for the Treaty with the *Indians*, took certain Minutes of *Remarkable Things* from ſome of the Captives, I am willing to give the Reader a Taſte of them.

At *Mares-Point* in *Caſco-Bay*,
Jan. 14. $169\frac{8}{9}$.

'THE Captives informed me, that the *Indians* have Three Forts at *Narridgawog*, and *Narrackomagog*, and *Amaſſacanty*. And at each of theſe Forts they have a *Chappel*, and have *Images* in them.

'They informed me, that Three Captives in one *Wigwam* were ſtarved to Death laſt Winter.

'*Mary Fairbanks*, and *Samuel Hutching*, and ſome other Captives, told me, that *Jonathan Hatchin* belonging to *Spruce-Creek*, a Lad Fourteen Years old, they met him crying for want of Victuals, for in Two or Three Days he had nothing to Eat. Afterward as he was going to fetch ſome Wood, he felt ſomething hard in his Boſom. He put in his Hand, and unto his Aſtoniſhment he found there Two Great Large Ears of *Indian Corn*, which were very well Roaſted. He Eat them, and knew not how they came unto him.

'Some other of the Captives told me, that one *Mary Catter*, (which Perſon we now brought home with us, belonging to *Kittery*) her Maſter, and many other Indians, came down to *Caſco-Bay*. There ſeeing ſome Sloops, or Shallops, they thought they were the Engliſh coming upon them, and ran away into the Woods, and left the ſaid *Mary Catter* very Sick in the *Wigwam*, without any thing at all to Eat. They ſtaid away many Days; but left a Fire in the *Wigwam*. She lay wiſhing for ſomething to Eat, and at length in came a *Turtle*. She got *that*, and Eat it; but afterwards began to Deſpair of out-living the *Famine*, which was returned upon her. At length, when ſhe was very Hungry, in came a *Partridge*; ſhe took a Stick and Struck it, and Dreſt it, and Eat it. And by that time ſhe was Hungry again, her Maſter came to look after her.

'They tell of ſeveral of the *Indians* that have kill'd themſelves with their own *Guns*, in taking them out of their *Canoos*.

'*Aſſacombuit* ſent *Thomaſin Rouſe*, a Child of about Ten Years old, unto the Water-ſide to carry ſomething. The Child cried: He took a Stick and ſtruck her down: She lay for Dead: He took her up and threw her into the Water: Some Indians not far off ran in and fetch'd her out. This Child we have now brought Home with us.

'This *Aſſacombuit* hath killed and taken this War, (tehy tell me) an Hundred and Fifty Men, Women, and Children. A Bloody Devil.

Thus the Paper of Minutes.

The Reader now has nothing but *Peace* before him. Doubtleſs he comforts himſelf with Hopes of *Times* better to *Live* in, than to *Write* of!

BUT that which yet more aſſures a *Break of Day* after a long and ſad *Night* unto us, is, That the Beſt *King* at this Day upon Earth, and the *Greateſt Monarch* that ever Sway'd the Scepter of *Great Britain*, hath Commiſſion'd a Noble Perſon, who hath in him an Illuſtrious *Image* of his own *Royal Virtues*, to take the Government of theſe Provinces; and he is accordingly Arrived now near our Horizon. When the Schools of the Jews delivered, that there were *Three Great Gifts* of the Good God unto the World, the *Law*, the *Rain*, and the *Light*; *R. Zeira* added, I pray let us take in *Peace* for a *Fourth*. All theſe *Four Gifts* of God are now enjoy'd by *New England*: But I muſt now ask, that our Hope of a *Fifth* may be added unto the Number; which is, A GOVERNOUR of Signalized Virtues. To the truly Noble Earl of BELLOMONT the whole *Engliſh Nation* muſt own it ſelf Endebted while it is a Nation, for the moſt Generous and Succeſsful Zeal with which he Laboured for thoſe *Acts of Parliament*; by Aſſenting whereunto, the Mighty WILLIAM hath Irradiated *England* with *Bleſſings* that it never ſaw before *His* Happy Reign: *Bleſſings* richly worth all the Expences of a *Revolution*. *England* owes no leſs Immortal Statues unto the Earl of *Bellomont*, than *Ireland* unto his Illuſtrious Anceſtors. But the *Continent* of *America* muſt now Share in the Influence of that Noble Perſon, whoſe Merits have been Signalized on the moſt famous *Iſlands* of *Europe*, and the greateſt Perſon that ever ſet Foot on the *Engliſh Continent* of *America* is now Arrived unto it. We are now ſatisfying our ſelves in the expectations of the Great and Good Influences to be derived from the Conduct of a Governour, in whom there will meet,

—*Virtus & Summa poteſtas.*

And now, Reader, I will conclude our Hiſtory of the *Indian War*, in Terms like thoſe uſed by the *Syrian* Writer at the Concluſion of his Book;

Finis, per Auxilium Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, menſe Duodecimo, per manus peccatoris pauperis & Errantis.

¶ ARTI-

ARTICLE XXIX.

Quakers Encountred.

FOR the preſent then we have done with the *Indians:* But while the *Indians* have been thus moleſting us, we have ſuffered Moleſtations of another ſort, from another ſort of Enemies, which may with very good Reaſon be caſt into the ſame *Hiſtory* with them. If the *Indians* have choſen to prey upon the *Frontiers* and *Out-Skirts* of the Province, the *Quakers* have choſen the very ſame *Frontiers*, and *Out-Skirts* for their more *Spiritual Aſſaults*; and finding little *Succeſs* elſewhere, they have been Labouring *inceſſantly*, and ſometimes not *unſucceſsfully*, to Enchant and Poiſon the *Souls* of poor People, in the very Places where the *Bodies* and *Eſtates* of the People have preſently after been devoured by the Salvages. But that which makes it the more agreeable, to allow the *Quakers* an *Article* in our *Hiſtory* of the *Indians*, is, that a certain ſilly Scribler, the very Firſt-born of *Nonſenſicality*, (and a *Firſt born* too, that one might Salute as the Martyr *Polycarp* once did the wicked *Marcion*, (One *Tom Maule*, at this time living in *Salem*, hath expoſed unto the Publick a Volume of *Nonſenſical* Blaſphemies and Hereſies, wherein he ſets himſelf to Defend the *Indians* in their Bloody Villanies, and Revile the Country for Defending it ſelf againſt them. And that the *Venom* of this Pamphlet might be improved unto the *Heighth* of *Slanderous Wickedneſs*, there hath been ſince added unto it in another Pamphlet, a parcel of Ingredients compounded for Miſchief, as if *by the Art of the Apothecary*. None but he whom the Jews in their *Talmuds* call, *Bentamalion*, could have inſpired ſuch a Slanderer! Have the *Quakers* ever yet Cenſured this their Author for Holding-forth in his *Alcoran*, [pag. 221.] *That the Devil, Sin, Death, and Hell, are but Nothing, they are but a Non-Entity:* And, [pag. 183.] That *all Men who have a Body of Sin remaining in them, are* Witches? I have cauſe to believe that they never did! Nor that they ever adviſed him to pull in his *Horns*, from goring the ſides of *New England* with ſuch Paſſages as thoſe in [pag. 195.] the ſame horrible Pamphlet: *God hath well rewarded the Inhabitants of* New-England *for their Unrighteous Dealings towards the Native Indians, whom now the Lord hath ſuffered to reward the Inhabitants with a double meaſure of Blood, by Fire and Sword, &c.* And thoſe *Unrighteous Dealings* he Explains to be the killing of the *Indians*, (or Murdering of them) by the Old Planters of theſe *Colonies* in their *Firſt Settlement*. Thus are the Aſhes of our *Fathers* vilely *ſtaled* upon by one, who perhaps would not ſtick at the Villany of doing as much upon their *Baptiſm* it ſelf. I muſt tell you, Friends, that if you don't publickly *give forth a Teſtimony* to defie *Tom Maule*, and *his Works*, it will be thought by ſome, who it may be don't wiſh you ſo well as I do, that you own this *Bloody Stuff:* Which doubtleſs you'll not be ſo ill adviſed as to do. But certainly if the good People of *New-England* now make it not a Proverb for a *Liar* of the Firſt Magnitude, **He is as very a Liar as** TOM MAULE, they will deprive their Language of one Significant Expreſſion which now offers it ſelf unto them.

Let us now leave our Friend *Maule*'s Works as a fit Volume to be an *Appendix* unto the Famous *Tartaretus*, and worthy of a Room in *Pantagruel*'s Library. The fitteſt way to anſwer him, would be to ſend him to *Boſton Woods!*

In the mean time I owe unto the Publick a piece of *Hiſtory*, which it may be for the Safety of our *Northern Towns* to be acquainted withal. Know, Sirs, that once the Famous *George Keith* undertook to be the Champion of our *New-Engliſh* Quakers, and bid fair to be the very *Dalac*, or *Preſter John*, of all the Engliſh *Tartars*; but a Miniſter of *Boſton*, upon that occaſion, publiſhing a Book, Entituled, *Little Flocks guarded againſt grievous Wolves*, could not but complain of it as a very *Scandalous Thing* in *George Keith*, to maintain the Points of the *Foxian Quakeriſm*, while he really differed from them. All this while *George Keith* was admired by our *Quakers* as an *Apoſtle*, or an *Oracle:* But he finding it impoſſible to maintain the groſs Tenets of the common *Quakers*, preach'd unto them the Neceſſity of believing on a *Chriſt without*, as well as a *Chriſt within*. Hereupon there grew ſuch alienations between him and the other *Quakers*, (who had been taught by *George Fox* to ſay, *The Devil is in them who ſay, they are ſaved by Chriſt without them*) that he not only has written divers Learned Books to confute thoſe very Doctrines of the Common *Quakers*, which the Paſtors of *New-England* had upon his Provocation written againſt, but alſo has therefore undergone a Storm of *Perſecution* from the Friends in *Penſilvania:* Yea, 'tis verily thought that poor *George* would have been made a Sacrifice to Squire *Samuel Jennings*, and the reſt of the *Penſilvanian Dragons*; and that ſince a Crime which their Laws had made *Capital*, was mention'd in the *Mittimus* whereby *Keith* was committed, they would have Hang'd him, if a *Revolution* upon their Government had not ſet him at liberty. Being by the Fines, and Goals, and Fierce Uſages of the *Quakers* in *Penſilvania*, driven over to *England*, the wonderful Hand of God hath made this very Man, I think I may ſay, incomparably the greateſt *Plague* that ever came upon that Sect of *Energumens*. Although he do himſelf ſtill retain the Name of a *Quaker*, yet he hath in one Treatiſe after another Earneſtly called upon the Divines throughout the Nation more Vigorouſly to Employ their *Talents* againſt the *Quakers*, as a more *Dangerous Generation* of People than they are well aware; and he did in the Year 1696. with the leave of the *Lord Mayor*, Challenge the *Quakers* to make their

their Appearance at *Turners-Hall*, in the chief City of *Europe*; where he proved unto the Satiſfaction of a vaſt Aſſembly, that the chief Writers of the *Quakers* aſſert *Chriſt* neither to be *God*, nor *Man*; and that they deny *Chriſt* to be pray'd unto; and that they had affirm'd, *Chriſt's outward Blood ſhed on the Ground, to be no more than the Blood of another Saint*; and that they had charged him with *New Doctrine*, for directing to *Faith* in *Chriſt without us*, as well as *within us*; and that at their Meetings they had cenſured him, for ſaying, *That Chriſt's Body came out of the Grave*, which they ſay, *It never did*: And many more ſuch horrid Matters. To confirm theſe things, beſides the grievous *Bites* which *Francis Bugg*, one of their late Friends hath given them, one *Daniel Leeds*, without wholly caſting off the Profeſſion of a *Quaker*, hath lately Printed a Book, wherein he produces above *Threeſcore* Inſtances of the *Flat Contradictions* which he hath obſerved in the Books of the *Friends*, that have moſt pretended unto *Infallibility*; and he demonſtrates from evident Matter or Fact, that though they declared unto the World, *That their Sufferings had been greater, and more unjuſt, than the Sufferings of Jeſus and his Apoſtles*, yet they themſelves were no ſooner mounted into the Seat of Government, than they fell to *Perſecuting* as bad as any in the World. Albeit *Fox* writes, *They that cauſe People to be put in Priſon, and have their Goods taken away, are Diſorderly Treachers, and ſhall be rooted out*: Nevertheleſs, *Leeds* proves by many Examples, that the *Penſilvanians* did it even upon their own Friends, for meer *Scruples* of their *Conſciences*. 'Tis reported, the *Quakers* are ſo confounded at this Book of *Leeds*, that they have been at the charge to buy up the *whole Impreſſion* of it, and ſo to Stifle and Smother it: If it be ſo, I hope 'twill but produce a *New Impreſſion* of ſo rare a Book. The *Marvellous Providence* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, having thus employ'd the Pens of the *Quakers* themſelves to warn you, that you beware of *Quakeriſm*, it will be a marvellous Infatuation in any of *you*, after this to be led away with *that Error of the Wicked*. Reader, make a Pauſe, and here Admire the *Marvellous Providence* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt! The firſt and great Apoſtle of the *Quakers*, even *George Fox*, the Shooe-maker, in his *Great Myſtery*, pag. 94. excludes from the Church of Chriſt thoſe who *are not Infallible in Diſcerning the Hearts of other Men*. Whereas now in Spite of all their *Infallibility*, ſuch Friends as *Keith* (and *Leeds*) whom they once admired, profeſs that they never in their *Hearts believed*, as the Common *Foxian Quakers* do; and *Quakeriſm* ſuffers from none in the World more than theſe. But that I may a little Suggeſt unto you certain Methods of Encountring thoſe Adverſaries of your *Faith*, which *go about ſeeking whom they may deceive*, and whom I do here offer to prove as horrid *Idolaters*, as even thoſe that worſhipp'd the Rats of *Egypt*, if it be fairly demanded of me, I will firſt Recite unto you certain Paſſages of a Diſcourſe, which a Miniſter of *Boſton* had with a very Buſie and Noiſie Teacher among the *Quakers*, (and another of the *Friends*) in his return from his *Viſitation* unto ſome of our Northern Towns, where the giddy people had cry'd him up for a *None-Such*.

Quaker. *We are come to give thee a Friendly Viſit.*

Miniſter. I am glad to ſee you at my Houſe; you ſhall be welcome to the beſt Entertainment my Houſe can afford you.

But will you do me the Favour to let me underſtand the Deſigns upon which you viſit theſe Parts of the Country?

Quaker. *I come to Preach Jeſus Chriſt.*

Miniſter. Excuſe me— What *Chriſt*, I pray?

Quaker. *The ſame Chriſt that appeared unto* Abraham, *and* Iſaac, *and* Jacob; *and that appeared unto* Moſes *in the Buſh, and that was with* Iſrael *in the Wilderneſs*—

Miniſter. I would interrupt you. I perceive that we ſhall be drawn into ſome Diſcourſe. Matter of *Argument* will occurr, I foreſee, in our Diſcourſe. *Argument* ſometimes does draw forth *Words* that may have too much *Warmth* in them, I purpoſe none ſuch. But if you are ſenſible that I do let fall any *one ſuch Word* in our Diſputation, do me the favour to take notice of it unto me, and I'll immediately correct it. Now if you pleaſe—

Quaker. *Thou ſpeakeſt very well. This is but according to the good Report we have heard of thee.*

Miniſter. Friend, I am ſenſible that you are come among us to Preach a *Religion*, different from that which is commonly Preached, Profeſſed, and Practiſed in the Country. If you approve the *Religion* of the Country, I can't ſee where's the Senſe of it, for *you* to take ſuch tedious Journeys for our Illumination. I pray be ſo kind as to let me know what point in our holy *Religion* you do *not* Approve?

Quaker. *'Tis not my Buſineſs here to Enquire into thy Religion. I am come to Preach the Religion of Jeſus Chriſt; the ſame that the Holy Prophets and Apoſtles believed; even the inward Manifeſtation of Chriſt in our Hearts*—

Miniſter. To make ſhort Work on it; I perceive you both to be that ſort of People we call *Quakers*. Now there is among the *Quakers* that extream Uncertainty, Variety, and Contradiction, that no Man can ſay what you hold, any further than each *Individual Perſon* will confeſs his own Tenets. I muſt therefore pray the favour of you to tell me; do you own *George Fox*'s Book, Entituled, *The Great Myſtery?*

Quaker. *'Tis none of our Buſineſs to tell what Books we own, and what we do not own: And it is none of thy Buſineſs to Ask us. I ſay, we own Jeſus Chriſt and his Inward Manifeſtation in our Hearts. And that's enough!*

Miniſter. You'll excuſe me: I do again ask, whether you do own *George Fox*'s Book of *The Great Myſtery?* Becauſe doubtleſs you have Read it. And if you'll ask *me* as much con-

cerning any Book under Heaven, (that I have Read) *Whether* I own it, or, *How much* I own of it, I'll Anſwer you with all the Freedom in the World.

Quaker. *I ſay, what haſt thou to do with* George Fox ? *Or to Examine me ?*

Miniſter. Yes, Friend, I do, and muſt, and will Examine *You.* For you are come to *Hold-forth* unto as many of *my Flock* as you can; and the Word of God bids me to *Try* you. And I have to do with *George Fox* too; becauſe *George Fox* in his Writings has to do with *me.* And if you will ſincerely tell me, whether you own *George Fox*, or no, I ſhall more probably tell *who* you are. In ſhort, if you'll ſay, you Deny and Renounce *George Fox*, then I muſt go another way to Work with you. If you'll ſay, you own him, then I muſt endeavour to ſave you from ſome of his *Damnable Hereſies.*

Quaker. *What Hereſies ?*

Miniſter. Numberleſs. But I do at this time call to mind *Three* of them.

Firſt, *That the Soul of Man is without Beginning, and Infinite.* This is, if I forget not, in the 90th Page of that Book.

Secondly, *That it is not contrary to the Scripture, that God the Father took upon him Humane Nature.* And, *That the Scripture does not tell People of a Trinity, nor Three Perſons in God; but that theſe Three Perſons were brought in by the Pope.*

This is in pag. 246.

Thirdly, *That they that are not compleat in Sanctification, are not compleat in Juſtification.*

This is in pag. 284. Now,

What ſay ye, Sirs ?

Quaker. *What haſt thou to do to Rake into the Aſhes of the Dead? Let* George Fox *alone. Haſt thou any thing to charge upon me ?*

Miniſter. I ſhall know if you'll tell me, whether you own *George Fox*, or no. And you *can* tell me if you *will.* I would be more Civil to *you*, Sirs.

Quaker. *I never ſaw that Book of* George Fox.

[And ſo ſaid the other *Quaker* that was with him.]

Miniſter. Sirs, you aſtoniſh me? What! Never ſee *George Fox*'s Book of *The Great Myſtery* ! 'Tis impoſſible! This thing is to *me* a *Myſtery* ! Sirs, that Book is the very *Bible* of *Quakeriſm.* 'Tis Eſſential unto a *Quaker*, at leaſt unto a *Teaching Quaker* as you are, to be *Indoctrinated* from that Book. Never ſee it, Man !—However, if you ſay ſo, I muſt believe it.

Quaker. [Fell into an Harangue, *Repeating* what he had Preached abroad about the Country; which, becauſe I would miſ-recite nothing, I dare not undertake exactly to Recite in this Place.]

Miniſter. I perceive our Converſation will be to little Advantage, except we get a little cloſer to ſome *certain Point*, which I have hitherto endeavoured, but ineffectually.

Sirs, There are ſeveral Points which I would willingly bring you to. And there happening to be ſeveral of my honeſt Neighbours at Hand, I have pray'd them (with your leave) to walk in, that they may be Witneſſes of what paſſes between us.

Firſt, I'll begin, if you pleaſe, with *this.*

I told you at the beginning, I would not willingly Treat you with one *hard Word.* There is an *hard Word* which will preſently occurr by the unavoidable Courſe of Diſputation. I would Pray you to eaſe me of the Trouble of ſpeaking it. You ſhall your ſelf have the ſpeaking of it.

Quaker. *What's that ?*

Miniſter. I pray, Friend, what doth the Scripture ſay of them that ſay, *They know Jeſus Chriſt*, and yet *keep not His Commandments ?*

Quaker. *Nay, what doſt thou ſay the Scripture ſays in that caſe ?*

Miniſter. You will compel me I ſee—I ſay then, the Scripture ſays, *He that ſays I know Him, and keeps not His Commandments, is a Liar, and the Truth is not in him.* 'Tis in 1 *Joh.* 2. 4.

Quaker. *And what then ?*

Miniſter. Why *this* then. He that ſays I *know Jeſus Chriſt*, and yet *keeps not the Commandments* of Jeſus Chriſt, is a *Liar*, and the *Truth is not in him.*

You ſay, *You know Jeſus Chriſt.* But you muſt give *me* leave to ſay, that you *keep not the Commandments* of Jeſus Chriſt.

Therefore—pray Sirs, do *you* help out the *Concluſion.* I am loth to ſpeak it. You know what it is.

Quaker. *Yes, yes, We know well enough what Concluſion thou wouldeſt be at: Thou wouldeſt ſay, that we are Liars, and that the Truth is not in us.*

Miniſter. Right! Since it muſt be ſo.

Quaker. *But what Commandment of Jeſus Chriſt is there that we don't keep?*

Miniſter. The Commandment of Jeſus Chriſt is, for his Diſciples to be *Baptiſed with Water*; but you *Quakers* do not keep that Commandment of Jeſus Chriſt.

Quaker. *How doſt thou prove that Jeſus Chriſt commanded Baptiſm with Water ?*

Miniſter. I know you muſt have the word *Water*, or nothing will content you; elſe I would have urged for a ſufficient Proof, our Lords Commanding His Miniſters to *Baptiſe* Men, [*Matth.* 28. 19.] this *Command* expreſſes our *Duty.* 'Tis not our *Duty* to *Baptiſe* Men with the *Holy Spirit.* This belongs not unto *Us*, but unto *Him*, whoſe that *Holy Spirit* is. You will not ſay we *Sin*, if we don't *Baptiſe* the Diſciples in all Nations with the *Holy Spirit.* So then it muſt be a *Baptiſm with Water* which is there Commanded by our Lord. But as I ſaid, you muſt have the word *Water*, and you ſhall have it.

The Apoſtle *Peter* ſaid—

Quaker. *The Apoſtle* Peter! *The Apoſtle* Peter! *Thou waſt to prove that Jeſus Chriſt Commanded Baptiſm with* Water, *and now thou art come to the Apoſtle* Peter!

Miniſter. Stay, Friend, not ſo faſt! Will you ſay then, that the Commandments brought by the

the Apoſtle *Peter*, as the Commandments of Jeſus Chriſt, are not the Commandments of Jeſus Chriſt? But however, I'll mend the Expreſſion---

The *Spirit* of Jeſus Chriſt in the Apoſtle *Peter*, (now I hope it fits you!)—

Quaker. [J. S.] *Thou art a Monſter, all Mouth, and no Ears*—

Miniſter. —Prethee talk Civilly; don't make me believe that I am at *Epheſus*. If I were in one of *your* Houſes, I would not give *you* ſuch Language; you had but now a greater Liberty to uſe your *Mouth* than I have hitherto taken; and my *Ears* were Patient. But you foreſee my Argument is going to Pinch you. 'Tis but *Civility* to let me finiſh it.

Quaker. *Thou waſt to prove that Jeſus Chriſt Commanded Baptiſm with Water. And thou haſt not proved it. And therefore thou ſpeakeſt Falſly.*

Miniſter. What do you mean? Theſe little *Shuffles* won't help you.

I ſay, The *Spirit* of Jeſus Chriſt in the Apoſtle *Peter*, after our Lord's Aſcenſion, when it was impoſſible for *John*'s Baptiſm (which was into the *Meſſiah* ſuddenly to come, not already come) to have Place, did ſay, in *Act.* 10. 47. *Can any Man forbid Water, that theſe ſhould not be Baptiſed, which have received the Holy Ghoſt.*

Quaker. *How does this prove that Jeſus Chriſt Commanded theſe to be Baptiſed with Water?*

Miniſter. Thus—

If Jeſus Chriſt had not *Commanded Baptiſm with Water*, any Man might have then *forbid* it.

But no Man could *forbid* it.

Therefore Jeſus Chriſt Commanded it.

Quaker. *Therefore! Therefore!* Argo! Argo! *Why doſt thou think Religion is to be proved by thy* Therefore's, *by thy* Argo's?

Miniſter. Friend, I perceive the Word *therefore* is a very dead-doing ſort of a Word to ye. I'll diſmiſs this terrible Word. I'll only ſay, the Reaſon why none could forbid Believers to be *Baptiſed with Water*, was meerly *becauſe* Jeſus Chriſt Commanded it,

Quaker. BECAUSE, *Why the Word* becauſe *is as bad as the Word* therefore.

Miniſter. [Smiling.] It may be ſo. But in the mean time you are wonderfully unreaſonable! I ſay, why could none *forbid Water* for the faithful to be *Baptiſed?*

Quaker. *Who ſays none could forbid Water? 'Tis only ſaid, Can any Man forbid Water?*

Miniſter. I pray Sirs, and is not this, *none can?*

But I'll bring the Matter to bear upon you without thoſe Two dangerous Words, THEREFORE and BECAUSE, at which you are ſo terrified.

I will put the Matter into the Form of a *Queſtion:* And your *Anſwer* to this *Queſtion*, ſhall put an End to our preſent Velitations.

Quaker. *What have we to do to Anſwer thy Queſtions?*

Miniſter. My Queſtion is,

Whether a Man might not forbid in the Worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt, what Jeſus Chriſt himſelf hath no way Commanded?

You can Anſwer this *Queſtion* if you will; and I deſire, I demand your *Anſwer.*

Quaker. *What? For us to anſwer thy Queſtions! That would be to Enſnare our ſelves.*

Miniſter. I am very ſenſible of *that*. Therefore take Notice you are *enſnared* in the *Toils* of your own miſerable Deluſions. But ſtill I ſay, Anſwer my *Queſtion.*

Quaker. *Do you ſee Neighbours? Friend* M. *was to prove that Jeſus Chriſt commanded Baptiſm, and now he's come to a Queſtion!*

Miniſter. So I am truly. And I ſee 'tis a *Queſtion* that puts you into a *Sweat*. I beſeech you to *Anſwer* it. I *require* you to Anſwer it. What ſhall I ſay? I *defie* you to Anſwer it. Pardon my *Cogency*; you *Force* me to't!

Quaker. *I ſay, how does a Queſtion prove that Jeſus Chriſt commanded Baptiſm with Water? And why doſt thou Baptiſe Infants?*

Miniſter. Nay, I'll keep you to the *Queſtion*. Your *Anſwer* to the *Queſtion* will prove it; I am deſigning to make *you your ſelves* prove it. And, Sirs, I do here offer to you, that I will give the beſt *Anſwer* I can to any *Queſtion* in the World that you ſhall put unto *me:* Why are you ſo loth to Anſwer one ſhort *Queſtion* of mine?

Quaker. *I be not obliged to Anſwer thy Queſtion?*

Miniſter. I muſt contrive ſome fair way to *Compel* ſome Anſwer unto this *one Queſtion*. Give me leave therefore to tell you, that if you do not Anſwer this *Queſtion*, you go away conquered and confounded. Yea, Sirs, I muſt in faithfulneſs tell you that you carry away the dreadful Mark of *Hereticks* upon you, even, *to be Condemned in your own Conſcience.* You go away *Self-Condemned*, that you don't keep the *Commandments of Jeſus Chriſt*; and therefore that you are— what you Remember the Apoſtle *John* ſaid concerning you.

Quaker. *I don't Condemn thee for uſing Baptiſm with Water.*

Miniſter. This is no *Anſwer* to the *Queſtion* ſtill: For you don't obſerve it your ſelf; neither you, nor any *Quakers* under Heaven. Wherefore I ſtill urge for an *Anſwer.*

Quaker. *Thou art not Civil to us. Is this thy Civility to Strangers? We have heard a great Fame of thee, for thy Civil and Obliging Carriage towards others that are not of thy Perſwaſion. But now thou are uncivil to us. That which I have to ſay, is, I will keep to that Book, the Bible, and I will Preach what is in that Book.*

Miniſter. [Taking up the Bible] Friend, you pretend then to underſtand *this Book*. I do here make you this offer, that I will immediately turn you to *Ten* ſeveral Places in one Book of this Holy Bible, [the *Chronicles*] and if you can give me a Tolerable Solution of any *one* of them, I'll acknowledge that you are worthy to Preach out of it.

Quaker. *Canſt thou do it thy ſelf?*

Miniſter. I humbly hope I can.

Quaker. *How doſt thou know that I can't?*

Miniſter. I ſay you *Can't.* Now do you Accept my offer: If you *can* I'll own, that I have wrong'd you.

Quaker. *What's that to thee what I can do?*

Miniſter. Look you Neighbours; I think 'tis to no purpoſe to proceed unto any other Points, with ſuch *unreaſonable Folks* as theſe. You ſee how *'tis.* If *you* deſire it, I'll proceed.

Neighbours. No, Sir, 'tis to no purpoſe, they are a People of no Reaſon.

Quaker. *Nay, Friend* M— *I would not have thee to be ſo Hard upon us; I mean thee no Harm. I hear thou takeſt a great deal of pains for the good of thy People; and they will do well, to Hearken to thee. I have rebuked ſome of them for ſpeaking Evil of thee. Yea, it is my Judgment, that thou, and other ſuch Miniſters as thou art, ought Honourably to be maintained by the People.*

Miniſter. You differ from all your *Friends*, methinks. What? Would you have us to be *Hirelings?* 'Tis very ſtrange to hear a *Quaker* plead for the *Maintainance* of our *Miniſtry.* But for your ſatisfaction I'll tell you, the People whom I ſerve I never once in all my Life *ask'd* for any *Maintainance* or Salary; and I never made any *Agreement* with them about aany *Salary* in all my Life.

Quaker. *I ſay, I would not have thee too Hard upon us.* New-England *has Perſecuted our Friends at a grievous Rate.*—

Miniſter. Nay, Friends, be not you too Hard upon *me* about that Matter. I approve *Perſecution* as Little as any of you all. I *abhor* it, I have *Preach'd* againſt it, I have *Writ* againſt it, I have *Bewailed* the Miſtakes that ſome good Men have committed in it. I would have you Treated with all the *Civility* imaginable. I would not have the *Civil Magiſtrate* inflict upon you the damage of one Farthing for your Conſciences.

Quaker. *But now you may ſee how the Judgments of God are come upon the Eaſt-Country, by the Indians for your Perſecution.*

Miniſter. I can't tell *that* neither. For tho' I am ſorry at my Heart that ever you were Perſecuted: Yet I can't ſay, That becauſe *Boſton* was guilty of Perſecution, therefore *Newichawannic*, and *Caſco-Bay*, (Places in other Provinces) that never had any ſuch thing in it, muſt be cut off.

Quaker. *Yes, they Perſecuted at the Eaſtward. There were Two Women of our Friends cruelly Scourged there.*

Miniſter. I ſuppoſe you refer to a Story publiſhed by one *George Biſhop*, a Quaker: He Complains bitterly of the *New-England Perſecution*, becauſe there came Two Quaker Women Stark Naked into our Publick Aſſemblies, and they were carried unto the Whipping-poſt for it. This was in the Northern Parts of the Country, as I have been told. Theſe Baggages, I believe, were the Perſecuted Women you talk of!

Quaker. *Well, and what if they did appear Naked, to ſhow the People the Nakedneſs of their Sins?*

Miniſter. For ſhame, Sirs, let us have no more of this Talk.

Quaker. *Why didſt thou treat* George Keith *ſo hardly?*

Miniſter. He deſerved it when I ſo Treated him. And you *Quakers* have ſince Treated him Ten Times worſe than ever I did. You write whole Books of Railing againſt him. I never got him into *Goals*, and under *Fines.* I ſhould have been Troubled at any that would have done ſo. But *you* have done it. Therefore I believe 'tis beſt for you to leave that Subject.

And ſo after a few other ſmall *Pulls*, the *Saw* ſtood ſtill: The *Conference* ended.

There are Five or Six Witneſſes which I have to atteſt unto the Truth of this Relation which I have here given, of a *Conference* with a *Quaker*, which had all the *Friends* far and near *wondering* (as well as *wandring*) *after him.* And yet theſe *Cretians* boaſted among their Friends, how much they had confounded the Miniſter in this *Conference.*

All that I would preſume now to Commend unto thoſe *Towns*, which have ſuch *Quakers* anoying of them, is this, *Brethren*, carry it *well*, even with all convenient *Civility* and *Humanity*, towards this Poor Deluded People; while you Charge your *Children* and *Servants* that they do not go unto their *Meetings:* And caſt not your ſelves alſo into *Temptation* by needleſly being *there.* But after all, yea, *before all*, make an Experiment which the good People at *Lyn* made a little while ago, with a Succeſs truly obſervable and memorable.

The *Quakers* made a more than ordinary Deſcent upon the Town of *Lyn*, and *Quakeriſm* ſuddenly ſpread there at ſuch a rate as to Alarum the Neighbourhood. The Paſtor of the Church there Indicted a Day for *Prayer with Faſting*, to implore the help of Heaven againſt the unaccountable *Enchantment*; and the good People preſented accordingly, on *July* 19. 1694. their fervent Supplications unto the Lord, that the *Spiritual Plague* might proceed no further. The Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt gave a Remarkable Effect unto this holy Method of Encountring the Charms of *Quakeriſm:* It proved a better Method than any Coercion of the Civil Magiſtrate: *Quakeriſm* in *Lyn* received (as I am informed) a *Death-Wound* from that very Day; the Number of *Quakers* in that Place hath been ſo far from *Increaſing*, that I am told, it hath ſince rather *Decreaſed* notably. Now let other Endangered Plantations *go and do likewiſe.*

The *Quakers* are ſuch Enemies to the Holy *Religion*, which is the Life of *New-England*, that you muſt Excuſe my Concern to have you Fortify'd againſt *their* Attempts alſo, while I am giving you an *Hiſtory* of your *other Enemies.* What *all* of them would be at, methinks, was a little intimated by what *One* of them once Declared. The *Globe-Tavern* was near our Publick and Spacious *Meeting-Houſe* at *Salem*; and a No-

Noted *Quaker* there cauſed a Paper to be ſet upon the Door of that Meeting-Houſe, which had ſuch Stuff as this written in it.

Beware, Beware, and Enter not!
But rather to the Globe, and ſpend a Pot.

This is but like a Paſſage mentioned in the Life of that Excellent Man, Mr. P. *Henry*, lately publiſhed. A Debauched Gentleman in his Revels, Drinking and Swearing, at *Malpas*, was reproved by a Quaker then in his Company. Why, ſaid the Gentleman, I'll ask thee one Queſtion, Whether it is better for me to follow Drinking and Swearing, or to go and hear *Henry?* The Quaker Anſwered; *Nay, of the Two rather follow thy Drinking and Swearing.* Behold the Spirit of *Quakeriſm!* When I once compelled a *Quaker* to confeſs that the Body of Jeſus of *Nazareth* roſe from the Grave, and went up into the Heavens, he begg'd me that I would not improve his Confeſſion, as if made on the behalf of all his Friends. And another of them, as I hear, publickly *Held-forth* in one of his late *Stercorations*, that the *Husks* of the *Swine*, on which the *Prodigal* fed in the *Parable*, were the *Bread* and *Wine* in that which People call *The Sacrament.*

But what will become of thoſe Forlorn Villages, that ſhall reſign themſelves to the Conduct of that *Light within*, which our Sacred Scriptures indeed never expreſly mention but once or twice, and then call it *Real Darkneſs*; and which may lead Men to all this Wickedneſs? There was among the *Mahometans* in the Eaſtern Parts of the World a Sect called **Batenists,** from the *Arabic*, *Baten*, (which ſignifies *within:*) who were the Enthuſiaſts that followed *The Light within*, like our *Quakers*; and on this Principle they did ſuch numberleſs Villanies, that the World was not able to bear them. None of all their Diabolical *Raveries* which I know I am now pulling on my ſelf, and which I value no more than if they came from the *Pouliats* of *Malabar*, ſhall frighten me from Solliciting your *Chriſtian* Cares and Prayers, that you be not over-run with *Engliſh* **Batenists.** And I muſt Sollicitouſly make the Obſervation, that although ſuch a Number of *Quakers* in our Nation be a dreadful *Judgment* of God upon Men, ſmiting them with *Spiritual Plagues* for their Unfruitfulneſs and Unthankfulneſs under the Goſpel; nevertheleſs, 'tis a ſpecial *Favour* of God, that the Number of *Quakers* is no greater; for if they ſhould multiply, not only would *Chriſtianity* be utterly Extinguiſhed, but *Humanity* it ſelf Exterminated. It is well known, that when a *Quaker* had Stolen an *Hour-glaſs*, their *Mahomet, George Fox*, (of whom *Sol. Eccles*, in a Sheet, call'd, *The Quakers Challenge*, page 6. ſays, *He was the Chriſt*,) thus Vindicated it, [*Great Myſt.* pag. 77.] *As for any being moved of the Lord, to take away your Hour-glaſs from you, by the Eternal Power it is owned.* Reader, doſt not thou even *Tremble* to think what a *Dark Land* we ſhould have, if it ſhould ever be fill'd with theſe pretended Followers of the *Light*; who wear the Name of *Tremblers?* In truth, I know not unto what better one might compare them, than unto the *Macheveliors* growing upon St. *Lucia*; Trees which bear Apples of ſuch an Odour and Colour as invites People to Eat thereof; but it is horribly Dangerous to do ſo; for there is no Antidote that can ſecure a Man from ſpeedy Death, who hath once taſted of them. The *Leaf* of the Trees makes an Ulcer on any place touched with it; the *Dew* that falls from them fetches off the Skin; the very *Shadow* ſwells a Man, ſo as to Kill him, if he be not ſpeedily helped.

ARTICLE XXX.

Things to Come.

FROM *Relating* of *Things paſt*, it would no doubt be very acceptable to the Reader if we could paſs to *Foretelling* of *Things to come.* Our *Curioſity* in this point may eaſily come to a Degree *Culpable* and *Criminal.* We muſt be humbly content with what the *God* in whoſe *Hands* are our *Times* hath *Reveal'd* unto us.

Two things we will venture to Inſert.

Firſt, For *our ſelves* at home, let us remember an awful ſaying of our *Goodwin*, quoted by my Reverend Friend Mr. *Noyes*, in his late Excellent Sermon at our Anniverſary *Election.*

'As you look for *Storms* in *Autumn*, and *Froſts* 'in *Winter*, ſo expect *Judgments* where the 'Goſpel hath been Preached; for the Quarrel 'of the Covenant muſt be Avenged.

Secondly, For *the Church* abroad, I am far from deſerting what was aſſerted in the Sermon Preached at our Anniverſary Election, in the Year 1696. 'The *Tidings* which I bring unto 'you are, that there is a **Revolution** and a '**Reformation** at the very Door, which will 'be vaſtly more wonderful than any of the De'liverances yet ſeen by the Church of God 'from the beginning of the World. I do not 'ſay that the *next Year* will bring on this *Hap*'*py Period*; but this I do ſay, the bigger part of 'this Aſſembly, may, in the Courſe of Nature, 'live to ſee it. Theſe things will come on 'with horrible Commotions, and Concuſſions, 'and Confuſions: The mighty Angels of the 'Lord Jeſus Chriſt will make their Deſcent, and 'ſet the World a *Trembling* at the Approaches 'of their Almighty Lord: They will *Shake* Na'tions, and *Shake* Churches, and *Shake* mighty 'Kingdoms, and *Shake once more, not Earth* '*only, but Heaven alſo.*

Unto theſe *Two* Things my Reader will not miſ-improve it, I hope, if I add a *Third* lately fallen into my Hands; and never yet ſo expoſed unto the Publick.

A

A Wonderful Matter Inconteſtably Demonſtrated, and much deſired by ſome good Men to be in this place Communicated.

'MR. *John Sadler*, a very Learned and a 'very Pious Man, and a moſt Exemplary Chriſtian, lay Sick in his Bed at his Manor of *Warmwell* in *Dorſetſhire*: In the Year '1663. in the time of his Illneſs he was viſited 'by Mr. *Cuthbert Bound*, the Miniſter of *Warmwell*.

'Mr. *Sadler* then deſired his Man, (one *Thomas Gray*) to ſee that there ſhould be no Body elſe in the Room, and lock the *Door*, and 'give him the *Key*.

'He then ſat up in his Bed, and asked Mr. '*Bound* and the Attendant *Gray*, whether they '*ſaw* no Body? And whether they did not *hear* 'what a Perſon ſaid that ſtood at the Corner 'of the Chamber? They replied, *No*. He 'wondred at it, and ſaid, *The Man ſpake ſo loud* '*that the whole Pariſh might hear him*.

'Hereupon calling for a *Pen* and *Ink*, he 'wrote what was told him, and made them ſet 'their Hands to it; for he told them, *The Man* '*would not be gone till he had ſeen that done*.

'The *Articles* written down were,

I. 'That there would, after ſo many Months, 'be a *Plague* in *London*, whereof ſo many would 'die, [naming the Number.]

II. 'That the greateſt part of the *City* would 'be *Burnt*, and *Pauls* he particularly ſhow'd 'him Tumbled down into Ruins, as if beaten 'down with great Guns.

III. 'That there would be *Three Sea-Fights* 'between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*.

IV. 'That there would appear *Three Blazing* '*Stars*; the laſt of which would be terrible to 'behold. [He ſaid, the Man ſhow'd him the '*Star*.]

V. 'That afterwards there would come *Three* '*ſmall Ships* to Land in the Weſt of *Weymouth*, 'which would put all *England* in an Uproar, but 'it would come to nothing.

VI. 'That in the Year 1688. there would 'come to paſs ſuch a thing in the *Kingdom*, as 'all the World would take notice of.

VII. 'That after *this*, and *after ſome further* '*Diſturbance*, there would be *Happy Times*: 'And a *Wonderful Thing* would come to paſs, 'which he was not now to declare.

VIII. 'That he and his Man (*Gray*) ſhould '*Die* before the Accompliſhment of theſe 'things; but Mr. *Bound* ſhould live to ſee it.

IX. 'For the Confirmation of the whole, 'the Man thus appearing told him, that he 'ſhould be *Well* the next Day; and there would 'come *Three Men* to viſit him, one from *Ireland*, one from *Guernſey*, and his Brother '*Bingham*.

'Accordingly the Day following Mr. *Sadler* went abroad: And this Day there accidentally met at his Houſe, and ſo Dined with 'him, firſt the Lord *Steel*, who had been Lord 'Chancellor of *Ireland*, and now returning 'from thence in his way to *London*, came to 'ſee Mr. *Sadler*: Secondly, Monſieur *de la* '*Marſh*, a *French* Miniſter from *Guernſey*; 'and Laſtly, his Brother *Bingham*.

'Mr. *Bound* and *Gray*, within Three Days 'after this, made *Affidavit* of it before Colonel *Giles Strangewayes*, and Colonel *Cocker*, 'who is yet Alive.

'Mr. *Daniel Sadler*, and Mr. *John Sadler*, the 'Sons of this Old Mr. *Sadler*, very Serious and 'Worthy Chriſtians, are at this time living in '*Rotterdam*; one of them is His Majeſties *Agent* 'for Tranſportation.

'Mr. *Daniel Sadler*, making his Applications 'to Mr. *Bound* for his Teſtimony about this 'Matter, the ſaid Old Mr. *Bound*, in a Letter 'dated, *Warmwell, Aug.* 30. *O. S.* 1697. aſſerts the Matter at large unto him; and Subſcribes, *This I ſhall Teſtifie before the King* '*himſelf, if occaſion be, when he comes into* 'England.

Yours, Cuthbert Bound, *yet*
Miniſter of Warmwell.

'Mr. *Daniel Sadler* has this Teſtimony 'further fortified by a Letter from one Mr. *Robert Loder*; telling him, that he had met with 'an *Old Copy* of the Depoſitions aforeſaid, which 'accordingly he Tranſcribes for him; and ſeveral yet living in *Dorcheſter* affirmed unto him 'the Truth of the Story.

'The Copies of theſe Letters are now in *Boſton* in *New-England*.

'Mr. *John Sadler* adds his Teſtimony, That 'his Father told unto his Mother and himſelf, 'that he had been told of Remarkable things 'to come to paſs, particularly the *Burning* of '*London* and *Pauls*. But that they were not acquainted with all the Matters he foretold unto Mr. *Bound* and *Gray*. Only he Remembers 'well *they Two* were with him in his Chamber 'alone; and his Father went abroad within a 'Day or Two; and that (according to the Sign 'he had given to them,) the *Three Perſons* aforeſaid viſited him. He adds, that his Father ſpoke 'of leaving in Writing the things that had been 'ſhown to him; and that a little after he ſaw 'once a thin *Octavo* Manuſcript in his Father's 'Study, which he believed had thoſe things in 'it; but after that he could never find it. This 'Teſtimony is dated in *October* 1697.

A Worthy and a Godly Gentleman, at this time living in *Rotterdam*, and well acquainted with both Mr. *Daniel* and Mr. *John Sadler*, ſends this to Mr. *Increaſe Mather* in *New-England*, with a Letter dated 26. *March*. 1698.

READER, I am not Ignorant that many *Cheats* and *Shams* have been impoſed upon the World, under the Notion of Communications from the *Inviſible World*; and I hope I am not becoming a *Viſionary*. But *Fancies* and *Juggles* have their Foundation laid in *Realities*; there would never have been *Impoſtures* of *Apparitions*, and of Communications from the *Inviſible World*, if there never had been *Really* ſome ſuch things

¶ things

things to be Counterfeited and Imitated. *Wiſe Men* therefore will count it a *Folly* in its *Exaltation* and *Extremity*, to deride all Inſtances of *Strange things* arriving to us from the *Inviſible World*, becauſe that *Some Things* have been Deluſions. No, 'tis a *Wiſdom* that is pleaſing to God, and uſeful to the World, for a due Notice to be taken of *Rare Things*, wherein we have Inconteſtable *Proofs* of an *Inviſible World*, and of the Intereſt it hath in Humane Affairs. The Narrative of Mr. *Sadler* is advantaged with ſuch Inconteſtable *Proofs*, and contains in it ſuch notable Paſſages, that I believe I do well to lay it before Serious Men; and I believe no Serious Men will play the *Buffoon* upon it. By no means pretend I to paſs any Judgment upon this *Remarkable* Narrative; by no means do I preſume to tell what I think of it, any more than this, that it is *Remarkable*. Neverthelesſs, for the Caution of unwary Readers, I will annex the Words of an Excellent Writer upon *Divine Providence*.

'Watch againſt an Unmortified *Itch* after 'Excentrical or Extraordinary Diſpenſations of '*Providence*. *Luther* ſaid, *The Martyrs, without the Apparition of Angels, being confirmed 'by the Word of God alone, died for the Name 'of Chriſt; and why ſhould not we acquieſce?* 'And he obſerveth how the *Devil* hath greatly 'deluded Parties who have been gaping after '*Viſions*.

Nor will it be unprofitable to recite the Words of another Author, whom I muſt Quote, as *R. David Kimchi* did uſe to Quote *R. Joſeph Kimchi*, under the Title of *Adoni Avi*.

'*Evil Angels* do now appear more often than '*Good ones*. 'Tis an unwarrantable and a very 'Dangerous thing for Men to wiſh that they 'might ſee *Angels*, and Converſe with them. 'Some have done ſo, and God hath been pro'voked with them for their Curioſity and Pre'ſumption, and hath permitted *Devils* to come 'unto them, whereby they have been Deceived 'and Undone.

More Particular Prognoſtications upon the future State of NEW-ENGLAND.

BUT, Oh, my Dear NEW-ENGLAND, give one of thy Friends leave to utter the *Fears* of thy beſt Friends concerning thee; and conſider what fearful Cauſe there may be for thee to expect ſad **Things to Come**? If every *Wiſe Man* be a *Prophet*, there are ſome yet in thee that can *Propheſie*. *Predictions* may be form'd out of theſe.

¶ *Reaſonable Expectations.*

I. Where *Schools* are not Vigorouſly and Honourably Encouraged, whole *Colonies* will ſink apace into a Degenerate and Contemptible Condition, and at laſt become horribly *Barbarous*: And the firſt Inſtance of their *Barbarity* will be, that they will be undone for want of Men, but not ſee and own what it was that *undid* them.

II. Where Faithful Miniſters are *Cheated* and *Grieved* by the *Sacriledge* of People that Rebel againſt the Expreſs Word of Chriſt, *Let him that is Taught in the Word, Communicate unto him that Teacheth in all good things*, the Righteous Judgments of God will *Impoveriſh* that People; the *Goſpel* will be made lamentably *Unſucceſsful* unto the Souls of ſuch a People; the Miniſters will either be fetch'd away to *Heaven*, or have their Miniſtry made wofully Inſipid by their Encumbrances on *Earth*.

III. Where the *Paſtors* of Churches in a Vicinity deſpiſe or neglect *Formed Aſſociations* for Mutual Aſſiſtance in their Evangelical Services, *Wo to him that is alone*. 'Tis a ſign either that ſome of the *Paſtors* want *Love* to one another, or that others may be Conſcious to ſome *Fault*, which may diſpoſe them to avoid Inſpection; but fatal to the *Churches* will be the Tendency of either.

IV. Where *Churches* have ſome Hundreds of Souls under their *Diſcipline*; but the ſingle *Paſtors* are not ſtrengthened with *Conſiſtories* of *Elders*, or an agreeable number of Wiſe, and Good, and Grave Men, choſen to join with the *Paſtor*, as their *Preſident* in that part of his Work, which concerns the *Well-ruling* of the *Flock*, their *Diſcipline* will by Degrees be utterly loſt; the *Groſſeſt Offenders* will by Degrees, and thro' Parties, be ſcarce to be dealt withal.

V. Where *Paſtors* do not quicken Orderly *Private Meetings* of both Elder and Younger Chriſtians, for Exerciſes of Religion in their Neighbourhood, the Power of *Religion* will obſervably decay among thoſe Chriſtians; the *Seed ſown* in the *Publick* will not ſo much proſper, for want of being *Watred in private*: And when the *Paſtor* ſhall fall Sick, there will not be ſo much as one Company of Chriſtians in all his *Flock* that can come together to pray for his Life.

VI. Where *Churches*, profeſſing a great *Reformation*, ſhall in their *Conſtitution* ceaſe to *Repreſent* unto the *World* the *Holineſs* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of his *Heavenly Kingdom*, they will become loathſome to that *Holy Lord*; their *Glory* is gone, and their *Defence* goes with it; the dreadful Wrath of Heaven will Aſtoniſh the *World* with the things which it will do unto them.

VII. Where *Churches* are loth to give unto *Councils* regularly upon *Complaints* enquiring into their *Adminiſtrations*, an Account thereof, 'tis much to be ſuſpected, that they are Chargeable with *Male-Adminiſtrations*; and if the Advice of regular *Councils* come once to be Trod under Foot by any *Particular Churches*, all ſerious Men will be afraid of joining to ſuch *Unaccountable Societies*.

VIII. Where a mighty Body of People in a Country are violently ſet upon running down the Ancient *Church State* in that Country, and are violent for the Hedge about the *Communion* at the *Lord's Table* to be broken down; and for thoſe who are not admitted unto the *Communion*, to ſtand on equal Terms in all *Votes* with them

them that are; the *Churches* there are not far from a Tremendous Convulſion, and they had need uſe a Marvellous *Temper* of Reſolution with Circumſpection to keep it off.

IX. Where *Churches* are *bent upon Backſliding*, and carried away with a ſtrong Spirit of *Apoſtaſie*, whatever Miniſter ſhall ſet himſelf to withſtand their *Evil Bents*, will pull upon himſelf an inexpreſſible Contempt and Hatred; be his Merits never ſo *Great*, a Thouſand Arts will be uſed for to make him *Little*; he had need be a Man of *Great Faith*, and *Great Prayer*; but God will at length *Honour* ſuch a Man with wonderful Recompences.

X. Where a *Fountain* ſhall become *Corrupt*, there the *Streams* will no longer *Make Glad the City of God*.

XI. The *Goſpel* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt we have with much Expence lately ſent unto ſeveral of our *Southern Plantations*: If it be rejected, there are Terrible things to come upon them; 'twere better to have lived in *Sodom*, than in one of thoſe *Plantations*.

XII. God prepare our dear Brethren in *Connecticut*, for certain *Changes* that are Impending over them.

Finally, There was a Town called *Amyclæ*, which was Ruined by *Silence*. The Rulers, becauſe there had been ſome falſe Alarums, forbad all People under Pain of Death to ſpeak of any *Enemies* approaching them: So, when the *Enemies* came indeed, no Man durſt ſpeak of it, and the Town was loſt. *Corruptions* will grow upon the Land, and they will gain by *Silence*: 'Twill be ſo Invidious to it, no Man will dare to ſpeak of the *Corruptions*; and the Fate of *Amyclæ* will come upon the Land.

Reader, I call'd theſe things *Prophecy*; but I wiſh I be not all this while Writing *Hiſtory*.

Now if any diſcerning Perſons apprehend any *Dangers* to Impend over *New-England*, from any of the *Symptoms* mentioned, it is to be hoped they will employ their beſt Thoughts, how to Anticipate thoſe *Dangers*. And whereas 'tis the Senſe of all Men, who diſcern any thing, that it is in vain to hope for any Good, until a *Spirit of Grace* be poured out from Heaven to diſpoſe Men unto it; I beg them to conſider, whether the only way to obtain that *Spirit of Grace* be not humbly to *ask* it by *Prayer* with *Faſting* before the God of Heaven.

It was therefore an Article in an Advice agreed by ſome of the Principal Miniſters in this *Province*; and with the mention of that Advice, (which doubtleſs, all but the *Sleeping* will follow) I'll conclude; 'Solemn Days of '*Prayer* with *Faſting*, Celebrated in our *Churches*, 'to Implore the Grace of God, for the Riſing 'Generation would probably be of Bleſſed Conſequence, for the turning of our Young People unto the God of our Fathers. The more 'there is this way aſcribed unto *Grace*, the 'more the Grace of God is like to be Communicated; and there is in this way a natural 'and a plentiful Tendency to awaken our Unconverted Youth unto a Senſe of their Everlaſting Intereſts; which, were it generally accompliſhed, a Remarkable *Reformation* were 'therein Effected.

Obſervable

Obſervable Things.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TEN YEARS

Rouled away under the great Calamities of a

WAR

WITH

INDIAN-SALVAGES,

Repeated and Improved in a SERMON at *Boſton* Lecture, 27 *d.* 7 *m.* 1698.

JUDG. VI. 3, 5, 6.

The Children of the EAST *came up againſt them; and they entred into the Land to Deſtroy it; and* Iſrael *was greatly Impoveriſhed.*

PREFACE.

WHEN the *Iſraelites* were engaged in a WAR, they made choice of a *Prieſt* among them, to ſerve ſome of their greateſt Occaſions in it, and after a *Sacred Unction* beſtow'd upon him, we are told by *Maimonides*, he was call'd *Maſhuach Milchamah*, that is to ſay, *Unctus Belli*; which was as much as to ſay, *The Prieſt of the War*.

To bring unto a People profitable Advices and Reflections upon a WAR, wherein they are Engaged, and ſound the *Silver Trumpet* of the Goſpel, with agreeable Notes unto them in it, is to do in ſome ſort the Office of the *Maſhuach Milchamah*; and this Office the enſuing Diſcourſe preſumes to do, with Endeavours that the Voice of Heaven, by the *Trumpet* of our late *War*, may be heard giving a *certain Sound* in theſe *Eccho's* of it.

The Hiſtory of a long *War* hath with all poſſible Care of *Truth* been given you. The Author earneſtly prays, that if the leaſt material *Miſtake* have happened in the Hiſtory, he may be Adviſed, and it may be Corrected. The Noiſe that may be made by a few Sordid People here and there in a Room *Tophetized* with Smoke, and Rhume, and Spittle, and Malice, and Lies, crying out concerning the moſt Conſciencious Eſſays to preſerve *Memorable Truths*, *They are a parcel of Lies!* He values not. But he now tenders to the Acceptance of the more *Civilized Readers* an Improvement of *Memorable Truths*, which it was *His* Duty to *make*, and it will be *Theirs* to *mind*.

THE REMARKABLES Of a Long WAR, Collected and Improved.

Boſton Lecture, 27*d.* 7*m.* 1698.

IF a *Book* of ſome Conſequence be laid open before one that cannot *Read*, he may Look and Gaze upon it; but unto what purpoſe, as long as he cannot underſtand it? This very Compariſon is by the Great *Auſtin* well applied unto the *Judgments* of God. And I will therefore ſo far improve the Compariſon, as to obſerve, that the *Judgments* of God, under which we have been Languiſhing for *Ten Years* together, are a ſort of a *Book* put into our Hands; a *Book* indeed all Written in *Blood*; a *Book* yet full of *Divine Leſſons* for us. But can every Man Read this Terrible *Book?* No, methinks I ſee the *Book* managed like the *Book* brought unto the Bleſſed Prophet of Old in *Iſa.* 29. 12. *The Book is delivered unto him that is not Learned, ſaying, Read this, I pray thee; and he ſaith, I am not Learned.* It will certainly be a Work well becoming a *Miniſter* of the Goſpel, and every ſerious *Chriſtian* will be glad of ſeeing the Work done; to take this *Book*, and help you as well as we can to *Spell* the *Divine Leſſons* contained in it.

Chriſtians, Let us now do a Work, for which the great God hath given us that Warrant, and that Command in

PSAL. CVII. 43.

Who is Wiſe, and will obſerve theſe Things?

THE Various and Marvellous Diſpenſations of the Divine Providence towards the Children of Men, are in this Elegant *Pſalm* admirably ſet before us. Among thoſe Diſpenſations there is a particular Mark ſet upon this, That the God of Heaven *Turns a Fruitful Land into Barrenneſs, for the Wickedneſs of them which dwell therein*; and though Men have *Sown Fields there, and have multiplied greatly, yet they are again diminiſhed, and brought low through Oppreſſion, Affliction, and Sorrow.* Of ſuch Diſpenſations is this Paſſage to be underſtood, as a Queſtion, *Who is Wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things?* But if you will rather take it as a Sentence, it ſtill comes to the ſame Senſe, *Whoſo is Wiſe will obſerve theſe things.* And the *French* Verſion very Expreſſively intimates the *Deſign*, as well as the *Event* of this *Obſervation*; *that ſo they may conſider the Favours of the Lord.* No leſs than Ten Years have rouled away ſince we have been plunged into the Diſtreſſes of a WAR with a Barbarous Enemy. In this WAR we have ſeen the *Fruitful Land* of almoſt one whole Province, and another whole County, *turned into Barrenneſs*; doubtleſs not without Provocations of *Wickedneſs in them who dwelt therein*; Men had *Sown Fields* there along the Shore in Settlements for an Hundred Miles together, and had *Multiplied Greatly* into a Cluſter of *Towns*, (beſides leſſer *Villages*,) that might Challenge the Name of a *Decapolis*, but in this WAR we have ſeen them *diminiſhed again, and brought low, through Oppreſſion, Affliction, and Sorrow.* I am to

to lead you this Day thro' a Spacious Country, which has been on many Accounts the moſt Charming part of *New-England*; and I muſt herewithal ſay, *Come, behold the Works of the Lord, what Deſolations he has made in that Land.* Sirs, 'tis time for us to *Obſerve theſe things*; and this, not with a meer *Athenian*, but with a more *Profitable* Obſervation. I muſt not be Diſcouraged from this Holy Service, by the vain Scoffs of thoſe that *Blaſpheme* all Attempts, to *Conſider the Wondrous Works of God*, as if it were nothing but a *Telling of News in the Pulpit*. The biggeſt part of the Holy Bible, which is but a Relation of ſuch *Wondrous Works*, would be Scoffed by ſuch Prophane Men, if they might not thereby become Obnoxious. No, if *Whoſo is Wiſe will obſerve theſe things*, then let no Man call it Folly to make the *Obſervation*. A long WAR is the *Text* which I am now to inſiſt upon: And if we would approve our ſelves *Wiſe*, after all the *Stripes* that have in this WAR been given us, theſe things will occur to our *Obſervation* in it.

I. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is Wiſe may obſerve* the Conſequence of Entertaining the *Goſpel* of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, and Obtaining and Maintaining the *Ordinances* of that Glorious Goſpel. The *Gadarens* of Old were loth to have any thing of CHRIST in their *Coaſt*: And anon comes a *Roman War* which diſtreſs'd all the Land: But the woful Town of *Gadara* was the very firſt Place Beſieged in that *War*, and ſad things were done unto it. Alas, how little of an *Evangelical Church-State* was there to be ſeen among all our *Eaſtern Settlements*! It hath been for the want of this, that the Judgments of God have more than once forbidden them to be called *Settlements*. The Towns were generally without *Preachers* of CHRIST, and much more generally without *Churches* of CHRIST, for to Irradiate 'em: Yea, not one of the Towns that are utterly broken up, had any *Miniſter* in it for a long while before their Final Darkneſs came upon them. Such a *Way of Living* did content many of them, that it were horrible to tell what Ignorance of CHRIST they were thereby ſunk into. I would never have told you, that ſome Young Men, Twenty Years Old, in this Land, never ſo much as once heard the Name of Chriſt in all their Lives, if I did not think that the God of Heaven required us all to Mourn before him for ſuch an *Horrible thing in the Land*. Indeed, the ſtrange Diſaſters which attended the Firſt Eſſays to ſettle that good Country, made many People imagine the *Indian Sorcerers* had Enchanted the Ground, ſo that no *Engliſh* could Thrive on ſuch an Enchanted Soil. But had they carried the *Goſpel* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt with them, doubtleſs they had Confuted that vain Imagination; all the *Spells* of Hell would have been Inſignificant; there would not have prevailed any *Enchantment* againſt a *Gods-Spel* which we have in our *Goſpel*. The *Original Deſign* of NEW-ENGLAND was to ſettle *Congregations*, wherein the Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be known and ſerved according to his *Goſpel*; and inſtruct *Families* that ſhould be the Nurſeries of thoſe Congregations. The Plantations of the Eaſt had little of this *Illuſtrious Deſign* in their Eye; the Enjoyments of *Gadarens* did ſeem too much to ſatisfie too many of them. *For this Cauſe* we may believe it is, that our Lord JESUS CHRIST looking down from Heaven upon theſe *Unchriſtian Undertakings*, Thunder-ſtruck them with his Indignation: *He ſaw the Fooliſh taking Root, but ſuddenly he Curſed their Habitation.* When ſome of our *Eaſtern People* have been Pining away under the Fatigues of their *Captivity* among the *Indians*, who had Stript them of all they had, *then* they cried out, *Now, now the Lord is Puniſhing of us for our leaving of his Ordinances, and removing to a place of no Goſpel for larger Accommodations in the World, and expoſing our Children to be Bred up like the very* Indians, *into whoſe Hands we are fallen!* That which Invites one to think it may be *for this Cauſe* is the Singular *Diſtinction* and *Protection* which the CHURCHES of our Lord have enjoyed throughout the whole Progreſs of our Calamity. No Places that have had CHURCHES gathered in them, have all this while been broken up, however, ſome of them have had much *Bread of Adverſity, and Water of Affliction.* The Enemy that have come in upon our Land *like a Flood*, carried all before them as an *Irreſiſtible Torrent*, until they came to Places that have CHURCHES as it were to *Garriſon* them. There the Almighty Lord hath check'd the *Proud Waves*, and ſaid, *Hitherto ye ſhall come, and no further!* But here let me add a very obſervable thing: The Lord had ſome of his *Elect* among our *Eaſtern People*; but he has brought thoſe *Elect Home* unto himſelf, by Burning them out of their Homes and Habitations. The *Indians* have driven 'em hither, and here they have met with the Goſpel of Chriſt, and been effectually called unto the Lord, and joined unto our Churches, and bleſſed the Name of God for bringing them unto theſe Churches. *Periiſſent niſi Periiſſent!* Now *whoſo is Wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things*, cannot but wiſh, that the *Folly* of Erecting Plantations, without the Worſhip of the Lord JESUS CHRIST, may be no more committed among us. It was wholeſome Counſel given, and uſually taken in the beginning of *New-England*: 'Let Chriſtians no where 'ſit down without good Miniſters, but let them 'rather tarry where they are, as *Ezra* tarried by 'the River *Ahava*, till he had got ſome *Levites* 'to go with them. And it was even then obſerved, that Places which made Beginnings any long while without Miniſters, were with miſerable *Unſettlements* broken all to pieces. I ſuppoſe our Eaſtern Country will ſhortly again be Peopled: But let the People which intend there to ſettle themſelves in the Fear of God, remember

ber this Admonition; don't venture to form *Towns* without the *Goſpel* in them any more. If the lamentable Experience which you have more than once had, of a Blaſt from Heaven upon Enterprizes to Live without the Goſpel of the Son of God, will not inſpire you with more of Wiſdom for the future, I will foretel your Fate in thoſe awful Words, *Pſal.* 28. 5. *Becauſe they regard not the Works of the Lord, nor the Operation of his Hands, he ſhall deſtroy them, and not build them up.* Yea, but let all *New-England* at the ſame time learn what the Welfare or the Ruin of all will turn upon. The whole World was made for our *Lord Meſſiah*, and the *Curſe* of God will more or leſs plague the World, according to the Reſpects which that *Second Adam*, our *Lord Meſſiah* finds in it. But *New-England* is by a more Eminent Profeſſion that *Immanuel*'s *Land* Let the Intereſts of the Chriſtian Religion in *Reformed Churches* be purſued and preſerved among us, then *All will go well!* Our Acknowledgment of our Lord JESUS CHRIST in CHURCHES, that ſhall be ſo ordered, as to repreſent him and his Kingdom unto the World, this will be our *Glory*; and this *Glory* will be our *Defence*; or as 'tis promiſed in *Iſa.* 4. 5. *Upon all the Glory ſhall be a Defence.* But if once the *Spirit of this World* eat out the Spirit and Power of Religion, and the Order of our *Churches*, and Mens Value for a Room in the *Churches* be loſt, then write *Ichabod* upon all our *Glory*; and let us expect that our Holy Lord will *Spew us out of his Mouth.*

II. In the War that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is Wiſe, may obſerve* in the very *Inſtruments* of our Calamity, ſhrow'd Intimations of the *Provoking Evils*, for which the Righteous God hath Chaſtiſed us by ſuch *Inſtruments.*

When the Miſeries of the *Sword* are inflicted on a People, it becomes them to conſider what *Provocations* they have given to the Almighty God, who *makes Peace, and creates Evil*; *for 'tis he, the Lord, who doth all theſe things.* The *Sword* by which we have been ſo grievouſly harraſſed, hath been in the Hands of God; and if our Father had not been very angry, would he have taken a *Sword* into his Hands? We are Blind before Lightning, we are Deaf unto Thunder, if we do not ſenſibly perceive the *Anger* of God in the Tremendous Rebukes that we have ſuffered: And we are unaccountably and inexcuſably Stupid, if we do not enquire, *What means the Heat of this Anger?* It was once the Commination of God in *Ezek.* 7. 24, 27. *I will bring the worſt of the Heathen, and they ſhall poſſeſs their Houſes, and the Hands of the People of the Land ſhall be Troubled:* Such *Trouble* hath come upon us from the *worſt of the Heathen!* But what was the Cauſe of all? It follows, *I will do unto them after their Way, and I will judge them according to their Deſerts, and they ſhall know that I am the Lord.* It is but ſeaſonable for us now to look back upon our own *Way*, and ſee how much we have *Deſerved* all this Vengeance by going out of the *Way*. Two Perſons in their Travels beholding the horrid Ruins of *Germany*, one of them ſaid, *Hic fuit Hoſtilitas*, behold the Fruit of *Hoſtility!* His Friend anſwered, *Hic fuit Iniquitas*, behold the Fruit of *Iniquity!* If you will Travel over our *Eaſt Country*, how frequent, how diſmal Occaſions will you ſee to Sigh, *See what has been done by Hoſtility!* But there will be as many Occaſions for a ſadder Sigh than that: Namely, *See the ſad Effects of Iniquity!* Now in this Contemplation I do not go to charge them that were once Inhabitants of the now Ruined Plantations with any *Sins*, but what are more or leſs to be found in all our Colonies. I ask no more from our Brethren, who yet Survive the Deſolations that have come upon their Eſtates and Neighbours in thoſe Plantations, but that they join with the reſt of us all in *Searching and Trying of our Ways*, and in *Judging of our ſelves.* For, alas, *Every Mouth muſt be ſtopp'd, and all the Land is become Guilty before God!* Let us all then *Enquire*, what may have been thoſe *Provoking Evils*, for which the *Holy and Bleſſed God* hath given the *Sword* a Commiſſion ſo dreadfully to devour us? But then let us be ſure *to enquire wiſely concerning that matter.* And here I will not *Enquire*, whether thoſe that went before us, might never be too forward in any *Unjuſtifiable Encroachments*, to Poſſeſs and Command thoſe Lands which have ſince proved ſo Expenſive unto us? *Older Men* than I are beſt able to manage that *Enquiry*, though I alſo have heard it made. But that whereupon I rather beſpeak your Thoughts, is this: Will you pleaſe to *Enquire* into the *Properties* and *Qualities* of our *Adverſaries?* 'Tis poſſible, that in their *Properties* and *Qualities* we may read ſomething of thoſe *Miſcarriages*, for which our God hath raiſed them up to be our Adverſaries. It hath been commonly ſeen, that when the People of God have ſinfully come to *Imitate* the *Evil Manners* of *other Nations*, God hath made thoſe very Nations to be a ſore Scourge unto them. And the Senſe of this was that which long ago cauſed many ſenſible Perſons to foretel, which of the *Neighbour Nations* would bring our dear *England* low. Now ſince the *Indians* have been made by our God, *The Rod of his Anger*, 'tis proper for us to *Enquire*, whether we have not in ſome Inſtances too far imitated the *Evil Manners* of the *Indians?* The *Indians* are Infamous, eſpecially for Three Scandalous Vices. Firſt, They are *Liars* of the firſt Magnitude; one cannot believe a Word they ſpeak. Secondly, They are *Sluggards* to a Proverb; they are for any way of Living rather than Work. Thirdly, They are abominably Indulgent unto their *Children*; there is no *Family Government* among them. Will you now *Enquire*, Sirs, how far we have *Indianized* in every

very one, but eſpecially the laſt of theſe *Evil Manners?* If we find theſe *Indian Vices* to grow Epidemical among us, Oh! don't wonder, that our God hath been with *Indian Hatchets* cutting down the *Tree* that brings forth *Fruits* thus diſagreeable to him that Planted it.

Now *whoſo is Wiſe will obſerve theſe things.* And yet the *Obſervation* may extend it ſelf a little further. Sometimes the Soveraign God chuſes a Nation remarkably Laudable for ſome *good Thing*, to puniſh his own People for the want of that Thing. Thus when the *Chriſtian Churches* fell into *Idolatry*, God ſent the *Mahometans* upon them, to *Torment* them with one *Woe* after another horribly; and the *Mahometans* are very Remarkable for this, that they are great Haters of *Idolatry*, and where-ever they come they deſtroy thoſe *Idols, and Works of Mens Hands*, which are adored in the *Antichriſtian Apoſtacy.* Well, but can any *good Thing* be reported of our *Indian*-Invaders? Yes, there is one *good Thing* which the *French* have taught them; there is *Family-Prayer* among them, a daily *Family Worſhip* upheld among them. *I Fear, I Fear*, this is more than can be ſaid of many *Engliſh* Sufferers, that have been annoy'd by thoſe *Indian*-Invaders. It may be, the Wretched *Indians* have cut off multitudes of *Families*, to whom they might have ſaid, *Theſe Families never Pray'd unto God once in a Month, and we have done it every Day!* And many of our poor Folks never heard any *Family-Prayer* in their Lives, till they were dragg'd into the forlorn and howling *Wigwams* of thoſe wretched *Salvages.* I have heard it ſaid, that in a Town of it may be more than *Seventy Families*, there have not been *Twice Seven Families* that have had any conſtant Invocation of God in them. If it be ſo, then hear the Voice of God in it, when he ſent thoſe Monſtrous and Furious Barbarians to burn down ſuch *Prayerleſs Houſes:* The Voice of Heaven in it, is, *If Indians will pray in their Families more than Engliſh, then let Indians deſtroy thoſe Engliſh Families.* It was once the direful Imprecation, in *Jer.* 10. 25. *Pour out thy great Wrath upon the Heathen that know thee not, and upon the Families that call not on thy Name.* Truly, God has uſed a Sort of *Heathen*, to *pour out his great Wrath upon Families*, which in this one Point were worſe than thoſe *Heathen*, that they *did not call on his Name.* For God's ſake be ſo *Wiſe* as to *Obſerve theſe things*, and let *Family-Prayer* be no where neglected throughout the Land, leſt while God is puniſhing us by the *Pagans*, we become worſe than *Pagans.* Let me faithfully and ſolemnly Adviſe you; Sirs, A *Prayerleſs Family* is a *Pagan Family.* Do not now imagine, that it is only the more Strict and Severe Doctrine of a *Non-Conformiſt* that now Smites your Conſciences; it is the Doctrine of a *Chriſtian*; and it may be, 'twill have the more Force upon ſome of you, if I tell you, that the late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in a Book on that Subject, has this Paſſage; *That conſtant Family Worſhip is ſo Neceſſary to keep alive a Senſe of God and Religion in the Minds of Men, that he ſees not how any Family that Neglects it can in Reaſon be Eſteemed a Family of Chriſtians, or indeed to have any Religion at all.* I will add but this Word unto all the reſt: If after this there be a *Prayerleſs Family* among us, I would, if I could, Write upon their Door, **Lord have mercy upon us**; for there is a *Plague* in that *Pagan Family.*

III. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *whoſo is Wiſe may obſerve*, that the very *Objects* of our *Sins* have been made the very *Engines* of our *Plagues.* It is a thing *Extraordinarily Obſervable*, though it ordinarily happens; that, *In quo quis peccat, in eo punitur*; Men are *Plagu'd* by thoſe very things with which they have *Sinn'd.* If an *Eli* omit his Duty towards his *Children*, it follows, in 1 *Sam.* 2. 33. thoſe very *Children* ſhall *conſume thine Eyes, and grieve thine Heart.* I am very much miſtaken, if our *Eyes* have not been *conſumed*, and if our *Hearts* not *grieved*, by thoſe to whom we have omitted our Duty exceedingly. The grand Crime of the *Jews* was in Relation to the *Romans*, and God made the *Romans* the Deſtroyers of the *Jews.* You will now demand of me, whether I think that we are chargeable with any Crime relating to the *Indians*, which have been ſo bloodily Deſtroying of us. I muſt freely tell you, I think we are. The old *Britains* did not what they ſhould have done, to Convert the *Saxons* unto Chriſtianity; and when the *Britains* were afterwards fearfully Deſtroy'd by the *Saxons*, their Famous Country-man *Gildas* told them, *This is the Vengeance of God upon you, becauſe you did no more for the Converſion of thoſe Miſerable Heathen.* And I admire that the *Engliſh* Proteſtants in *Ireland*, after ſuch Maſſacres from the *Iriſh Papiſts*, do no more Effectually make this Reflection. But that which I am now to Reflect upon, is this: Had we done but half ſo much as the *French Papiſts* have done, to Proſelite the *Indians* of our Eaſt unto the *Chriſtian Faith*, inſtead of being *Snares and Traps* unto us, *and Scourges in our Sides, and Thorns in our Eyes*, they would have been *a Wall unto us both by Night and Day.* What a *Sting* was there in thoſe Words which the *Indians* have uſed unto ſome of our *Captives*, *Had the Engliſh been as careful to Inſtruct us as the French, we had been of your Religion!* Indeed, it can ſcarce, without an harſh *Catechreſis*, be called, *The Chriſtian Faith*, which the *French Papiſts* have made the Salvages to ſwallow: But if the Salvages had been Enlightened with *The Chriſtian Faith* from us, the *French Papiſts* could never have inſtill'd into them thoſe *French Poiſons*, that have made ſuch Raging *Devils* of them. Through the Bleſſing of God, upon the Endeavours of good Men in this one *Maſſachuſet*-Province, the *Indians* have moſtly Embraced the

Chriſtian

Chriſtian Religion. * There are, I ſuppoſe, more than Thirty Congregations of *Indians*, and many more than Thirty Hundred *Indians* in this one Province, calling on God in Chriſt, and hearing of his glorious Word. *Whoſo is Wiſe, will obſerve* a Notable Smile of God upon thoſe that have worthily Encouraged and Proſecuted this *Evangelical Work.* But ſhall we not at the ſame time *Obſerve*, how ſignally the *Wrath* of God hath fallen upon the Perſons or Eſtates of them that have Debauched the *Indians*, by ſelling of *Drink* unto them? The *Trading Houſes* where the *Indians* of the Eaſt had ſo much of their *Drink* and *Bane*, what is become of them, every one of them? The *Sword* has been *Drunk with the Blood* of the *Engliſh*, in the Hands of thoſe very *Indians* which have been ſo often *Drunk* among them. And theſe Bloody Merchants of the Souls of the *Indians*, when they have ſummed up all their Gains, the Foot of the Account has been this, *Wo to him that gives his Neighbour Drink, that puts the Bottel to him to make him Drunk.* Thoſe *Men* are not *Wiſe*, but *Mad*, who can *Obſerve theſe things*, and now dare to Repeat this Iniquity, or dream that any *Gains* are to be got by feeding the *Indian Luſt* of *Drunkenneſs*.

[* *Of that Matter ſee a Printed Account, at the end of Mr.* Noyes's *Election-Sermon; whereto I have here this to add, That an hopeful and worthy Young Man, Mr.* Experience Mayhew, *omitted in that* Printed Journal, *meerly becauſe he was more largely mentioned in the annexed* Propoſals *of the Gentlemen that made it, which are* not Printed *with it, muſt now have the Juſtice done him of this Character,* That in the Evangelical Service of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt among the Indians, there is no Man that Exceeds that Mr. *Mayhew*, if there be any that Equals him. *So I am informed concerning him.*]

IV. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is wiſe, may obſerve* the Loud *Calls* of Heaven to *all Ranks of Men*, in the ſharp *Strokes* of Heaven on *all Ranks of Men.* As it was ſaid in *Mic.* 6. 9. *The Lord's voice crieth unto the City, and the Man of Wiſdom ſhall ſee thy Name; hear ye the Rod:* So I ſay, There has been a *Voice of God* unto all the Country in that *Indian Rod* which hath been uſed upon us: And *Men of Wiſdom, in all Ranks* of Men, will *Obſerve*, and See, and Hear, the meaning of this *Rod*; inaſmuch as *all Ranks* of Men have ſmarted under it; yea, it has fetch'd Blood from *all Ranks* of Men among us. We will a little particularize 'em. And firſt of all, you that are our Honoured *Shepherds*; will you *Obſerve* how many of our *Shepherds* have been worried unto Death by the *Scythian Wolves* of our Wilderneſs? Two of our MAGISTRATES have been Treacherouſly and Barbarouſly Killed by the *Indian Murderers:* They whom God entruſted with the *Sword of Juſtice*, have had their Lives taken away by the *Sword of the Wicked.* I perſwade my ſelf, that the reſt will be ſo wiſe as to *Obſerve theſe things*, and *Obſerve* how to anſwer the juſt Expectation of God in their Adminiſtrations. After this, Oh! Why ſhould not our *Civil Rulers*, with more Zeal than ever ſet themſelves to ponder, *How may I moſt glorifie God and Chriſt, and ſerve his dear People with my Opportunities!*

Two of our MINISTERS have been *Struck down* into the Earth by the *Indian Dragons.* They that have uſed nothing but the *Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God*, for the ſaving of all about them, have had the *Deſtroyers coming upon them*, and have been *waited for of the Sword.* I aſſure my ſelf, that the reſt will be ſo *wiſe* as to *Obſerve theſe things*, and *Obſerve* how to fulfil our Miniſtry, with a very Excited Watchfulneſs. May all our *Settled Paſtors*, upon ſuch a thing befallen our Brethren, reſolve with themſelves; *Am unworthy I ſpared? I will do more for my Lord, and more for my Flock, and more for all the Churches, than ever I did.*

We will paſs on, there have been ſome *rich Men*, that were finely Scituated, and *had all things richly to Enjoy:* But this *War* has reduced them to ſuch Neceſſity, that within leſs than One Year they have come to *beg their Bread:* All their *Treaſures* have been *Treaſures of Snow*; one Summer has melted all away to nothing. I Remember the Jewiſh *Talmuds* tell us of a Gentlewoman, who had a Thouſand Thouſand Pieces of Gold given with her at her Marriage, by her Father *Nicodemus* for her Portion; and yet ſhe was reduced unto ſuch Penury, that ſhe pick'd Barley-Corns out of the Cattels Dung for her Food. Have not we ſeen almoſt ſuch Viciſſitudes? *Rich Men*, if you are *Wiſe*, (which the *Rich* are *not always!*) you will *Obſerve theſe things*, and upon the *Obſervation* ſay, *Well, what Man in his Right Wits will now ſet his Heart upon ſuch Tranſitory, as all Sublunary Vanities! Oh! My Soul, do thou make ſure of a better and a laſting Subſtance in Heaven; for earthly Riches take themſelves Wings, and flee away towards Heaven.*

Again, there have been abundance of *poor Men*, who have been by this *War* plunged ſtill into deeper *Poverty:* They have gone without a *Bit of Bread* for many Days together. The Straits, the Wants, the Cares of *Widows*, and *Orphans*, or of thoſe that have had many Mouths to Feed, eſpecially in our Expoſed Frontiers, none can Expreſs them, none can Conceive them, but they, (nor *they!*) who did Endure them all. *Poor Men*, if you are *wiſe*, (which the *Poor* may be!) You will *Obſerve theſe things*, and upon the *Obſervation* ſay, *Well, I had need make ſure that my Soul may not be Starved by wanting the Bread of Life, and that my Soul may not be Naked without the Garments of Righteouſneſs; how dolefully am I Circumſtanced, if I go down from one Hell unto another at the Laſt!*

Once more, how many *Women* have been made a *prey* to thoſe *Brutiſh Men* that are *Skilful to Deſtroy*? How many a *fearful Thing* has been

been ſuffered by the *fearful Sex*, from thoſe *Men* that one would fear as *Devils* rather than Men? Let the *Daughters* of our *Zion* think with themſelves what it would be for fierce *Indians* to break into their Houſes, and brain their *Huſbands* and their *Children* before their Eyes, and lead them away a long Journey into the *Woods*; and if they began to fail and faint in the Journey, then for a tawny Salvage to come with Hell-fire in his Eyes, and cut 'em down with his Hatchet; or, if they could miraculouſly *hold out*, then for ſome filthy and uggly *Squaws*, to become their *inſolent Miſtreſſes*, and inſolently to abuſe 'em at their Pleaſure a Thouſand inexpreſſible Ways; and, if they had any of their *Sucking Infants* with them, then to ſee thoſe tender Infants handled at ſuch a rate, that they ſhould beg of the *Tygres* to diſpatch 'em out of Hand. Such things as theſe, I tell you, have often happened in this lamentable *War*. And now, O ye Handmaids of the Lord, will you not be ſo *wiſe* as to *Obſerve theſe things?* But upon the *Obſervation* ſay, *Well, I will bleſs God for my Enjoyments; my Afflictions, be they never ſo many, are not ſuch as my Neighbours have ſeen: My Enjoyments are more than my Afflictions. But, Oh! Let me love and ſerve the good God, that has diſtinguiſhed me with His Mercies.*

It is to be added: We have had our *old Men*, whoſe *gray Hairs have not come down to the Grave in Peace. Young Indians* have with grievous Flouts and Wounds butchered many of our *old Engliſh Men*. The *gray Hairs* of our *old Men* have been dyed Red with their own Blood, and their Carcaſes have been thrown unto the *Swine* to mangle them. *Old Men*, if you are *wiſe Men*, you will *obſerve* theſe things; but *obſerving* of them, ſay, *Oh! Let my hoary Head be found in the Way of Righteouſneſs!*

But our *young Men* are they whom the Fury of *War* hath been chiefly poured out upon. Alas, alas, for our *young Men!* They are the Perſons with whom it ſeems to have been the very Errand of this *War*, to manage the terrible Controverſie of God. *New-England* ſets a peculiar Accent of Grief upon this, among all her Lamentations; *The Lord has trodden under Foot my mighty Men in the midſt of me, he hath called an Aſſembly againſt me, to cruſh my young Men.* Come then, my *young Men*, be ſo *wiſe* as to *obſerve* theſe things; and upon the *Obſervation* ſay, *Lord, let not me, and the reſt of my Generntion, continue among the Generation of thy Wrath.* Yea, to have done; *Children* alſo have not been excuſed from a Share in the Blows of this hideous *War*. Little *Boys* and *Girls*, even theſe little *Chickens*, have been ſeized by the *Indian* Vultures. Our little *Birds* have been ſpirited away by the *Indian* Devourers, and brought up in a vile Slavery, till ſome of them have quite forgot their *Engliſh Tongue*, and their *Chriſtian Name*, and their whole *Relation*. Yea, thoſe *Babylonians* have *daſh'd out the Brains of our little ones againſt the Stones.* And our *little ones* have been hideouſly whipt unto Death by thoſe mercileſs Tygres, whoſe *tender Mercies are Cruelty. Children*, God make you ſo *wiſe* as to *obſerve theſe things*; and upon the *Obſervation*, Oh! ſee that you become *ſerious, pious, orderly* Children; obedient unto your Parents, conſciencious to keep the *Lord's Day*, and afraid of committing any *Wickedneſs*.

Upon the whole, when a dead Man was thrown into the Grave of *Eliſha*, a Touch from the Bones of the Prophet in the Grave rais'd him from the Dead. I am deſiring that *Religion* may be revived out of the Death which has too much enfeebled it among us. Behold, Sirs, I have now caſt you into the *Graves* of our *dead Friends*; it may be, by *wiſely obſerving* of them, and the things that have befallen them, we may be ſomewhat *raiſed* out of our deadly Security. Let our *Obſervation of theſe things* give ſome *Life* to the Practice of *Religion* among us.

V. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is wiſe, may obſerve* thoſe *Tragical Things* undergone by many in *Captivity*, that are full of Admonition unto us, that have never felt the *Tragedies* of ſuch a *Captivity*. Several Hundreds of our Neighbours, firſt and laſt, have been carried into *Captivity*, by the moſt beaſtly and bloody things that ever wore the Shape of *Men* in the World. *New-England* makes that Moan in *Lam.* 1. 18. *Hear, I pray you, all People, and behold my Sorrow; my Virgins and my young Men are gone into Captivity.* But Oh, the prodigious and ſtupendious Things that they have undergone in this *Captivity!* What weary Days and Nights have rouled over the miſerable *Captives*, while they have not had a Bit of *Meat* allow'd 'em, except what a Dog would hardly meddle with. While they have ſometimes been pinched with the bitter *Froſt*, without Rags to cover their Nakedneſs, and ſometimes been parched with the burning *Heat*, without any Cordial or Shelter to refreſh them: While they have ſeen their neareſt *Relations* torn in pieces alive before their Eyes, and yet thoſe Eyes afraid of dropping a Tear at the mournful Sight: Yea, while they have every Hour look'd when they ſhould be themſelves roaſted alive to make a *Feaſt* and a *Sport* for the horrid *Cannibals!* Need I tell you, That thoſe *Devils Incarnate* have tied their *Captives* unto Trees, and firſt cutting off their *Ears*, have made them to eat their own Ears, and then have broiled their whole *Bodies* with ſlow Fires, dancing the mean while about them, and cutting out Collops of their Fleſh, till with lingring Tortures they have martyred them to Death! Such Things have been done by the *Inhumane Salvages* upon our *Captives*, that it is a ſort of *Inhumanity* barely to mention them. Now, ſhall we be *wiſe*, to *obſerve theſe things?* The *Obſervation* muſt be made with that Admonition in *Luk.* 13. 4, 5. *Think ye, that theſe were Sinners above all Men? I tell you, Nay; but except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.* Wherefore let us penitently confeſs, that we have *all* deſerved

¶

ved thoſe *miſerable things*, wherewith *ſome* have been ſo marked out by the Soveraignty of Heaven. In the things that have been done to our *Captives*, the Great *Lord of Hoſts* hath dealt with us as *Generals* uſe to do upon the Sedition and Mutiny of *Military Legions:* He makes a ſort of *Decimation* among the Offenders, and by what he does to ſome, he declares what he might juſtly do to all the reſt. We muſt all aſcribe it unto the meer *Soveraign Mercy* of God, that we are not every one of us *broken in the Place of Dragons*, as theſe deſolate Captives were. That which the Scripture calls *the Place of Dragons*, I remember one of the Jewiſh Rabbi's expounds, *A Wilderneſs*. Truly our *Wilderneſs* hath been, *The Place of Dragons*. But while we *obſerve theſe things*, we ſhall not be *wiſe*, if we do not learn, *Oh! what an evil and a bitter thing is our Sin! And what horrendous Miſeries muſt we expect among the Devils, if we die with our Sin unpardoned!*

VI. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is wiſe, may obſerve*, a *Work*, a *ſtrange Work* of Heaven, as it were *Deviſing* of Ways, very ſtrangely to diſtreſs all ſorts of People, in all ſorts of Intereſts. Truly the very Character of our Calamity hath all along been this; the great God has written ſtill upon it, we may read upon it in a very legible Character thoſe Words in *Jer.* 18. 11. *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold I frame Evil againſt you, I deviſe a Device againſt you.* It hath been as if Ways had been deliberately and exquiſitely *ſtudied*, and as if with much *Contrivance* plotted for to bring us all within the Reach of the general Calamity. We have now languiſhed thro' *Ten Years*, which have been the ſaddeſt, and the darkeſt, and the *ſtormieſt Years* that ever we ſaw. If the *Hiſtory* of theſe *Ten Years* were to be written, I am thinking what ſhould be the *Title*; truly it might be entituled, as *Ezekiel*'s Roll was, *Lamentation, and Mourning, and Wo.* Yea, you ſhall now have the *Hiſtory* of theſe *Ten Years* written for you; I'll give it you in as expreſſive Words as can be; even in thoſe Words, 2 Chron. 15. 5, 6. *In thoſe times there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in; but great Vexations were upon all the Inhabitants of the Countries, for God did vex them with all Adverſity.* There is a Variety of *Adverſity* with which the tedious *War* it ſelf hath *vexed* us. The general Fate of the *War* hath involved *numberleſs Families* in ſeveral Circumſtances of *Adverſity*; and the *Expenſive* part of the *War* hath been an heavy Scourge of *Adverſity* upon thoſe that could not be reach'd by the deſtructive part of it. You could not but *obſerve theſe things:* But then have you not *obſerved* what a further Variety of *Adverſity* hath been contemporary with this *vexatious War.* Alas, there hath been ſuch a Complication of other Diſtreſſes added unto the *War*, in the time of it, that *No-body*; no, I ſay, *No-body* hath been left free from thoſe Dolorous Ejulations, *I am one that hath been afflicted by the Rod of the Wrath of God.*

¶ A great King of *Perſia*, having by Death loſt the neareſt Relation he had in the World, and being too paſſionate a Mourner for his Loſs, an ingenious Man undertook to raiſe the dead Relation unto Life again, if the King would but furniſh him in one Point that he apprehended neceſſary. It was demanded, *What that was?* And it was replied, *Furniſh me but with the Names of Three Perſons who have never met with any Sadneſs and Sorrow, and by writing thoſe Names on the Monument of the Dead, I'll bring the Dead Perſon to Life.* Truly, the *Ten Years* of our *War* have ſet many *Ten Hundreds* of Perſons a mourning over their *dead Friends*; we have ſeen everywhere the *Mourners go about the Streets:* Now I durſt make you this Offer, that if you can find *Three Perſons* who have met with no Matter of *Sadneſs* and *Sorrow* in theſe *Ten Years*, with the Names of them, we'll fetch your *dead Friends* to Life again. It was ſaid in *Job* 21. 17. *God diſtributeth Sorrows in his Anger.* You may *obſerve* a marvellous *Diſtribution of Sorrows* made among us by the Anger of God.

And here, *Firſt*; I ſay nothing of that amazing time, when the evil Angels in a præternatural, and in an unparallell'd manner being let looſe among us. *God caſt upon us the Fierceneſs of his Anger, and Wrath, and Indignation and Trouble.* It was the threatning of God againſt a People which he had call'd his *Children*; in Deut. 32. 23, 24. *I will heap Miſchiefs upon them; I will ſpend my Arrows upon them; they ſhall be devoured with a bitter Deſtruction.* What was the bitter Deſtruction thus threatned unto an Apoſtatizing People? I remember the Famous Jew, *Onkelos*, renders it, *They ſhall be vexed with evil Spirits*; and indeed that Senſe well agrees with what follows, *I will ſend upon them the Poiſon of the Serpents of the Duſt.* Sirs, for our *Apoſtaſie* (which is the very Sin of the *evil Spirits!*) the God of Heaven a while ago turned in the Armies of Hell upon us; and in that matchleſs Diſpenſation of God we underwent a bitter Deſtruction from the *Poiſon of the Serpents of the Duſt.*

But there are other Points, not a few, wherein the great God hath heaped Miſchiefs upon us, and fulfill'd unto us that Holy Commination, *Ezek.* 7. 26. *Miſchief ſhall come upon Miſchief.* What ſhall I ſay? While the *Lord of Hoſts* hath been againſt us, the *Hoſts of Lord* have been ſo too; all the Elements have, as it were, been up in Arms againſt us.

Particularly you may *obſerve*, That Epidemical *Sickneſſes* have, in theſe Years, been once and again upon us; wherein the Angels of Death have ſhot the Arrows of Death into ſuch as could not be reached by the Bullets of the *Indian* Enemy. This one Town did in one Year loſe, I ſuppoſe, at leaſt Six or Seven Hundred of its People by one contagious Mortality. And tho' of about Three and Twenty Hundred Men that we employ'd in one Action, we did, in that Action, loſe hardly Thirty Men, yet how many Hundreds did afterwards miſerably periſh?

Again,

Again, you may *obſerve*, That the *Harveſt* hath once and again grievouſly failed in theſe Years, and we have been *ſtruck thro' with the terrible Famine*, almoſt as much as if the *Indian* Enemy had been all the while ſculking about our Fields. The very *Courſe of Nature* hath been altered among us; a lamentable Cry for *Bread, Bread*, hath been heard in our Streets: The Towns that formerly ſupply'd other Places with *Grain*, had now been famiſhed, if other Places had not ſent in a Supply to them, and had a black Proſpect of being famiſhed, notwithſtanding that Supply.

Once more you may *obſerve*, That the Sea hath in theſe Years been ſwallowing up our Neighbours and their Eſtates, far more than the *Sword of the Wilderneſs*. Alas, the devouring Diſpleaſure of God hath ſaid concerning us, *Though they go to hide themſelves from my Sight afar off upon the Sea, thence will I command the Serpent, and he ſhall bite them.* And here, hath it been enough, that our Veſſels, enough to make an huge Fleet, have been taken by the *French Enemy?* A certain Writer hath computed it, That in only the firſt Two or Three Years of the *War* the *Engliſh* Nation loſt unto the *French* more than Fifteen Millions of Pounds Sterling. But no part of the *Engliſh* Nation hath been more frequently or ſenſibly prey'd upon by the *French*, than what hath gone out of *New-England*, ever ſince the *War* began. I ſay, has this been enough? No, the Wrath of God ſays, *This is not enough!* I appeal to you that have been Owners of Veſſels, or Sailors in them; whether horrible Shipwracks have not been multiplied ſince the *War* began, very much more than ever they were before? *Ah, Lord!* How many of us have ſhed *Rivers of Tears* over our dear Friends that have been *Buried in the Ocean.*

Moreover, you may *obſerve*, That in theſe Years thoſe very things which were intended for our *Defence*, have oftentimes been ſo much improved for our *Damage*, that it was hard for us to ſay which was the greater, the *Defence*, or the *Damage*, which we had from them. It was a lamentable time with the *Jews*, when that *Curſe* came upon them, *That which ſhould have been for their Welfare, let it become a Trap, and pour out thine Indignation upon them.* Truly, the *Indignation* of God hath been *poured out* upon us in this Fruit of the *Curſe*, no leſs frequently than ſenſibly, that ſome things which ſhould have been *for our Welfare*, have at the ſame time ſerved alſo to *entrap* the *Perſons* and *Intereſts* of many People into ſore Inconveniencies. There is no need of explaining this Article; they that have been under this *Indignation* of God know the explaining of it.

Finally, You may *obſerve* what *untimely Ends*, and what *ſurprizing Fates*, have come upon our *Sons* in theſe *Years of the Wrath of the Right Hand of the moſt High*. When *Cræſus* was in *War* taken by *Cyrus*, this Captive made unto the Conqueror this Remark upon the Difference between *Peace* and *War*; *O Sir, I ſee that in a time of Peace the Sons bury their Fathers, but in a time of War the Fathers bury their Sons.* Truly Sirs, our time of *War* has in various Ways of Mortality been embittered with this Remark, *The Fathers have been burying their Sons all the Country over!* Many of us have had our *Sons*, even thoſe very *Sons*, of whom we ſaid, *This ſame ſhall comfort us!* We have had them violently ſnatch'd away from us, and cropt in the very Flower of their *Youth*; and they have left us deploring, *Oh, my Son, with all my Heart could I have died for thee, my Son, my Son!* But in the midſt of theſe deplorable things God hath given up ſeveral of our Sons into the Hands of the fierce Monſters of *Africa*. *Mahometan* Turks, and Moors, and Devils, are at this Day oppreſſing many of our Sons with a *Slavery*, wherein they *wiſh for Death, and cannot find it*; a *Slavery*, from whence they cry and write unto us, *It had been good for us that we had never been born.*

——Quis talia fando
Temperet a Lacrymis? ——

Thus, as *Job* ſometimes complained, *Chap.* 10. 17. *Thou reneweſt thy Witneſſes againſt me, and increaſeſt thine Indignation upon me; Changes and War are againſt me:* Thus in our long *War* we have ſeen thoſe *Changes* on all Hands, and in all Kinds, which have *witneſſed* againſt us the dreadful *Indignation* of God. God threatned his People, (ſo I read it,) *Amos* 2. 13. *Behold I will preſs your Place as a full Cart preſſes the Sheaf:* ['Tis an Alluſion to the old way of threſhing the *Corn*, by drawing a loaden *Cart* with *Wheels* over the *Corn*. *q. d.* You ſhall undergo *Tribulation.*] Ah, *New-England*, thou haſt been under ſuch a *Tribulation!*

Sirs, Have you not *obſerved* theſe things? But you muſt *wiſely obſerve* them. And a *wiſe Obſervation* of theſe things will cauſe you to ſee, *That the War which hath been upon us hath been a War of* GOD. The *Indians* have been but a ſmall part of thoſe *Armies*, which the great GOD hath been bringing out againſt us for *Ten Years* together; and we may conclude, that all the Land have been more or leſs concerned in thoſe Crimes for which the Almighty GOD hath been with theſe *Armies* managing his Controverſie with us: Our Confeſſion muſt be *Peccavimus omnes, We have all gone aſtray!* But ſhall we not upon this *Obſervation* take up ſome *Reſolution?* If we are wiſe, we ſhall thus reſolve; *'Tis time, 'tis time, 'tis high time for us to make our Peace with God. O let us not go on to harden our ſelves againſt God; we are not ſtronger than he: But let us all fly to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who is our Peace, and ſo lay down the Arms of Rebellion, that God may be reconciled unto us.*

VII. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *whoſo is wiſe, may obſerve* thoſe *Diſpenſations* of Heaven towards us, that have carry'd more than or-

ordinary *Humiliations* in them. It was ſaid concerning *Miriam*, (the Type of the now Leprous and Outcaſt Church of *Iſrael*, *The Lord haſten that Seventh Day wherein it ſhall be reſtored!*) Numb. 12. 14. *If her Father had Spit in her Face, ſhould ſhe not be aſhamed?* Ah, *New England*, thy *Father* hath been *Spitting in thy Face* with moſt *humbling Diſpenſations*; God hath been bringing of thee *down to ſit in the Duſt*. When *the War* commenced, *New-England* might ſay, *My God will humble me!*

For, Firſt, Shall our Heavenly *Father* put a *Rod* into the Hands of baſe *Indians*, and bid *them* to Scourge his *Children!* Oh! The *Humiliation* of ſuch Rebellious *Children!* Oh! The *Provocation* that certainly ſuch *Sons* and ſuch *Daughters* have given him! It was a very *humbling* thing that the Lord threatned unto his *Provoking Sons and Daughters* in Deut. 32. 21. *I will move them to Jealouſie with thoſe which are not a People; I will provoke them to Anger with a fooliſh Nation.* Should a Child of yours be Refractory; and you, Sir, ſhould bid a *Negro* or an *Indian* Slave in your Houſe, *Go, take that Child, and Scourge him till you fetch Blood of him!* Surely this would be to *humble* him *unto the uttermoſt*. Thus doth thy God *humble* thee, O *New-England*, by putting thee over into the vile Hands of thoſe which are *not a People, but a fooliſh Nation.*

Again, *Who* are they by whoſe means we are now crying out, *we are brought very low?* When the moſt high God was determined Effectually to *humble* his People, he ſaid, in *Jer.* 37. 10. *Though ye had ſmitten the whole Army of the* Caldeans, *that fight againſt you, and there remained but wounded Men among them, yet ſhould they riſe up every Man in his Tent, and burn this City with Fire.* Truly we had *ſmitten the whole Army* of the *Indians* that *fought* againſt us Three and Twenty Years ago, from one end of the Land unto the other; only there were left a few *wounded Men among them* in the Eaſt; and now they have *riſen up every Man*, and have ſet the whole Country on *Fire*. Certainly a more *humbling* Matter cannot be related!

Moreover, Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when about an *Hundred Indians* durſt begin a *War* upon all theſe Populous Colonies, an Army of a *Thouſand Engliſh* raiſed muſt not kill one of them all; but inſtead thereof, more of our *Soldiers* periſh by Sickneſs and Hardſhip than we had *Enemies* then in the World? *Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when the Number of our *Enemies* afterwards Increaſed, yet an handful of them ſhould, for ſo many Summers together, continue our *Unconquered Spoilers*, and put us to ſuch vaſt Charges, that if we could have bought them for *an Hundred Pound an Head*, we ſhould have made a ſaving Bargain of it? *Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that we ſhould have had ſeveral fair *Opportunities* to have brought this *War* unto a *final Period*, but we ſhould ſtill, by ſome *fatal Overſight*, let ſlip thoſe *Opportunities? Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that whatever *Expeditions* we have undertaken, for the moſt part we have come off *Looſers*, and indeed but plunged our ſelves into *deeper Straits*, by our *Undertakings? Our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that more than One or Two of our *Forts* have Surrendred, and one of them that was almoſt Impregnable given away with a moſt *ſhameful Surrender*, by one that hath hath ſince Received ſomething of what he deſerved? Thus *our God has humbled us!*

Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that we ſhould have *Evil purſuing of us* at ſuch a rate, that in other Lands afar off, and on the *Exchange* in *London* Strangers have made this Reflection; *Doubtleſs* New-England *is a Country in ill Terms with Heaven?* But ſo *our God has humbled us!*

What ſhall I ſay? Is it not a very *humbling* thing, that when *Peace* is reſtored unto the whole *Engliſh Nation*, and when *Peace* is enjoy'd by all *America*, poor *New-England* ſhould be the *only Land* ſtill Embroil'd in *War?* But thus, *our God, thou haſt humbled us, and ſhown us great and ſore Troubles, and brought us down into the Depths of the Earth!*

O my dear People, How can I *Obſerve theſe things*, and not, like *Joſhua*, now *fall to the Earth on my Face before the Lord*, and ſay, *What ſhall I ſay?* But if you will *wiſely obſerve theſe things*, you will now *get up, and ſanctifie your ſelves*, and *put away the accurſed thing from among you*, O New-Engliſh *Iſrael!*

Certainly the *high and lofty one*, who *dwells in the high and holy place*, expects that we ſhould be a very *humbled People*. I beſeech you, Sirs, *Obſerving theſe things*, let us in all the Methods of Repentance *humble our ſelves under the mighty Hand of God*. After ſuch *humbling* things as have befallen us, God forbid that it ſhould be ſaid of us, as in Jer. 44. 10. *They are not humbled even unto this Day!*

VIII. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is Wiſe, may Obſerve* the *Compaſſions* of God, wonderfully Exerciſed, and Manifeſted, and Magnified, in the midſt of our *Confuſions*. There was a Time when a *Buſh burned with Fire, and yet the Buſh was not conſumed:* Whereupon ſaid *Moſes*, in Exod. 3. 3. *I will now turn aſide, and ſee this great ſight!* Sirs, I am now to call upon you, *O turn aſide, and ſee ſuch a great ſight as that!*

Indeed, in the midſt of all our *Lamentations*, we muſt own, with the Church, in Lam. 3. 22. *It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not Conſumed, becauſe his Compaſſions fail not.* But there are many particular and aſtoniſhing *Articles* of *Mercy* which we have ſeen in this tedious *War*. Sirs, Come now to *obſerve* ſome of thoſe things with prepared *Hallelujahs!*

It

It was the Petition in *Hab.* 3. 2. *O Lord, in Wrath remember Mercy. New England,* thy God hath heard this Petition for thee in very wonderful Inſtances!

For, Firſt, After a very Amazing manner has *Mercy* been *remembred* in the midſt of *Wrath*, when we have been reſcued by the *Mercy* of God, at the very point of our being elſe ruined by *his Wrath*. Lord, *Thou haſt ſhewed thy People hard things, and made us Drink the Wine of Aſtoniſhment.* But our *Extremity* hath been God's *Opportunity* to relieve us. Several times in the late Years of our Affliction we have been brought unto a diſmal *Non-plus* in our Affairs, and we would ſcarce imagine it poſſible for us to ſubſiſt any longer. But juſt *then* the Bowels of our Compaſſionate God have been moved for us! He hath ſaid, *How ſhall I give thee up*, O New-England? *How ſhall I give thee up*, O Maſſachuſets? And ſo he would not *Execute upon us the Fierceneſs of his Anger*, but with ſome unexpected Succours from the *Machin of Heaven* he hath relieved us. We have ſeveral times been like a little Veſſel in a *Storm*; the ſwelling Waves have Daſhed, and Raged, and Roared; the Rude Billows have been going Over us, and we have been ready to *Sink*. But juſt *then* our Compaſſionate Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath *awaked* for our Safety, and marvellouſly calmed our Circumſtances! O thou Land, ſtrangely Saved by the Lord, ſay now, as in *Pſal.* 136. 23. *O give thanks unto the Lord, who remembred us in our low Eſtate, becauſe his Mercy endureth for ever!* When our *Debts* have become Inſupportable, God has then *Remembred us in our low Eſtate, becauſe his Mercy endureth for ever*, and ſtrangely Extricated us. When our *Foes* have been as an *Overflowing Scourge*, like to carry all before them, God has then *Remembred us in our low Eſtate, becauſe his Mercy endureth for ever*, and ſtrangely lifted up a Standard againſt them. When fearful *Diviſions* have ariſen among us, and horrid *Convulſions* have been ready to pull all to Pieces— I don't care to *Remember* them any further than to ſay, God has then *Remembred us in our low Eſtate, becauſe his Mercy endureth for ever*, and ſtrangely healed thoſe *Breaches* that ſet the Land a *Trembling*.

Moreover, it hath been a very *ſtrange thing*, and a wondrous *Remembrance* of *Mercy* in the midſt of *Wrath*, that the *Indians* have been *unaccountably Reſtrained* from giving us an Hundredth Part of the Trouble, which they might have done, had they but *known*, or *us'd* their own Advantages. This one thing, whoſoever does *wiſely Obſerve* it, muſt needs aſcribe it unto a ſpecial Operation of that God, who *Forms the Spirit of Man within him.* It was the Promiſe of God unto his People. *Exod.* 34. 24. *No Man ſhall deſire thy Land, when thou ſhalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God.* The Faithful God ſtrangely fulfilled this Promiſe for many Hundreds of Years together; *no Enemy deſired the Land* of that People, at the time of their going up to Worſhip the Lord in his Temple. And whereas the *Roman Enemy* did at length *deſire their Land*, at the time of their going up to the *Paſſover*, this one thing was enough to prove that the *Meſſiah* was come, and the *Paſſover* no longer Commanded. It ſhows, that there is a *ſtrange Operation* of God upon the *Minds* of Men, to Curb, and Check, and Blind the *Evil-minded.* Well, we have had our *Frontier Towns*, in many of which the Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath been Worſhipped, and Sought, and Serv'd continually. Had the lurking *Enemy* done as they might have done, how eaſily might one Dozen of them have kept the Towns in ſuch perpetual and perplexing *Alarms*, as would have cauſed them even to have broken up! And what *unknown Miſchiefs* might a few more of 'em have brought upon our Scattered Plantations! I do again and again ſay, This is from the *ſtrange Operation* of God, upon the *Minds* of the Enemy, that they have no more *diſturbed our Land.* For my own Part I will *obſerve* it, and *admire* it in ſuch Terms as *Auſtin* uſed upon a Remarkable Providence; *Quiſquis non videt, Cæcus*; *Quiſquis videt, nec Laudat, Ingratus*; *Quiſquis Laudanti reluctatur*, *Inſanus*: They are Blind and Mad that are Inſenſible of it!

Yet again, have not our *Engliſh Priſoners* been favoured with ſuch a *Remembrance of Mercy* in the *midſt of Wrath*, as ought never to be *Forgotten?* The *Mercy* of God inclined the *French* to Buy 'em out of the Hands of the *Indians*, and uſe them with an Exemplary Humanity and Civility. The *Mercy* of God preſerved many of them alive, under prodigious and incredible Hardſhips, and at length Returned many Scores of them Home. And may not our *Engliſh Women*, that were *Priſoners*, take notice of one Singular *Mercy* ſhown by God unto them, in preſerving them from Violations by the *Outrageous Luſts* of the Salvages? This one thing will be thought by ſome almoſt as great and ſtrange an Inſtance of an Immediate Interpoſition of the *Angels* of God, as the muzzling of the Lions in the Den of *Daniel! O ye Redeemed of the Lord, you, whom he hath Redeemed from the Hand of the Enemy, give thanks to the Lord, for he is good?* Charge your own Souls, that you *never forget his Benefits*; ask your own Souls, What you *ſhall render to the Lord for all his Benefits:* And *Remember* that Admonition of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt unto you, *Sin no more, leſt a worſe thing do come unto thee.*

Furthermore, who could not ſee *Mercy Remembred* in the midſt of *Wrath*, when God hath put it into the Hearts of his People in the *Southern* Parts of the Country, to make *Liberal Contributions* of *Money*, and *Corn*, and *Men*, for the Relief of the *Northern* Parts? More than once has the Noble *Charity* of our Brethren in *Plymouth*, and in *Connecticut*, as well as of this Town, been Expreſſed in ſuch *Contributions.* Their *Alms* are *gone up for a Memorial before the Lord!* The *Bleſſing* of many that have been *ready to Periſh* hath come upon you, *O ye Merciful*

ciful Children of God, and you ſhall *obtain Mercy* from him.

Once more, was every *Mercy Remembred* in the midſt of *Wrath*, more conſpicuouſly than when powerful *Adverſaries* deſigning Inroads upon us, have been diverted wonderfully. Advice hath been ſeaſonably diſpatched unto us, of the Intentions in our Enemies to fall upon our Frontiers, and this *Advice* hath proved our *Safety*. Yea, ſometimes when we have had no *Advice*, a ſtrange Direction from Heaven has led us to thoſe Actions, which have as much defeated the Intentions of our Enemies, as if we had received the fulleſt *Advice* in the World. Beſides this, *Boſton*, and *Salem*, and *Portſmouth* eſpecially, will they ever forget the *laſt Year?* It was a *Year of Salvation*; yea, it was a *Year of Miracles!* Never, never ſuch a *Year* paſſed over us. The Almighty ſhow'd that Favour to his People of old, *Zech.* 9. 8. *I will Encamp about my Houſe, becauſe of the Army, becauſe of him that paſſeth by, and becauſe of him that returneth. Alexander* in an Expedition to the *Southward* did *paſs by* the Land of *Iſrael*, and he did *Return* again to the *Northward*, without hurting that Land that had the *Houſe of God* in it. Formidable *French* Squadrons have more than once *paſſed by* to the *Southward*, and have *returned* again to the *Northward*, intending doubtleſs a *deſtroying Viſit* into this Land by the way; but our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath *Encamped about his Houſe here, becauſe of the Navy*. Yea, once, O *New-England, the Lord thy God*, he that would be the *Holy One of* New-England, gave *Carthagena* for thy *Ranſom*, he *gave Men for thee, and* Spaniards *for thy Life*. Another time, when a *Force* likely enough to have carried all before them, were almoſt arrived unto us, we are adviſed that God ſent ſuch a ſudden, and ſuch a waſting *Sickneſs* among them, as to make them, for want of Hands, to deſiſt from their Attempt. Theſe were Illuſtrious *Deliverances!* And yet give me leave to ſay, we did the laſt Year ſee another *Deliverance*, that for ought I know may be equal to any of the reſt. There was an *Engliſh Fleet* of our good Friends with a direful Plague aboard 'em, intending *Hither*. Had they *come* as they intended, what an horrible Deſolation had cut us off, let the Deſolate Places that ſome of you have ſeen in the Colonies of the *South* declare unto us; and that they did *not come*, it was the Signal *Hand of Heaven*, by which the *goings of Men are ordered*.

In fine, becauſe God *being full of Compaſſion*, would not *ſtir up all his Wrath*, he hath *Remembred Mercy* to us in the midſt of *Wrath*, by Raiſing us up Generous *Benefactors*, who have been able and willing to oblige us with their *Benefits*. It muſt be with ſhame acknowledged, our Uſage of our *Publick Servants* has commonly been ſuch, that for any *thinking Man* to be willing at all to *ſerve* the *Publick*, ſeems to be a Mark and Fruit of no little *Generoſity*. Nevertheleſs, we have had Perſons of Exemplary *Patience*, and *Prudence*, and *Self-denial*, ſitting at the *Helm* of our *Government*, all this while that the *horrible Tempeſt* hath been enough to make any Man living *Sick* of being there. We have had Perſons who have Disburſed and Expended of their *Eſtates*, and conſiderably Damnified their *Intereſts* for us in our Diſtreſſes, when yet they foreknew what *pay* they ſhould have after all. Yea, we have had, and ſtill have, [I can at this moment faſten my Eye upon ſome of them in the Aſſembly where I am now ſpeaking] *brave Men*, who have *bravely Jeoparded their Lives in the high Places of the Field* for our Defence. O Treat 'em not with *vile Ingratitude*, after all the Service they have done: *Prefer* them on all fit Occaſions while they Live, *Embalm* their Memories, and *Requite* their Families when they are Dead. But while we are thankful to *them*, let us much more give Thanks to *God* for them, even for ſuch *Gifts* of Heaven as we have Enjoyed in them.

Well, will you *wiſely Obſerve* theſe things? *Wiſely!* That is to ſay, *Thankfully* and *Fruitfully*. It may be, if more Diſtinct and Solemn THANKSGIVINGS were made unto *God our Saviour* for theſe things, the *Reliques* of our Enemies would quickly feel the Rebukes of God upon them; not unlike thoſe in 2 *Chron.* 20. 22. *When they began to Sing and to Praiſe, the Lord ſet Ambuſhments againſt* their Enemies, *and they were ſmitten.*

IX. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *whoſo is Wiſe, may Obſerve* thoſe things that may mightily Encourage our *Prayer*, and our *Faith*, for a Total Ruin to be haſtened on the *Remainders* of our *Enemies*.

There yet *Remains* a Knot of our Enemies in thoſe *Inacceſſible Thickets*, where we deſpair ever to *Find 'em out*; but I will Read their Doom from *Pſal.* 21. 8, 9, 10. *Thine Hand*, O Lord, *ſhall find out all thine Enemies, thy Right Hand ſhall find out thoſe that hate thee; the Lord ſhall ſwallow them up in his Wrath, and the Fire ſhall devour them; their Fruit ſhalt thou deſtroy from the Earth, and their Seed from among the Children of Men.* What *Remains* for *us*, is, that we do by *Prayer* and *Faith* put our Enemies over, into thoſe Omnipotent *Hands* that can *find them out*, and cut them off. Oh! Let us keep our *Hands lifted up in Prayer*, for a Total Diſſipation of thoſe *Amalekites*, which have thus long and thus far prevailed againſt us! We have already had many Notable *Anſwers of Prayer* in this our *War*: Every one of our *Deliverances* have been very Notably *Such!* We cannot ſay, How many particular Perſons have received *Anſwers of Prayer* in the particular Troubles which this *Evil time* hath *Enſnared* them withal. Doubtleſs many a *Chriſtian* has in this time had opportunity to ſay, *This poor Man cried, and the Lord heard him, and ſaved him out of all his Troubles!* And ſeveral Towns, that have had a *Remarkable Protection* of God upon them in this long Time of *Danger*, they have had a *Praying People* in them, and that

¶ *Praying*

Praying People have been the *Chariots and the Horſe-men* thereof. Why elſe does *Deerfield* Stand? How ſhould our *Prayer* be *Quickened* by ſuch Experiences! But there is this further *Quickening* for it, that with the Cry of our *Prayer*, there will go up unto the Lord the Cry of *Blood*; much Innocent, and Righteous, and Precious *Blood*, Cries to Heaven from the Ground againſt thoſe *Bloody* and *Crafty* Men, that have Treacherouſly ſhed it. Certainly they muſt not *Live out all their Days!* And we have this prevailing Plea againſt them in the *Court of Heaven!* That they have moſt falſly Broken their *Covenants* in their *Outrages*. We may venture to preſent our *Memorials* in the *Court of Heaven* againſt theſe *Covenant-Breakers*, who are *Implacable and Unmerciful*; and we may uſe the Words of *Jephtah* againſt his Heathen Adverſaries, *The Lord the Judge be Judge between us and them!* We may uſe the Words of *Jehoſhaphat* againſt his Heathen Adverſaries. *O our God, wilt thou not Judge them?* *Uladiſlaus*, the King of *Hungary*, Scandalouſly breaking his League with *Amurath* the *Turkiſh* Emperor, brought an Army into the Field againſt him. The *Turkiſh* Army being horribly Broke and Slain, and almoſt Vanquiſhed by the *Hungarian*, *Amurath* in his Anguiſh took out of his Boſom the written League that *Uladiſlaus* had made with him, and holding it up in his Hands with his Eyes to Heaven, he cried out, *Behold, O Crucified Chriſt, the League which thy Chriſtians in thy Name have made with me, and now without cauſe do Violate; if thou be a God, revenge the wrong that is now done unto thy Name, and ſhew thy Power upon a Perjurious People, who in their Deeds deny their God!* Immediately the Courſe of the Battel turn'd; the Perjurious King was kill'd; and the *Turks* wan a moſt unexpected Victory. Truly we may in like manner now take the Inſtrument of the *Submiſſion* and *Agreement* of the *Eaſtern Indians*, which Thirteen of their Chief Commanders did Sign more than Five Years ago; and holding it up to Heaven, we may cry out, *Ah, Lord God of Truth, wilt thou not be Revenged upon the falſe Wretches that have broken this League!* Doubtleſs our God will Execute a dreadful *Vengeance* upon them, if we humbly make our Suit unto him for it, and he has ways for his *Vengeance* to come at them, which we cannot Imagine. 'Tis affirmed, that ſeveral times in this *War* our Enemies have in the Woods met with Parties of *Indians*, which were their *own Friends*, but by a Miſtake apprehending each to be Enemies unto each other, they have hotly fallen upon one another, and many have been kill'd on both Sides before the Miſtake was diſcovered. Yea, 'tis affirmed, that not a few of the Chief *Murderers* among our *Enemies* have accidentally killed themſelves; the moſt Murderous *Indians* have in a little while been their own Executioners. Who can tell what *Strange Ways*, the God *unto whom Vengeance belongeth*, hath to inflict it on a Generation of his *Curſe?*

Only let us remember to plead the *Sacrifice of our Lord* JESUS CHRIST in our *Prayer*, with our *Faith* for the *Perfection* of our *Deliverance*. Our Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been a *Sin-Offering for the Congregation*, and a *Sacrifice* pleadable, not only for *Perſons*, but alſo for *Peoples* that belong unto him. We read in 1 Sam. 7. 9, 10. Samuel *offered a Burnt-Offering wholly unto the Lord, and* Samuel *cried unto the Lord of* Iſrael, *and the Lord heard him; and the Lord Thundered with a great Thunder on that Day upon the Philiſtines, and diſcomfited them.* When we cry to the Lord, let us plead the *Burnt-Offering* of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and plead, that God has more glorified his *Juſtice* in the Sufferings of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, than if our Houſes were all fill'd with the Cries of our People Maſſacred by *Indian Salvages*. Then will our God *Thunder with a great Thunder* of his Conſuming Wrath upon our *Indian Philiſtines!* That Note which the Great *Calvin* has above an Hundred times over in his Commentaries on the *Pſalms*, *Nunquam Irritas fore preces*, or, *Prayers will never be loſt! Prayers will never be loſt!* It will much oftner be repeated in our Bleſſed *Experience*, if our *Prayers* do preſent before God that Bleſſed *Sacrifice*, of which he ſays, *'Tis a ſweet Odour to me!*

X. In the WAR that hath been upon us, *Whoſo is Wiſe*, may *obſerve* thoſe loud Calls to a *Reformation* of our *Miſcarriages*, which 'tis a Dangerous and a Deſperate thing to neglect any longer. It was the Voice of the Bleſſed God in *Pſal.* 81. 13, 14. *O that my People had hearkened unto me, and* Iſrael *had walked in my Ways! I ſhould ſoon have ſubdued their Enemies, and turned my Hand againſt their Adverſaries.* Ah, *New-England*, thy God hath not *ſoon ſubdued thine Enemies, nor ſoon turned his Hand againſt thine Adverſaries*; but let 'em Vex thee for *Ten Years* together. Surely thou haſt not *Hearkened unto him*, nor *Walked in his Ways!* In that which was called, *The Holy War*, the Embaſſadors of a *Saracen Prince* demanded of a Famous Chriſtian General, how he came to have, *Manus tam Doctas ad Prœliandum*, *Hands* that were ſo able to *Fight?* The Chriſtian General replied, *Quia Manus Semper habui puras*, becauſe I never defiled my *Hands* with any *Notorious Wickedneſs*. Alas, our *Hands* have made but poor Work at *Fighting*. 'Tis time for us then to *Reform* all the *Notorious Wickedneſs* in our *Hands!* Do we Dream that the Almighty hath ſpent all his *Arrows?* No, after all that for *Ten Years* together have been ſpent upon us, there are yet more *Arrows* and *Judgments* left in the Quiver of God: And except we *Turn* unto him, who can ſay, what *Arrows* he may next Ordain againſt us? The *Roman* Emperor Upbraided his General *Terentius* for loſing a Battel; but the General having too much occaſion to ſay ſo much, replied, *Sir, I muſt tell you, that it is you that loſt the Day for us, by your open Fighting againſt the God of Heaven*

Heaven as you do. If it be asked, how 'tis come to paſs that we have Sped ſo ill in many a Battel ſince this *War* began? Some will blame one, and ſome will blame another; but I will take leave to tell all them that lead an Ungodly Life, *Sirs, 'Tis to you that we owe all our Ill Succeſs!* I need not Quote one of the Ancients, namely, *Ambroſe*, for that *Obſervation*, *Graviores Inimici ſunt mores pravi, quam Hoſtes Infenſi:* We have had enough in our own Experiments to convince us, *That our worſt Enemies are our Vices, which provoke Heaven to Chaſtiſe us with all our other Enemies:* And indeed, if our *Ways did pleaſe the Lord, our Enemies would be at peace with us. Obſerve wiſely*, aud you cannot but *Obſerve* the Language of Heaven in the Circumſtances thro' which we have paſſed for a whole *Decad* of Years together, to be that in *Lev.* 26. 23, 24. *If ye will not be reformed by me by theſe things, but will walk contrary unto me, then will I alſo walk contrary unto you, and I will puniſh you yet Seven times for your Sins.* And that the Demand of REFORMATION may be loud enough, it arrives to us now with a more than Ordinary Accent of *Authority* upon it. We have ſeen, and bleſſed be God that we have ſeen, the greateſt Monarch that ever ſat upon the *Britiſh Throne*, iſſuing out his Royal *Proclamation*, upon the Pious Addreſs of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in *Parliament*; a *Proclamation*, wherein that Illuſtrious Prince declares his Royal *Reſolution* to Diſcountenance all *Vice* whatſoever, and requires all *Officers* whatſoever to be Vigilant in the Diſcovery, Proſecution and Puniſhment thereof. We have ſeen a moſt Excellent GOVERNOR, who is the greateſt Perſon that ever ſet Foot on the *Engliſh* Continent of *America*, beginning his Government with Proclaiming for the Suppreſſion of all Vice in one of his Provinces: That Noble Perſon has therein done like a *Vicegerent* of GOD! His very Honourable *Lieutenant* hath worthily done his part, with the Advice of his *Council*, in another of his Provinces. If theſe things prove but meer *Formalities* among a People, *Hating to be Reformed* after all, what will they be, but more Terrible Prognoſticks of Tremendous and Amazing Deſolations at Hand, than ſo many *Blazing Stars* on Fire in Heaven over us. It is to be hoped, the *Miniſters* of the Goſpel will do what belongs to them for the Aſſiſtance of all *Holy Eſſays* about *Reformation*; and their *Churches*, if call'd upon, will join with them in the Methods of *Covenant*, and of *Diſcipline*, for the promoting of it. Yea, it is to be hoped, that we ſhall all *Zealouſly*, in our ſeveral Stations, do all that we can for the Pleaſing of God, and for the Correction, and Suppreſſion, and Reformation of the Sin that may be Diſpleaſing to him. It is a thing very Notorious unto us, that *Idleneſs*, *Drunkenneſs*, *Uncleanneſs*, *Cheating*, *Lying*, *Prophane Swearing*, and above all, that which is the *Root* of all, the *Prophanation of the Lord's-Day*, gains Ground upon us. Let all that have any *Power* in their Hands, unto the utmoſt of their *Power* endeavour to keep under thoſe Enormities. But *Laſt* of all, nay, I ſhould rather ſay *Firſt* of all, O let every Man ſet upon *Self-Reformation* with all his Might! I remember that paſſage in *Prov.* 18. 17. *He that is firſt in his own Cauſe ſeemeth right*, is Tranſlated by the *Vulgar Latin*, ſo as to carry a further and an uſeful Admonition in it; *Juſtus primus eſt Accuſator ſui*, A *Juſt Man*, before he meddles with the *Reproof* of others, will *Firſt Accuſe* himſelf, and ſearch the State of his own Soul and Life, and faithfully *Reform* it. Oh! That very much of this might be done among us! How doth an Army of Thrice Ten Thouſand Men preſently *Turn* from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, becauſe *Every One Turns One*? Sirs, We have *Wiſely Obſerved* the things that have in our afflicted Years befallen us, and we have now, to good purpoſe, heard a Sermon of *Obſervations* upon thoſe things, if we will now retire, and ponder ſeriouſly with our ſelves, *What is there amiſs in my own Heart, and in my own Life, and in my own Family; and by what Reformation of my ſelf may I beſt anſwer the Expectation of the God who has Chaſtiſed us all.*

We have been under the *Lamentable Puniſhments* of our Sins for Two *Luſtres* of *Years* together; 'tis time for *every Man*, and for all of us, as *One Man*, to ſay, as in *Lam.* 3. 40. *Let us ſearch and try our Ways, and turn again unto the Lord.*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Reader, *Carthagena* was of the mind, that unto thoſe *Three Things* which the Ancients held Impoſſible, there ſhould be added this *Fourth*, to find a Book Printed without *Errata's*. It ſeems, the Hands of *Briareus*, and the Eyes of *Argus*, will not prevent them.

BOOKS *Printed for* Tho. Parkhurſt, *at the* Bible *and* Three Crowns *in* Cheapſide.

Diſcourſes and Sermons on ſeveral *Divine Subjects*, by the late Reverend and Learned Divine, *David Clarkſon*, B. D. ſometime Fellow of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*. Folio.

A Body of Practical Divinity, Conſiſting of above 176 Sermons on the Leſſer Catechiſm, Compoſed by the Reverend Aſſembly of Divines, by *Thomas Watſon*, formerly Miniſter of St. *Stephens Walbrook*, *London*. Folio.

Expoſitory Notes, with *Practical Obſervations on the Four Holy Evangeliſts*, wherein the Sacred Text is at large recited, the *Senſe Explained*, *Doubts Reſolved*, *Controverſies Decided*, *Reflections Avoided*, *ſeeming Contradictions Reconciled*; *and the inſtructive Example of the Holy JESUS recommended to our imitation.* By *Will. Burkit*, Vicar and Lecturer of *Dedham* in *Eſſex*. Folio.

The Whole Works of the Reverend Mr. *John Flavel*, late Miniſter at *Dartmouth* in *Devon*, in Two Vol. Folio.

A Diſcourſe of Angels, *their Nature and Office*, *or Miniſtry*; *wherein is ſhewed what Excellent Creatures they are*, *and that they are Prime Inſtruments of God's Providence*, *and are employed about Kingdoms and Churches*, *and ſingle Perſons*, *and that under Jeſus Chriſt*, *who is the Head of Angels as well as Men*, *and by whoſe Procurement Angels are Miniſtring Spirits for ſinful Men*; *alſo ſomething touching Devils*, *and Apparitions*, *and Impulſes*, *with a practical improvement of the Particulars handled*, *and of the whole Doctrine of Angels*, *eſpecially for the promoting of an Evangelical Life.*

Two Letters written by the Right Reverend Dr. *Thomas Barlow*, late Lord Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Concerning Juſtification by Faith*, to a Miniſter of his Dioceſs, Publiſhed from his Lordſhip's Original Copy; together with the Miniſters Letters that occaſion'd them.

Wilful Impenitency the Goſpel Self-murder; *all they who are guilty of it*, *Apprehended*, *Tried and Condemned*. Preached at *Rochford* in *Eſſex* long before his Death, by that late Able and Faithful Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt, *William Fenner*.

A Paraphraſe on the New Teſtament, with Notes Doctrinal and Practical. By the late Reverend Mr. *Richard Baxter*.

The *Rod*, *or the Sword*, the preſent Dilemma of the Nations of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, Conſidered, Argued and Improved, in a Diſcourſe from *Ezekiel* 21. 13. by *Robert Fleming*, V. D. M.

Divine Comforts Antidoting Inward Perplexities of Mind, in a Diſcourſe upon *Pſal.* 94. 19. By *Tho. Sharp*, late Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Leeds*.

The True Notion of Imputed Righteouſneſs, *and our Juſtification thereby*; being a Supply of what is wanting in the late Book of that moſt Learned Perſon Biſhop *Stillingfleet*, which is a Diſcourſe for Reconciling the Diſſenting Parties in *London*; but Dying before he had finiſhed the two laſt and moſt deſired Chapters thereof, he hath left this *main Point* therein intended, without Determination. By the Reverend *M. S.* a Country Miniſter.

A Plain Method of Catechizing, with a Prefatory Catechiſm, ſhewing that Miniſters, Parents and Maſters ought to be faithful Teachers of the *Chriſtian Doctrine*, and that the Ignorant, *Young* and *Old*, ought to be *Diligent Learners* of the Firſt Principles of the *Chriſtian Doctrine*. By *Tho. Doolittle*, M. A. in Compaſſion to the Ignorant, Young and Old. The *Fourth Edition*. *Duodecimo*.

There is in the Preſs, and ſpeedily will be publiſhed, An Abridgment of the Life of the Reverend Mr. *Richard Baxter*, in Octavo.

An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. *Phillip Henry*, Miniſter of the Goſpel near *Whitechurch* in *Shropſhire*; who died *June* 24. 1696. in the Sixty-fifth Year of his Age, with Dr. *Bates*'s Dedication, the Second Edition.

A Funeral Sermon upon the Death of *Joſeph Barret*, Son of the Reverend Mr. *John Barret*, Miniſter of the Goſpel in *Nottingham*; Preached by *John Whitlock*, Jun. To which is added, An Account of his Life and his Evidences.

Experiences, Holy Reſolves, Divine Meditations, and his conſtant Courſe of Self-Examination, being part of an Exact Diary, Written by his own Hand.

The Remains of Mr. *Joſeph Barret*, Son of the Reverend Mr, *John Barret*, Miniſter of the Goſpel in *Nottingham*; being the Second Part, taken out of an Exact Diary, Written by his own Hand.

1. *Catholick Theology*; in Three Books, *Of Pacifying Principles*, *of Pacifying Praxis*, *of Pacifying Diſputations*, *againſt ſome real Errors which hinder Reconciliation.* Folio.

2. *Diſputations of Original Sin*, *as from Adam*, *and as from our nearer Parents:* Publiſh'd, at the Invitation of Dr. *Tho. Tully*. 8vo.

3. *A Moral Prognoſtication of what muſt be expected in the Churches of* Chriſtendom, *till the Golden Age returns*. Quarto.

4. *Church Hiſtory of the Government of Biſhops and their Councils*, *abridg'd*; including the chief Part of the Government of Chriſtian Princes and Popes, and a true Account of the moſt Troubling Hereſies till the Reformation. 4*to*.

5 *A Search for the* Engliſh *Schiſmaticks*, *by the Caſe of Character of the* Dioceſan Canoneers, *and the Preſent meer* Nonconformiſts. 4*to*.

6. *A Second true Defence of the meer* Nonconformiſts, *againſt the Untrue Accuſation of* Dr. Edward Stillingfleet; *and ſome Notes on Mr.* Glanvil's *Zealous and Impartial* Proteſtant. 4*to*.

7. *The Dangerous Schiſmatick clearly Detected and fully Confuted:* Occaſioned by a Reſolver of Three Caſes about *Church Communion*. 4*to*.

8. *Catholick Communion* defended in unneceſſary Separation, diſcovered in the Reaſons of the Author's concurred Communion with the Pariſh Churches. 4*to*.

9. The *Engliſh Nonconformity* as under King *Charles* the *2d.* and King *James* the *2d.* truly

Stated

¶

Stated and Argued with the Order of the Quarter-Seſſions at *Exeter* for the County, Urged by the Biſhops, which calls for our Defence. 4*to*.

10. *A Treatiſe of Knowledge and Love:* Compared in Two Parts; *Of falſe pretended Knowledge*, and *of true ſaving Knowledge and Love.* 4*to*.

11. The *Glorious Kingdom of Chriſt* deſcribed, and clearly Vindicated, againſt Mr. *Tho. Beverley*. 4to.

12. A *Reply* to Mr. *Tho. Beverley*'s Anſwer to the Reaſons againſt his Doctrine of the Thouſand Years, Middle Kingdom, and of the Converſion of the *Jews*. 4to.

13. *Of National Churches*, their Deſcription, Inſtitution, Uſe, Preſervation, Maladies and Cure; partly applied to *England*. 4to.

14. *Againſt the Revolt to a Foreign Juriſdiction, which would be to* England *its Perjury-Church, Bane and Slavery*; in Two Parts; Containing many Endeavours to Introduce it; and Confutation of all Pretences for it; Dedicated to Dr. *Tillotſon*, Arch-Biſhop. 8*vo*. All theſe Fourteen by *Richard Baxter*.

A New Creature: Or, A Short Diſcourſe, opening the Nature, Properties and Neceſſity of the Great Work of the new Creation upon the Souls of Men.

A Family Altar erected to the Honour of the Eternal God: Or, A Solemn Eſſay to promote the Worſhip of God in private Houſes.

Baptiſmal Bonds renewed: Being ſome Meditations on *Pſal.* 50. *ver.* 5.

Cloſet-Prayer a Chriſtian Duty: Or, A Treatiſe on *Mat.* VI. and 6. Tending to prove, that the Worſhip of God in Secret is the indiſpenſible Duty of all Chriſtians, both by ſundry Examples and Arguments; together with a ſecret Rebuke of Chriſtians, for their Neglect of, or Negligence in the Duty of the Cloſet; and many Directions for the managing thereof: Exhortations to it, Objections anſwered, Caſes of Conſcience cleared. 8*vo*.

The Beſt Entail: Or, Dying Parents Living Hopes of their Surviving Children, grounded on the Covenant of God's Grace.

Sure Mercies of David: Or, A Second Part of Heart-Treaſure, wherein is contained the Sum and Subſtance of Goſpel-Mercies purchaſed by Chriſt, and promiſed in the Covenant of Grace, for the Saints Defence and Settlement, and Encouragement in Shaking and Backſliding Times; being *Some Meditations* on *Iſa.* 55. 3.

The General Aſſembly: Or, A Diſcourſe of the *Gathering of all Saints to Chriſt*; *wherein it appears, That all Saints in all Ages ſhall at laſt be gathered together in Chriſt their Head:* Being *Some Meditations* on 2 *Theſ.* 11. and 1. Theſe Seven by Mr. *Oliver Heywood*.

The Converſion of the Soul: Or, A Diſcourſe, Explaining *The Nature of that Converſion which is Sincere and Directing, and Perſwading to leave their Loving Sin and Death, and turn to God and Live.*

A Heaven or Hell upon Earth: Or, *A Diſcourſe concerning Conſcience.*

The Sure Touchſtone of Grace and Nature: Or, *A Diſcourſe concerning Self-Examination*; *by which both Saints and Sinners may come to know themſelves*; *whereunto are added* Sundry Meditations *relating to the* Lord's-Supper.

A Preſent for ſuch as have been Sick and are Recovered: Or, A Diſcourſe concerning the Good which comes out of the Evil of Affliction.

The Spirit of Prayer: Or, A Diſcourſe, wherein the Nature of Prayer is opened; with Directions for the Attaining the Gift of Prayer.

The more Excellent Way to Edifie the Church of Chriſt: Or, A Diſcourſe of Love, the Deſign of which is to Revive that Grace among all Chriſtians. Theſe Six by *Nath. Vincent*, M. A.

1. Of Thoughtfulneſs for the Morrow, with an Appendix concerning the Immediate Deſire of Foreknowing Things to come.

2. The Redeemer's Tears wept over loſt Souls, in a Treatiſe on *Luke* 19. 41, 42. With an Appendix, wherein ſomewhat is occaſionally diſcourſed concerning the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and how God is ſaid to will the Salvation of them that periſh.

3. Of Charity in reference to other Mens Sins.

4. A Sermon directing what we are to do after a ſtrict Enquiry, whether or no we truly love God.

5. Two Sermons preach'd upon theſe Words, *Yield your ſelves to God.*

6. A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. *Eſter Sampſon*, late Wife of *Henry Sampſon*, Dr. of Phyſick, who died *Novem.* 24. 1689.

7. The Carnality of Religious Contention, in Two Sermons, preached at the Merchants Lecture in *Broadſtreet*.

8. A Calm and Sober Enquiry concerning the Poſſibility of a Trinity in the Godhead, in a Letter to a Perſon of Worth; occaſioned by the lately Publiſhed Conſiderations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity. By Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *Cudworth*, &c. Together with certain Letters (hitherto unpubliſhed) formerly written to the Reverend Dr. *Wallis* on the ſame Subject.

9. A Letter to a Friend concerning a Poſtſcript to the Defence of Dr. *Sherlock*'s Notion of the Trinity in Unity, relating to the Calm Enquiry on the ſame Subject.

10. A View of that Part of the late Conſiderations addreſt to *H. H.* about the Trinity, which concerns the Sober Enquiry on that Subject.

11. A Funeral Sermon on the Death of that Pious Gentlewoman Mrs. *Judeth Hammond*, late Wife of the Reverend Mr. *George Hammond*, Miniſter of the Goſpel in *London*.

12. Mr. *Richard Adams* Funeral Sermon.

13. Mr. *Matthew Mead*'s Funeral Sermon.

14. The Redeemer's Dominion over the Inviſible World. Thoſe Fourteen publiſhed by Mr. *John How*, Miniſter of the Goſpel.

A Saint indeed, the great Work of a Chriſtian.

The Fountain of Life open'd: Or, A Diſplay of Chriſt in his Eſſential Mediatorial Glory, containing Forty-two Sermons on Various Texts. Wherein the Interpretation of our Redemption by Jeſus Chriſt is orderly unfolded, as it was begun, carried on, and finiſhed by his Covenant Tranſaction, Myſterious Incarnation, Solemn Call and Dedication, Bleſſed Offices, Deep Abaſement, and Supereminent Advancement. Theſe Two by Mr. *John Flavel*.